# Selected Writings of Samuel Noah Kramer

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S. N. Kramer, a world-renowned specialist in Sumerian language, literature, and culture, published these 38 studies in a variety of journals between the years 1946 and 1990.

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Heroes of Sumer: A New Heroic Age in World History and Literature, from *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 90, No. 2 (May, 1946), pp. 120-130, in 12 pdf pages.

Immortal Clay: The Literature of Sumer, from *American Scholar*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Summer 1946), pp. 314-326, in 14 pdf pages.

New Light on the Early History of the Ancient Near East, from *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1948), pp. 156-164, in 10 pdf pages.

Gilgamesh and Agga, by Samuel Noah Kramer and Thorkild Jacobsen, from *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1949), pp. 1-18, in 22 pdf pages.

Schooldays: A Sumerian Composition Relating to the Education of a Scribe, from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 69, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1949), pp. 199-215, in 22 pdf pages.

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Sumerian Theology and Ethics, from *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (Jan., 1956), pp. 45-62, in 19 pdf pages.

Love, Hate, and Fear: Psychological Aspects of Sumerian Culture, רמוש תוברת לש סייגולוכיספ סיטקפסא הבהא, דחפו האנש / from *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies*/ Dedicated to Professor Benjamin Mazar on His Fiftieth Birthday / (1958), pp. 66*-74*, in 10 pdf pages.

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Sumerian Mythology, by Samuel Noah Kramer (Philadelphia, 1944, revised 1961), at sacred-texts.

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# HEROES OF SUMER

## A New Heroic Age in World History and Literature

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

Associate Curator in the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

(Read April 20, 1946)

FROM time to time in the course of the history of civilization, and from place to place, we come upon a social phenomenon known as the Heroic Age. To take only three of the more ancient and better known examples, there is the Teutonic Heroic Age which dominated much of northern Europe from the fourth to the sixth century A.D., the Greek Heroic Age which flourished on the mainland of Greece toward the very end of the second millennium B.C., and finally the Heroic Age of India which probably dates only a century or so later than that of Greece.[1] All three heroic ages reveal a marked and significant resemblance in social structure, governmental organization, religious concepts, and aesthetic expression; it is obvious that they owe their origin and being to very similar social, political, and psychic factors. The Sumerian poem, whose extant text is made available for the first time in the present study, is one of a group of heroic narrative poems which will introduce a new Heroic Age, that of the Sumerians, to world history and literature. Although it probably had its floruit no later than the first quarter of the third millennium B.C., and therefore precedes by more than a millennium and a half even the oldest of the three Indo-European Heroic Ages, that of the Greeks, it follows with remarkable closeness the culture pattern typical for those long known epochs.[2]

The Greek, Indian, and Teutonic Heroic Ages, to judge from the relevant literary records, are essentially barbaric periods which show a number of salient characteristics in common. The political unit consists of a petty kingdom ruled by a king or prince who obtains and holds his rule through military prowess. His mainstay in power consists of the comitatus, a retinue of armed, loyal followers, who are prepared to do his bidding without question, no matter how foolhardy and dangerous the undertaking. There may be an assembly, but it is convened at the ruler's pleasure and serves only in an advisory and confirmatory capacity. The ruling kings and princes of the separate principalities carry on among themselves a lively and at times friendly and even intimate intercourse; they thus tend to develop into what may be termed an international aristocratic caste whose thoughts and acts have little in common with those of their subjects. On the religious side we find our three Indo-European Heroic Ages characterized by a worship of anthropomorphic deities which to a large extent seem to be recognized everywhere throughout the various states and principalities. These gods form organized communities in a specially chosen locality, though in addition each god has a special abode of his own. There are few traces of chthonic or spirit worship; at death the soul travels to some distant locality which is conceived as a universal home and is not reserved for members of any particular community.[3] Some of the heroes are conceived as springing from the gods, but there is no trace of heroic worship or hero cults. All these features common to the Heroic Ages of Greece, India, and Northern Europe, are shared by that of Sumer, as the sketch of the contents of the Sumerian epic material about to follow, will reveal.

But the parallelism between our four Heroic

[1] The statements and summations concerning the Greek, Indian, and Teutonic Heroic Ages here presented are based primarily on the analyses and conclusions of H. Munro Chadwick in his *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge, 1912), and of H. Munro and N. Kershaw Chadwick, in their monumental three-volume work, *The growth of literature* (Cambridge, 1932–1940). For the Heroic Age of India, *cf.* N. K. Sidhanta's *The Heroic Age of India* (London, 1929). It is no insignificant index of the value and reliability of these works to note their effective utilization to give meaning and form to an hitherto practically unknown cultural stage in the history of ancient Mesopotamia.

[2] The implications of the uncovering of the existence of a flourishing Sumerian Heroic Age for the archaeology and history of southern Mesopotamia will be discussed in special study now in preparation, "A new Heroic Age and its archaeological implications."

[3] Note however that in the matter of the heroic conception of an after-life, the notion of a warrior's paradise is characteristic of the Teutonic and Indian peoples, but not of the Sumerians, nor of the Homeric Greeks.

Ages extends even further; indeed it is particularly instructive and revealing on the aesthetic plane, especially in the field of literature. For one of the more notable achievements of all four of our Heroic Ages consisted of the creation of an oral group of heroic narrative tales *in poetic form* which reflect and illuminate the spirit of the age and its temper. Impelled by the thirst for fame and name so characteristic of the ruling caste during the Heroic Age, the bards and minstrels attached to the court were moved to improvise and compose narrative poems or lays celebrating the adventures and achievements of those kings and princes whose experiences lent themselves to imaginative and sympathetic treatment; these epic lays whose object was primarily to provide entertainment at the frequent courtly banquets and feasts were recited no doubt to the accompaniment of the harp, lyre, or lute. Now, obviously enough, none of these early heroic lays have come down to us in their original form, since their first composition took place during the Heroic Age itself, when writing was either altogether unknown, or, if known, was of little concern to the illiterate minstrel. The written epics relating to the Greek, Indian, and Teutonic Heroic Ages, as we have them, date of course from much later days, and consist of highly complex literary redactions in which only a selected number of the earlier lays are imbedded, and these in a highly modified and expanded form. In Sumer there is good reason to believe that at least some of the early heroic lays were first inscribed on clay some five to six hundred years following the close of the Heroic Age, and then only after they had undergone very considerable transformation at the hands of the priests and scribes.[4] However, it is to be carefully noted that the copies of the epic texts which we actually have at present date almost entirely from the first half of the second millennium B.C.[5]

Now, as is well known, the written epics relating to the three Indo-European Heroic Ages show a number of striking similarities in form and content. In the first place, the poems are all concerned primarily with individuals; it is the deeds and exploits of the individual hero which are the prime concern of the poet, not the fate or glory of the state or the community. Moreover, while there is little doubt that some of the experiences and adventures celebrated in the poems have a historical basis, the poet does not hesitate to introduce everywhere certain unhistorical motifs and conventions, such as exaggerated notions of the hero's powers, ominous dreams, and the presence of divine beings. Stylistically the epic poems are found to abound in static epithets, lengthy repetitions, and recurrent formulas, while certain types of descriptions tend to be over-leisurely and unusually detailed. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that all the epics devote very considerable space to speeches. In all these respects the Sumerian heroic poetry follows closely the pattern of the Greek, Indian, and Teutonic epic material.[6] And since it is hardly likely that a literary genre so individual in style and technique as narrative poetry was created and developed independently and at different time intervals in Sumer, Greece, India, and Northern Europe, and since that of the Sumerians is by all odds the oldest of the four, it is perhaps not unreasonable to conclude that it is in Sumer that we may look for the origin of epic poetry as a whole.[7]

[4] For the indications that there was considerable Sumerian written literature in existence in the second half of the third millennium B.C., *cf.* my *Sumerian mythology* (*Mem. Amer. Philos. Soc.* **21**: 18–19, 1944).

[5] That is, if we use the new low chronology of Smith and Albright, *cf. Bull. Amer. Schools Orient. Res.* **88**: 28 ff., 1942, and *Amer. Jour. Arch.* **49**: 18 ff., 1945.

[6] Of the more outstanding differences between the Sumerian epic material and that of the Greeks, Indians, and Teutons, we may note the following: (*a*) The Sumerian epic poems revolving about a given hero consist of individual, disconnected tales of varying length, each of which is restricted to a single episode; there is no attempt to articulate and integrate these episodes into a larger epic unit. This was first achieved by the Accadian poets, particularly in their epic of Gilgamesh, who borrowed, modified, and molded the relatively brief and episodic Sumerian sources; *cf.* "The epic of Gilgamesh and its Sumerian sources," in the *Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.* **64**: 7–23, 1944. (*b*) There is relatively little characterization and psychological penetration in the Sumerian material; the heroes tend to be broad and more or less undifferentiated types, rather than highly personalized individuals. Moreover the incidents and plot motifs are related in a rather static and highly conventional style; there is little of that expressive, plastic movement which characterizes such poems as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. (*c*) Women play no role in the Sumerian epic material, while they have a very prominent part in the Indo-European epics. (*d*) In the matter of technique the Sumerian poets depend for their rhythmic effect solely on the variations in the repetition patterns; they make no use of meter or uniform line which is so characteristic of the Indo-European epics.

[7] It is very interesting to note that one of the two authors of *The growth of literature* (*cf.* note 1) had already come to the conclusion that Mesopotamia was the birthplace of narrative or epic poetry and that it had spread from there in different directions; *cf.* vol. III: 725, note 2. The paper there promised in support of this thesis has, as far as I

Let us turn now to the contents of the extant Sumerian epic poems. At present we can identify nine epic tales varying in length from a little over one hundred to very probably more than five hundred lines. Two of these revolve about the hero Enmerkar; two about the hero Lugalbanda, although in one of these Enmerkar, too, plays a considerable role; five center about the most famous of the three heroes, Gilgamesh. All three are known from the Sumerian king list, a document which like our epic material has been found inscribed on tablets dating from the first half of the second millennium B.C. and which again, as in the case of our epic material, was probably composed in the last quarter of the third millennium B.C.[8] Here, that is in the king list, they are stated to be the second, third, and fifth rulers of the first dynasty of Erech which, according to the Sumerian scribes, followed the first dynasty of Kish which in turn followed immediately upon the flood. But, although all three of our heroes are listed in the same dynasty, all our evidence seems to point to the conclusion that they were actually unrelated to each other.[9]

The first of the two Enmerkar epic tales, to judge from the available texts, probably consisted of over five hundred lines; at present, however, only slightly over four hundred can be accounted for, and of these less than two hundred are well preserved.[10] Obviously, therefore, the following sketch of its contents is quite tentative in character, to be filled out and corrected as new material is uncovered. The action of the poem centers about Enmerkar's successful efforts to obtain submission and allegiance from a "lord" of Aratta[11] who remains unnamed throughout the poem. To achieve his end, Enmerkar wins the favor of the great god Enki with the promise that, if Aratta submits to Erech, he will have the inhabitants of Aratta transport stones from the mountains to build a great shrine for him, and that in numerous other ways he will exalt the god, his shrines, and his decrees. He then dispatches a herald to the "lord" of Aratta with instructions to prevail upon him to recognize Enmerkar as his overlord; this he is to achieve by extolling the latter as the favorite of Enki, and particularly by reciting to him the "spell" of Enki.[12] The herald, after a long journey involving the crossing of the seven mountains, finally arrives at Aratta, and, as instructed, repeats Enmerkar's demands to its "lord." The latter at first refuses since such action would result in a loss of prestige for his goddess Inanna whose protégé he seems to be. But the herald overcomes his reluctance with the promise that his patron deity Inanna will be made queen of the temple Eanna in Erech. Whereupon the "lord" of Aratta is ready to yield. This is not the end of the poem, however. After a considerable break in the text we find the "lord" of Aratta addressing his own herald and instructing him to go to Enmerkar and invite him to visit Aratta. For before actually bowing down to Enmerkar as his overlord, he would first meet him face to face that they might debate the issue between them. And so Enmerkar starts on the long journey, accompanied by a considerable retinue. Before his actual arrival, however, Enmerkar once again dispatches his herald to the "lord" of Aratta with a message which seems to consist of a eulogy of his (Enmerkar's) scepter and rule. The herald returns from Aratta with a reply whose import is obscure. Here the text breaks off altogether, with the end of the poem not yet in sight.

The second Enmerkar tale is also concerned with the submission of a "lord" of Aratta to Enmerkar.[13] However, in this poem it is not Enmerkar who makes the first demands on his rival, the "lord" of Aratta, but rather the latter who first issues the challenge which leads to his own discomfiture. Moreover, since throughout our second Enmerkar poem the "lord" of Aratta is referred to by his actual name, Ensukushsiranna, it is not quite certain whether he is to be identified with the "lord" of Aratta who remains unnamed throughout the first Enmerkar poem. As for the available contents of this second Enmerkar tale—at present we have only approximately one hundred well preserved lines at the very beginning of the poem, and very probably some twenty-five well-preserved lines toward the end—they run as follows:

know, not yet appeared; it probably rests largely on the significant fact that the Accadian epic of Gilgamesh (*cf.* under (*a*) in the preceding note) was current all over the Near East in the second millennium B.C. Needless to say, the Sumerian epic material now being made available to the scholar tends to confirm the correctness of this view.

[8] *Cf.* SS (= Supplementary Study of the *Bull. Amer. Schools of Orient. Res.*) No. 3 (now in press), note 3*c*.

[9] *Cf.* SS No. 3, note 3*d*.

[10] *Cf.* SS No. 3, note 3*e*.

[11] For the location of Aratta, *cf. Bull. Amer. Schools Orient. Res.* **96**: 26, note 32, 1944.

[12] For the available text of this spell and its significance for the Sumerian concept of man's golden age, *cf. Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.* **63**: 191–194, 1943.

[13] *Cf.* SS No. 3, note 3*i*.

Ensukushsiranna, the "lord" of Aratta, having decided to issue a challenge to Enmerkar, the lord of Erech and Kullab, dispatched a herald to him with a demand that the latter submit to his overlordship and "carry the basket for him." If he does so, the herald is to continue—the riddle-like phrases are largely obscure—he will be allowed to dwell with the goddess Inanna and lie with her on a fruitful couch; also he may eat of the kurku-bird with the other ishakku's who have recognized Ensukushsiranna as suzerain. The herald delivers his message to Enmerkar who promptly returns the challenge and contemptuously rejects the promised rewards. Upon hearing this, Ensukushsiranna gathers his council and informs them of Enmerkar's insolent attitude. The rest of the poem is practically entirely destroyed except probably for the very end of the poem where, for some unknown reason, Ensukushsiranna is only too ready to take second place to Enmerkar whom he extolls as the beloved of Inanna and as a great lord who knows no rival.

We turn now to the two epic tales in which the hero Lugalbanda plays the leading role. The first, which may be entitled "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar," is a poem of more than four hundred lines, the great majority of which are excellently preserved.[14] Nevertheless, in spite of the relatively few breaks in the text, the sense of many passages is far from clear, and the following sketch of the more intelligible parts of its contents, based on numerous repeated efforts in the course of the past several years to get at the meaning of the poem, must still be considered highly tentative in character. Lugalbanda, perhaps because he has set his heart on journeying to the far-distant city Aratta, is determined first to win the friendship of the Zu-bird who decrees the fates and utters the word which none may transgress. While the Zu-bird is away, therefore, he goes to his nest and presents his young with fat, honey, and bread, paints their faces, and places the *shugurra* crown upon their heads. The Zu-bird, upon returning to his nest, is most gratified with this god-like treatment of his young, and proclaims himself as ready to bestow friendship and favor upon whatever god or man had done this gracious deed. Whereupon Lugalbanda steps up to receive his reward. Accordingly, the Zu-bird, in a highly eulogistic passage replete with blessings, bids him go head high probably to Aratta. Upon Lugalbanda's request, he decrees for him a favorable journey, and adds some pertinent advice which he is to repeat to no one, not even his closest followers. The Zu-bird now reenters his nest, while Lugalbanda returns to his friends and informs them of his imminent journey. They try to dissuade him; it is a journey from which none return since it involves the crossing of high mountains as well as the dreaded river of Kur. However, Lugalbanda is adamant, and eagerly awaits his opportunity. Now in Erech, Lugalbanda's lord, Enmerkar, the son of the sun-god, Utu, is in great distress. For many years past the Semitic Martu have been ravaging both Sumer and Accad. Now they are laying siege to Erech itself. Enmerkar finds that he must get through a call for help to his sister, the goddess Inanna of Aratta. But try as he will, he can find no one to undertake the dangerous journey to Aratta to deliver his message. This, then, seems to be Lugalbanda's moment. He steps up to his king and bravely volunteers for the task; moreover upon Enmerkar's insistence, he swears that he will make the journey all alone, unaccompanied by any of his followers. After receiving from Enmerkar the exact words of his message to Inanna of Aratta, Lugalbanda hastens to his friends and followers and informs them of his imminent journey. Again they try to dissuade him, but to no avail. He takes up his weapons, crosses the seven mountains that reach from one end of Anshan to the other, and finally arrives with joyful step at his destination. There, in Aratta, he is given a warm welcome by Inanna. Upon her query as to what brought him all alone from Erech to Aratta, Lugalbanda repeats verbatim Enmerkar's message and call for help. Inanna's answer, which marks the end of our poem, is most obscure; it seems to involve a river and its rather unusual fish which Enmerkar is perhaps to catch; also certain water-vessels which he is to fashion, and finally workers of metal and stone whom he is to settle in his city. But just how all this will remove the threat of the Martu from Sumer and Accad, or lift the siege from Erech, is far from clear.

The second Lugalbanda tale, which may be tentatively entitled "Lugalbanda and Mt. Hurrum," probably also ran well over four hundred lines; at present, however, with both the beginning and end of the poem missing, we can account for some three hundred and fifty lines of text of which about half are in excellent condition.[15]

[14] *Cf.* SS No. 3, note *3k*.

[15] *Cf.* SS No. 3, note *3v*.

Its available contents, as far as they can be reconstructed from the fragmentary and difficult text, may be tentatively sketched as follows: In the course of a journey from Kullab of Erech to the far distant Aratta, Lugalbanda and his followers arrive at Mt. Hurrum. There Lugalbanda falls ill. His companions, believing that he is soon to die, decide to proceed without him, planning to pick up his dead body upon their return from Aratta, and to carry it back to Kullab. To take care of his immediate wants, however, they leave with him a considerable quantity of food, water, and strong drink, as well as his weapons. Alone, ill, and forsaken, Lugalbanda utters a prayer to the sun-god, Utu, who sees to it that his health is restored by means of the "food of life," and the "water of life." Upon regaining his health, Lugalbanda seems to wander all alone over the highland steppe, living by hunting its wild life and gathering its uncultivated plants. Once, falling asleep, he dreams that he is commanded, perhaps by the sun-god, Utu, to take up his weapons, hunt and kill a wild bull, and present its fat to the rising Utu; also to slaughter a kid and pour out its blood in a ditch, and its fat on the plain. Upon awaking, Lugalbanda does exactly as bidden. In addition, he prepares food and strong drink for An, Enlil, Enki, and Ninhursag, the four leading deities of the Sumerian pantheon. The approximately last hundred lines of the extant text seem to contain a eulogy of seven heavenly lights who help Nanna, the moon-god, Utu, the sun-god, and Inanna, the planet Venus, to give light to the cosmos.

So much for the Enmerkar and Lugalbanda epic material now available. Turning to the most renowned of our trio, the hero Gilgamesh, we can at present identify five epic tales concerned with his adventures and achievements. The texts of two of these, "Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven," and "The Death of Gilgamesh," are in a very fragmentary condition; one, "Gilgamesh and Agga of Kish," consists of one hundred and fifteen lines almost perfectly preserved, although its text presents as yet so many difficulties to the translator that much of its meaning still eludes us; the fourth, "Gilgamesh and the Nether World," is a well preserved poem of over two hundred and fifty lines whose introductory passage is particularly significant for the analysis of the Sumerian cosmogonic concepts; the fifth, "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living," is the epic tale whose entire available text, its first one hundred and seventy-four lines, is presented in this study.[16]

First, then, "Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven"; its fragmentary contents, poorly preserved as they are, may be sketched as follows: Inanna, the goddess of love and war, the Sumerian counterpart of the Semitic Ishtar, makes love proposals to the hero Gilgamesh upon whom she is prepared to shower gifts and favors without stint. But Gilgamesh spurns her offers. Whereupon Inanna turns to An, the heaven god, and asks him to present her with the bull of heaven. An at first refuses, but Inanna threatens to take the matter up with all the great gods of the universe. Terrified, An grants her request. Inanna then sends the bull of heaven down against Erech where it proceeds to ravage the city. From here on, the available text which concludes with an address by Enkidu, Gilgamesh's loyal follower and constant companion, to Gilgamesh, becomes unintelligible. The end of the poem, which described no doubt Gilgamesh's victorious struggle with the bull of heaven, is missing altogether.

From the meager extant portion of our second Gilgamesh tale, "The Death of Gilgamesh," only the following contents are recognizable. Gilgamesh, who is seeking immortality, is informed that eternal life is not for him; kingship, prominence, heroism in battle—all these have been decreed for him, but not immortality. Follows the death of Gilgamesh and a long poetic description of the ensuing mourning. After a break of unknown size, we find that Gilgamesh's spirit has probably descended to the nether world to become its king. Here he first presents gifts and offerings to the numerous deities and priests of the nether world for his family and retinue—his wives, children, musicians, chief valet, and attendants. Our poem concludes with a special tribute to the glory and memory of Gilgamesh.

Our third Gilgamesh epic tale, "Gilgamesh and Agga of Kish," with its small but well-nigh perfectly preserved text, is of no little historical and political interest; its contents run approximately as follows: Agga, king of Kish, who according to our poem had at one time been a

[16] For the scientific edition of this text, including autograph copies of the unpublished material, transliteration, and commentary, *cf.* the forthcoming SS No. 3. For the scientific edition of "The death of Gilgamesh," *cf. Bull. Amer. Schools Orient. Res.* **94**: 2–12, 1944. For an earlier sketch of the Sumerian Gilgamesh material as a whole, *cf. Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.* **64**: 7–23, 1944.

satellite of Gilgamesh, has now become powerful enough to demand that Erech become subservient to Kish. He therefore sends heralds to Gilgamesh with words to that effect. The latter gathers a council of the elders of Erech who, at the urging of Gilgamesh, commit themselves to take up arms rather than to submit to "the house of Kish." Not yet satisfied, Gilgamesh convokes a second council, this time of all the fighting men of Erech, and repeats his entreaties not to submit to "the house of Kish." This council, too, solemnly resolves to fight rather than yield; moreover it pronounces Gilgamesh as the king and hero of their city. In spite of their brave words and heroic resolutions, however, the people of Erech are terrified by the thought of Agga's approach. Only Gilgamesh, though sadly troubled by the rather cowardly reactions of the Erechites, remains confident; he ends up an address to his faithful follower Enkidu with the lines:

When he (Agga) shall have come, my great fear will overwhelm him,
His judgment will be confounded, his counsel will be dissipated.

In a very short time, however, Agga seems to have succeeded in seizing the outskirts of the city, and the Erechites were dumbfounded. Gilgamesh then addresses the heroes of Erech, and asks for a volunteer to go before Agga. He finds one in Birhurturri who seems convinced that he can confound the judgment and counsel of the king of Kish. No sooner does Birhurturri pass through the gate, however, than he seems to be seized, beaten, and brought before Agga. He begins to address Agga, but, before he has finished, another hero—his name is only partly preserved—ascends the walls of Erech, perhaps to observe what is going on. Follows a conversation between Agga and Birhurturri whose meaning it is as yet impossible to penetrate although the text is in perfect condition. It is reasonably clear, however, that Birhurturri fails to come to terms with Agga, and once again he is beaten by Agga's men. Gilgamesh himself then ascends the walls of Erech. The Erechites, young and old, are now overcome with fright, while the fighting men clutch their weapons. Whereupon Enkidu goes out through the gate and seems to persuade Agga to withdraw his forces and leave Erech in peace. Gilgamesh then thanks Agga whom he describes as his "overseer," "supervisor," and "captain of the host," for sparing his life. Moreover he pronounces Agga as the king and hero of Erech in the identical words which the Erechite council had used when honoring Gilgamesh with the very same titles.

Our fourth Gilgamesh poem begins with what may be described as an introduction of twenty-seven lines whose contents have nothing to do with the story of the poem; their cosmogonic contents merely serve as a preface to it. The story itself runs as follows: Once upon a time a huluppu-tree, perhaps a willow, planted on the bank of the Euphrates and nurtured by its waters, was attacked violently by the South Wind and flooded by the waters of the Euphrates. The goddess Inanna, walking by, takes the tree in her hand and brings it to her city Erech where she plants it in her holy garden. There she tends it most carefully. For, when the tree grows big, she plans to make of its wood a chair for herself and a couch.

Years pass; the tree matures and grows big. But Inanna finds herself unable to cut down the tree. For at its base the snake who "knows no charm" has built its nest. In its crown the Zu-bird has placed its young. In its middle Lilith has built her house. And so Inanna, the light-hearted and ever joyful maid, sheds bitter tears. As the dawn breaks, and her brother, the sun-god Utu, comes forth from his sleeping chamber, she repeats to him tearfully all that has befallen her huluppu-tree. Thereupon Gilgamesh chivalrously comes to her aid. He dons his armor weighing fifty minas, and with his ax of the road, seven talents and seven minas in weight, he slays the snake who "knows no charm" at the base of the tree. Seeing which, the Zu-bird flees with its young to the mountain, while Lilith tears down her house and flees to the desolate places. Gilgamesh and the men of Erech who accompanied him now cut down the tree and give it to Inanna for her chair and couch. Either Gilgamesh or Inanna then fashions of the base of the tree a *pukku*, probably a "drum," and of its crown, a *mikku*, probably a "drumstick." Follows a passage of twelve lines which describes Gilgamesh's activity in Erech with this *pukku* and *mikku*, with this "drum" and "drumstick." Despite the fact that the text is in perfect condition, it is still impossible to penetrate its meaning. It is not impossible, however, that it describes in some detail certain overbearing and tyrranical acts which brought woe to the inhabitants of Erech. When the story becomes intelligible once again, it continues with the

statement that, "because of the outcry of the young maidens," the *pukku* and the *mikku* fell into the nether world. Gilgamesh puts in his hand as well as his foot to retrieve them, but is unable to reach them. And so he seats himself at the gate of the nether world and laments:

"O my *pukku*, O my *mikku*,
My *pukku* whose *lustiness* was irresistable,
My *mikku* whose *pulsations could not be drowned out*,
In those days *when* verily my *pukku* was with me in the house of the carpenter,
(*When*) verily the wife of the carpenter was with me like the mother who gave birth to me,
(*When*) verily the daughter of the carpenter was with me *like* my younger sister,
My *pukku*, who will bring it up from the nether world,
My *mikku*, who will bring it up from the 'face' of the nether world?"

His servant Enkidu thereupon volunteers to descend to the nether world and bring them up for him, saying:

"O my master, why dost thou cry, why is they heart sick?
Thy *pukku*, lo, I will now bring it up from the nether world,
Thy *mikku*, I will bring it up from the 'face' of the nether world."

Hearing his servant's generous offer, Gilgamesh warns him of a number of the nether world tabus which he is to guard against; the passage reads:

Gilgamesh says to Enkidu:
"If now thou wilt descend to the nether world,
A word I speak to thee, take my word,
Instruction I offer thee, take my instruction.
Do not put on clean clothes,
Lest like an enemy *they will mark thee;*
Do not anoint thyself with the good oil of the *buru*-vessel,
Lest at its smell they will crowd about thee.

Do not throw the throw-stick in the nether world,
Lest they who were struck by the throw-stick will surround thee;
Do not carry a staff in thy hand,
Lest the shades will flutter all about thee.

Do not put sandals on thy feet,
In the nether world make no cry;
Kiss not thy beloved wife,
Strike not thy hated wife,
Kiss not thy beloved son,
Strike not thy hated son.
Lest the outcry of Kur will seize thee;
(*The outcry*) *to* her who is lying, *to* her who is lying,
To the mother of Ninazu who is lying,
Whose holy *body* no garment covers,
Whose holy breast no cloth wraps."

But Enkidu heeds not the instructions of his master and commits all those very acts against which Gilgamesh has warned him. And so he is seized by Kur and is unable to reascend to the earth. Thereupon Gilgamesh proceeds to Nippur and weeps before Enlil:

"O father Enlil, my *pukku* fell into the nether world,
My *mikku* fell into the 'face' of the nether world;
I sent Enkidu to bring them up, Kur has seized him.
Namtar has not seized him, Asig has not seized him,
Kur has seized him.
Nergal's ambusher, who spares no one, has not seized him,
Kur has seized him.
In battle, *the place of manliness*, he has not fallen,
Kur has seized him."

But Enlil refuses to stand by Gilgamesh who then proceeds to Eridu and repeats his plea before Enki. The latter orders the sun-god, Utu, to open a hole in the nether world and to allow the shade of Enkidu to ascend to the earth. Utu does as bidden, and the shade of Enkidu appears before Gilgamesh. Master and servant embrace, and Gilgamesh questions Enkidu about what he saw in the nether world. The first seven questions concern the treatment in the nether world of those who were fathers of from one to seven sons respectively. The remaining text of our poem is poorly preserved, but we still have parts of the Gilgamesh-Enkidu colloquy concerning the treatment in the nether world of the palace servant, of the birth-giving woman, of him who falls in battle, of him whose shade has no one to care for it, and of him whose body lies unburied in the plain.

Turning now to the fifth and last of our Gilgamesh poems, the one whose full available text is about to follow, we find its contents to run as follows: The "lord" Gilgamesh, realizing that, like all mortals, he too must die sooner or later, is determined at least to raise up a name for himself before he meets his destined end. He therefore sets his heart on journeying to the far distant land of the living, also known as a cedar land, with the probable intention of felling its cedars and bringing them to Erech. He informs his servant Enkidu of his proposed undertaking, and the latter advises him first to ac-

quaint the sun-god, Utu, with his plan, for it is Utu who has charge of the cedar land. Acting upon his advice, Gilgamesh brings offerings to Utu and pleads for his support of the contemplated journey to the land of the living. Utu at first seems rather skeptical of Gilgamesh's qualifications. But Gilgamesh only repeats his plea in more persuasive language. Utu takes pity on him and decides to help him probably by immobilizing in some way the seven vicious demons personifying those destructive weather phenomena that might menace Gilgamesh in the course of his journey across the mountains situated between Erech and the land of the living. Overjoyed, Gilgamesh gathers fifty volunteers from Erech, unattached men who have neither "house" nor "mother" and who are ready to follow him wherever he goes and to do whatever he does. After having weapons of bronze and wood prepared for himself and his companions, they cross with the help of Utu the seven mountains lying between Erech and the land of the living. Just what happens immediately upon crossing the last of the seven mountains is not clear since the relevant passage is poorly preserved. When the text becomes intelligible again, we find that Gilgamesh has fallen into a heavy sleep from which he is awakened only after considerable time and effort. Thoroughly aroused by this unexpected delay he swears by his mother Ninsun and by his father Lugalbanda that he will enter the land of the living and brook no interference from its guardian, be he man or god. Enkidu pleads with him to turn back, for it is Huwawa who guards the cedars, a monster whose destructive attack none may withstand. But Gilgamesh will have none of this caution. Convinced that with Enkidu's help no harm will fall to either of them, he bids him put away fear and go forward with him. Spying from his cedar house, however, is the monster Huwawa who seems to make frantic but vain efforts to drive off Gilgamesh and his adventurous band. Following a break of some lines, we learn that after cutting down seven trees Gilgamesh had probably come to Huwawa's inner chamber. Strangely enough, at the very first, and seemingly very light, attack on the part of Gilgamesh, Huwawa is overcome with fright, and begs for mercy and protection. Gilgamesh would like to act the generous victor, and in riddle-like phrases suggests to Enkidu that Huwawa be set free. But Enkidu, fearful of the consequences, advises against such unwise action. Following Huwawa's indignant criticism of Enkidu's ungenerous attitude, our two heroes seem to bring Huwawa before the great gods Enlil and Ninlil. So ends the extant portion of our poem, consisting of one hundred and seventy-four lines. At the moment there is no way of judging its full length, but it may well have run on for several hundred lines more.

The preceding paragraph sketches the plot and action of our epic tale "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living," in prosaic and literal language which utterly fails to convey those qualities and characteristics that mark this composition as one of the finest of Sumerian poetic creations. It will, therefore, be advisable to present a brief summation of our poem's aesthetic relevance. In the first place, its motivating theme, man's anxiety about death and its sublimation in the notion of an immortal name, has a universal significance which lends it high poetic coloring. On the technical side, our poet makes use of uncommonly varied groups of repetition and parallelism patterns whose total rhythmic effect is in full consonance with the poignant mood of the poem's theme. Similarly, from the point of view of content and substance, the poet is careful to select those essential details of the underlying incidents and ideas whose composite effect is to create the heroic tone and superhuman atmosphere which characterize our epic tale. It is this superb blending of its three fundamental ingredients, the significant motivating theme, the effective rhythmic technique, and the imaginative selection of contextual detail, which stamps our composition as a great poem, one which must have made a profound emotional and aesthetic appeal to its credulous and highly sympathetic audience. Indeed, even the modern reader whose mind and temper can no longer accept the rather immature ideas and child-like concepts underlying the far-fetched and incredible episodes, will not remain wholly unmoved by this epic tale, which, like all true poetry, consists essentially of rhythmic language that stirs the imagination. Following, then, is a literal rendering of the available text of the poem "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living":[17]

[17] Italics indicate doubtful translations. Words between parentheses are not in the Sumerian text but are added for purposes of clarification. Words between brackets are broken away and lost from the original, and are supplied by the author. Words between quotation marks represent literal translations of Sumerian words whose fuller implications are too uncertain to permit a more idiomatic rendering.

The lord, toward the land of the living set his mind,
The lord Gilgamesh, toward the land of the living set his mind,
He says to his servant Enkidu:
"O Enkidu, *not yet have the brick and stamp* brought forth *the fated end;*
I would enter the 'land,' I would set up my name,
In its places where the names (of the gods) have been raised up,
I would raise up my name,
In its places where the names have not been raised up,
I would raise up the names of the gods.

His servant Enkidu answers him:
"O my master, if thou wouldst enter the 'land,' inform Utu,
Inform Utu, the hero Utu—
The 'land,' it is Utu's charge,
The . . . cedar land, it is the hero Utu's charge—inform Utu."
Gilgamesh laid his hands on an all-white kid,
A *brown* kid, an offering, he pressed to his breast,
In his hand he placed the silver staff of his . . .,
He says to Utu of heaven:
"O Utu, I would enter the 'land,' be thou my ally
I would enter the . . . cedar land, be thou my ally."

Utu of heaven answers:
". . . verily thou art, but what art thou to the 'land'?"

[Gilgamesh answers him]:
"O Utu, a word I would speak to thee, to my word thy ear!
. . . I would speak to thee, give ear to it.
In my city man dies, oppressed is the heart,
Man perishes, heavy is the heart,
I *climbed* the wall,
Saw the dead bodies *floating on* the river,
As for me, I too, will be served thus; verily 'tis so.
Man, the tallest, cannot reach to heaven,
Man, the widest, cannot cover the earth,
Not (*yet*) *have brick and stamp* brought forth *the fated end,*
I would enter the 'land,' I would set up my name,
In its places where the names have been raised up,
I would raise up my name,
In its places where the names have not been raised up,
I would raise up the names of the gods."

Utu accepted his tears as an offering,
Like a man of mercy, he showed him mercy.

The seven heroes, the sons of one mother,
The first a . . . that . . . ,
The second, a viper that . . . ,
The third a dragon that . . . ,
The fourth, a *scorching fire* that . . . ,
The fifth, a *raging* snake that *turns the heart,* that . . . ,
The sixth, a destructive deluge that *floods* the . . . in the *land,*
The seventh, the speeding . . . [*lightning*] which cannot be [*turned back*],
These seven . . . ,
He (i. e. Utu) brings into the . . . of the mountains.

Who felled the cedar, *acted joyfully,*
The "lord" Gilgamesh *acted joyfully,*
In his city, as one man, *he* . . . ,
As two companions, *he* . . . :
"Who has a house, to his house! Who has a mother, to his mother!
[L]et single males who would do as I (do), fifty, stand by my side."

Who had a house, to his house! Who had a mother, to his mother!
Single males who would do as he (did), fifty, stood at his side.
To the house of the smiths he directed his step,
The . . . , the . . . ax, the "might of heroism," he caused to be cast there.
To the . . . garden of the plain he [directed] his step
The . . . tree, the *willow,* the *apple-tree,* the *box-tree,* the . . .-[tree], he *felled* there,
The "sons" of his city who accompanied him [*placed them*] in their hands.
The first, a . . . that . . . ,
*Hav*[*ing been brought*] in the . . . of the mountains,
The first mountain they cross, *he comes not* [*upon*] *his* . . . ;
Upon their crossing the seventh mountain,
. . . he did not *wander about,*
[The lord Gil]gamesh *fells* the cedar.

. . . *to* Gilgamesh,
. . . Gilgamesh . . . *brought,*
. . . *stretched out,*
. . . like . . . *seized,*
. . . set up for [hi]m,
[The "sons" of his city] who accompanied him,
. . . .
. . . *it is* a dream, . . . it is a sleep,
. . . silence . . .

He touches him, he rises not,
He speaks to him, he answers not:
"Who art lying, who art lying,

O Gilgamesh, 'lord,' son of Kullab, how long wilt thou lie!
*The 'land' has become dark*, the shadows have spread over it,
Dusk has [*brought forth*] its light,
Utu has gone with lifted head to the bosom of his mother Ningal,
O Gilgamesh, how long wilt thou lie!
Let not the 'sons' of thy city [who] have accompanied thee,
Stand *alongside of thee* at the foot of the mountain,
Let not thy mother who gave birth to thee be *driven off* to the 'square' of the city."

He gave heed,
*With* his "word of heroism" he [covered himself] like a garment
His garment of thirty shekels which *he carried in his hand*, he . . . on his breast,
Like a bull he stood on the "great earth,"
He put *his* mouth to the ground, *his teeth shook:*
"By the life of (the goddess) Ninsun, my mother who gave birth to me, of pure Lugalbanda, my father,
May *I be as one who sits to be wondered at on the knee* of Ninsun, my mother who gave birth to me."
A second time, moreover, he says to *him:*
"By the life of Ninsun, my mother who gave birth to me, of pure Lugalbanda, my father,
Until I will have . . . that 'man,' if he be a man,
(Until) I will have . . . him, if he be a god,
My step directed to the 'land,' I shall not direct to the city."

The *faithful* servant *pleaded*, . . . life,
He answers his master:
"O my master, thou who hast not seen that 'man,' are not terror-stricken,
I who have seen that 'man,' am terror-stricken.
The hero (i. e. Huwawa) his *teeth* are the *teeth* of a dragon,
His face is the face of a lion,
His . . . is the onrushing flood-water,
*From* his forehead which devours trees and reeds none escape.
O my master, journey thou to the land, I will journey to the *city*,
I will *tell* thy mother of thy *glory*, let her shout,
I will tell her of thy *ensuing* death, (*let her*) shed bitter tears."

105*a* [Gilgamesh answers his servant Enkidu]:
"*For me another* will not die, the *loaded* boat will not sink,
The three-ply cloth will not be cut,
The . . . will not be overwhelmed,
House *and* hut, fire *will* not destroy,
Do thou *help* me (and) I will *help* thee, what *can happen to us?*
After it had sunk, after it had sunk,
After the Magan-boat had sunk,
After the boat, the 'might *of* Magilum' had sunk
In the . . . , the boat of living creatures *are seated those who come out of the womb.*
Come, let us go forward, we will cast eyes upon him,
If we go forward,
(And) there be fear, (and) there be fear, turn it back,
(And) there be terror, (and) there be terror, turn it back,
. . . thy . . . , come, let us go forward."
Who is . . . is not at peace,
Huwawa, moreover, . . . his cedar house.
He fastened his eye upon him, the eye of death,
He *shook* his head at him, waved his head at him,
He *shouted* at him, . . .
Who are . . . men . . . not like. . . ,
Gilgamesh . . . ,
. . . .
. . . . Break of approximately 6 lines
"By the life [of Ninsun], my mother who gave birth to me, [of pure Lugalbanda, my father],
In the 'land' verily *I* know thy dwelling,
My little weak . . . , verily *I* have brought into the 'land' for thee as . . . ,
. . . in thy . . . I would *enter.*"

*He himself uprooted the first for him,*
The "sons" of his city who accompanied him,
Cut down its crown, bundle it,
Lay it at the foot of the mountain.
After *he himself* had *finished off* the seventh for him, he approached *his chamber*,
He . . . the "snake of the wine-quay" *in his wall*,
Like one pressing a kiss he slapped his cheek.

Huwawa, *his teeth shook*,
. . . his hand trembled:
". . . a word I would say to thee,
. . . [a mother] who gave birth to me I know not, my father who raised me I know not,
The highland (Hurrum) gave birth to me, *thou wilt* raise *me.*"

Gilgamesh swore by the life of heaven, life of the earth, life of the nether world,
Took him *by* the hand (saying): "*Do not prostrate thyself.*"
Then did the heart of Gilgamesh take pity on the . . . ,
He says to his servant Enkidu:
"O Enkidu, let the caught bird go (back) to its place,

Let the caught man return to the bosom of his mother."
Enkidu answers Gilgamesh:
"The tallest who has no judgment,
Namtar (Fate) will devour, Namtar who knows *no distinctions*.
(If) the caught bird goes (back) to its place,
(If) the caught man returns to the bosom of his mother,
Thou wilt not return to the city of the mother who gave birth to thee."
Huwawa says to Enkidu:
"Against me, O Enkidu, thou hast spoken evil to him,
O hired man *who* . . . the food, *who* stands next to the . . . *of* the rival, thou hast spoken evil to him."
When he had thus spoken,
They decree his fate,
*They seated him in skin and linen*,
They made him enter before Enlil and Ninlil.
Enlil brought forth his palace servant from the sea,
And Ninlil brought forth the . . .
When Enlil and Ninlil . . . :
"Why thus . . . ?
Let him come forth, let him . . . ,
. . . ."

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# Immortal Clay

## The Literature of Sumer

*Samuel Noah Kramer*

IT IS rare indeed that moderate literate man stops to contemplate the origin and significance of the artificial little symbols which he uses so readily and expertly in all the many forms of his written intercourse. The written word has long been part of his traditional heritage, to be cultivated and practiced without effort and hesitation. Of course, in comparison with the spoken word, whose beginnings go back so far that it is sheer folly to attempt even their approximate dating, the written word is a comparative newcomer in the story of man's cultural progress. It is only some five thousand years ago that the writing technique was invented; it is only in the relatively brief span of the last five millennia that it has been molded, sharpened and polished into an effective tool of communication. But these are the very millennia that mark many of man's most far-reaching social and spiritual achievements. And the written document, from the simplest economic notation to the most intricate literary composition, is to no small extent responsible for them.

The invention of writing and its gradual development into an effective medium of human communication took place more or less simultaneously in the two ancient civilizations now best known from their archaeological and inscriptional remains, in Sumer and Egypt. In Sumer it is fairly certain that the invention of writing came as the result of the expanding economic and administrative needs of the growing urban communities. For here, as early as 3000 B.C., we find crude pictographic clay tablets in-

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scribed with the oldest bits of economic and administrative memoranda known to man. It is in Sumer, too, that we have the rare opportunity of following the progressive steps in the growth of a system of writing from its early immature stage with its very large number of ideographic and pictographic signs, to the fully developed cuneiform script consisting of a relatively small number of highly conventionalized signs of purely syllabic character. For the various sites of early Sumer have actually yielded clay tablets from the successive writing stages of the first half of the third millennium B.C., and it is fascinating to follow the groping, step-by-step progress of the scribal fledglings through these early centuries.

It is not until the middle of the third millennium, however, that the Sumerian scribe begins to "feel his wings." While in the preceding centuries he has limited his medium to the simple memorandum and brief votive inscription on vase and statue, we now find him preparing highly complex building and dedicatory documents. His writing technique is now so flexible and plastic that he finds no difficulty in expressing the more complicated historical and hymnal patterns. And there is little doubt that in the course of the centuries that followed, from approximately 2500 to 2000 B.C., the Sumerian poets and scribes actually wrote down on clay tablets, prisms and cylinders, in their now mature cuneiform script, many of their literary creations. Our evidence on this point is meager but conclusive. Sooner or later, some of these early written compositions will be recovered in one or another of the ancient Sumerian cities by a fortunate excavator.

Be that as it may, it is not until we come to the first half of the second millennium B.C. that we actually find a vast group of Sumerian documents. These, when finally reconstructed and translated, will furnish an excellent cross-section of Sumerian literature, and provide us with what is by far the most significant source material for the study of Sumerian culture in its more spiritual aspect. It is from this period that we find scattered in our museums here and abroad, more than three thousand tablets and fragments inscribed with the Sumerian literary compositions. The documents range in size from large ten-column clay tablets in-

scribed with hundreds of compactly written lines of text, to extremely tiny fragments containing no more than a few broken lines. As for the compositions inscribed on these tablets and fragments — compositions that vary in length from myths of more than eight hundred lines to brief hymns of no more than twenty lines — they run into the hundreds.

In form as well as content, these compositions display a variety of type and genre which, considering the age of the culture involved, is as startling as it is revealing. Here in Sumer, a good millennium before the Hebrews wrote down much of their Bible, or the Greeks their Iliad and Odyssey, we find a rich, mature literature (here and throughout this paper the word literature is used in the more restricted sense of belles lettres) of such diverse literary kinds as epic tales and myths, hymns and laments — as well as a many-sided group of "wisdom" compositions, including proverbs, fables and other didactic types.

Turning first to the epic tales of Sumer, we find that these are by all odds the oldest representatives of epic poetry known to man. Of the numerous epic tales that must have been current in Sumer, some twelve can now be restored wholly or in part. To judge from our present evidence, they range in length from more than four hundred to less than two hundred lines. Hence it is preferable to designate them as "epic tales," rather than "epics," since the latter term has come to connote a composition of very considerable size. Nine of our twelve poems commemorate the deeds and adventures of the great Sumerian heroes Enmerkar, Lugalbanda and Gilgamesh, all of whom lived during Sumer's "heroic age," probably sometime about 3000 B.C. The remaining three revolve about a dragon-slaying motif, and are concerned with the feats and exploits of the Sumerian hero-god Ninurta and of Inanna, the goddess of war and love.

This Sumerian epic poetry has left its mark on the world's epic literature. It was this Sumerian material which their conquerors, the Babylonians, borrowed as the nucleus for their two now well-known national epics, the Epic of Gilgamesh, and the Epic of Creation. In two recently published studies I had the high privilege of tracing these two oldest examples of literary evolution

known to man, and of disentangling the original Sumerian motifs from those introduced by the Babylonian creative genius in integrating the relatively brief Sumerian tales into one large epic. In spite of the age of the cultures concerned, it is not without significance to note that the evidence was direct and concrete, and did not involve speculative assumptions and vague hypotheses. And while the Iliad and Odyssey are ever so far removed, in time as well as in form and content, from the Sumerian epic tales, there is little doubt that at least some of those characteristics that stamp them specifically as epic literature will be traced to Sumerian prototypes.

Let me quote the initial lines of a Sumerian epic tale concerned with Gilgamesh's journey to the land of the living, a passage particularly notable for effective understatement. The grandeur of the theme and its universal implications; the brief, unembroidered sketching of the details; the calm, even tone, and the uncomplaining temper — all combine to produce an effect of simple dignity and profound poignancy which is as rare as it is moving. It reads as follows:

The lord, toward the land of the living set his mind,
The lord Gilgamesh, toward the land of the living set his mind,
He says to his servant Enkidu:
"O Enkidu, not *yet have brick and stamp* * brought forth the *fated end*,
I would enter the land, I would set up my name,
In its places where the names [of the gods] have been raised up,
I would raise up my name,
In its places where the names have not been raised up, I would raise up
the names of the gods."

His servant Enkidu answers him:
"O my master, if thou wouldst enter the land, inform Utu [the sun-
god],
Inform Utu, the hero Utu,
Utu, the creature of the land,
Inform Utu, the hero Utu, the creature of the . . . cedar land."

Gilgamesh laid his hand on an all-white kid,
A *brown* kid as an offering he pressed to his breast,
In his hand he placed the silver staff of his . . . ,

* Italicized words represent doubtful translations.

He says to Utu of heaven:
"O Utu, I would enter the land, be thou my ally,
I would enter the . . . cedar land, be thou my ally."

Utu of heaven answers him:
"For the young men . . . verily thou art, but what art thou to the land?"

[Gilgamesh answers him:]
"O Utu, a word I would speak to thee, to my word [lend thine ear],
. . . I would speak to thee, give ear to it.
In my city man dies, oppressed is the heart,
Man perishes, heavy is the heart,
I climbed the wall,
Saw the . . . dead bodies *floating* on the river,
As for me, I too will be served thus, verily 'tis so.
Man, the tallest, cannot reach to heaven,
Man, the wisest, cannot cover the earth.
Not *yet have brick and stamp* brought forth the *fated end*,
I would enter the land, I would set up my name,
In its places where the names [of the gods] have been raised up,
I would raise up my name,
In its places where the names have not been raised up, I would raise up the names of the gods."

Utu accepted his tears as an offering,
Like a man of mercy, he showed him mercy.

Of the extant Sumerian myths, the majority are concerned with the organization of the universe and the establishment of the civilizing processes; others center about the creation of man, the deluge, the nether world and divine marriages. One need hardly be a solemn and learned Orientalist to note as he reads these myths that some of the Sumerian mythological motifs have their counterparts in the earlier portions of the Book of Genesis, in spite of the profound metamorphosis which these motifs underwent in their centuries of wandering from people to people until the genius of the Hebrew poets and scribes integrated them into their sacred books.

Here, for example, is a mythological passage basic for our understanding of the Sumerian creation concepts, one that is stylistically notable for the dexterous weaving of the repetition pattern characteristic of Sumerian poetry:

After heaven had been moved away from earth,
After earth had been separated from heaven,
After the name of man had been fixed;

After An [the heaven-god] had carried off heaven,
After Enlil [the air-god] had carried off earth,
After Ereshkigal [queen of the nether world] had been carried off *into* Kur [Hades] as its prize;

After he had set sail, after he had set sail,
After the father for Kur had set sail,
After Enki [the water-god] for Kur had set sail;

Against the king the small ones it [Kur] hurled,
Against Enki, the large ones it hurled,
Its small ones, stones of the hand,
Its large ones, stones of . . . reeds,
The keel of the boat of Enki,
In battle, like the attacking storm, overwhelm;

Against the king, the water at the head of the boat,
Like a wolf devours,
Against Enki, the water at the rear of the boat,
Like a lion strikes down.

Or let me quote a "golden age" passage whose contents, not without meaning in today's bloody context, no doubt left their impress on many an ancient man of letters:

In those days there was no snake, there was no scorpion, there was no *hyena*,
There was no lion, there was no *wild dog*, no wolf,
There was no fear, no terror,
Man had no rival.

In those days the land Shubur [East], the place of plenty, of righteous decrees,
*Harmony-tongued* Sumer [South], the great land of the "decrees of princeship,"
Uri [North], the land having all that is *needful*,
The land Martu [West], resting in security,
The whole universe, the people *in unison*,
To Enlil in one tongue *gave praise*.

A less solemn and more human note is struck in one of the passages in a myth centering about the great Sumerian water-

god Enki, and the ambitious, lusty goddess of love and war, Inanna, the Sumerian counterpart of the Semitic Ishtar, the Greek Aphrodite, and Roman Venus. This goddess Inanna had just traveled in her "boat of heaven" from her city Erech to Enki's city of Eridu. For she was anxious to obtain, by fair means or foul, the more than one hundred divine decrees under his charge, which — according to the more or less superficial speculations of the Sumerian poets and scribes — made up the warp and woof of Sumerian civilization.

In the course of the banquet arranged in her honor, the drunken and no doubt doting Enki presents them to her one by one. But after the effects of the banquet had worn off, Enki greatly rues his munificence, and decides to prevent the "boat of heaven" from reaching Erech. He therefore dispatches his messenger Isimud, together with a group of sea monsters, to follow Inanna and her boat to the first of the seven stopping stations situated between the Abzu of Eridu and Erech. Here follows the passage recording the rather lively "give and take" between Isimud and the angered Inanna, who reproaches Enki as an "Indian-giver":

"O my queen, thy father has sent me to thee,
O Inanna, thy father has sent me to thee,
Thy father, exalted is his speech,
Enki, exalted is his utterance,
His great words are not *to go unheeded.*"

Holy Inanna answers him:
"My father, what has he spoken to thee, what has he said to thee?
His great words that are not *to go unheeded*, what pray are they?"

"My king has spoken to me,
Enki has said to me:
'Let Inanna go to Erech,
But thou, bring me back the boat of heaven to Eridu.'"

Holy Inanna says to the messenger Isimud:
"My father, why pray has he changed his word to me,
Why has he broken his righteous word to me,
Why has he defiled his great words to me?
My father has spoken to me falsehood, has spoken to me falsehood,
Falsely has he uttered the name of his power, the name of the Abzu."

*Barely had she uttered these words,*
The sea monsters seized the boat of heaven.
Inanna says to her messenger Ninshubur:
"Come, my true messenger of Eanna,
My messenger of favorable words,
My carrier of true words,
Whose hand never falters, whose foot never falters,
Save the boat of heaven and Inanna's presented decrees."

The largest single group of compositions in the extant Sumerian literature is the hymnal. More than one hundred hymns varying in size from over three hundred to less than fifty lines can now be reconstructed wholly or in part. Though the basic pattern in all is hymnal, these compositions show a rich variety in both content and structure. They fall primarily into two groups, royal hymns and divine. The latter consist of songs of praise and exaltation to all the more important deities of the Sumerian pantheon. The royal hymns, frequently self-laudatory in character, sing the praises of the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur (according to the lowest chronology they reigned from approximately 2070 to 1960 B.C.) and those of the Isin Dynasty that followed them. Not a few of the divine hymns may also be designated as prayers, since interspersed throughout their basic hymnal content are brief petitions for a long life and happy reign of these same kings of Ur and Isin.

As to structure, the hymns are frequently divided into songs of varying length separated from each other by brief antiphonal responses; others consist of a number of four-line strophes. Not a few of the hymns weave a repeated refrain into their contents; still others break up into sections separated by liturgic rubrics of varying types. The hymns were divided by the ancient Sumerian scribes themselves into different groups and categories. At times, not unlike the hymns in the Book of Psalms, these varied with the type of musical instrument which accompanied them. And at the end of the composition, the ancient scribe often jotted down the specific category to which that particular hymn belonged. All in all, therefore, it is quite obvious that long before the compilation of the Biblical Book of Psalms, the literary men of Sumer had

developed and perfected temple and religious hymnography to a high, conscious art.

The lamentation is a type of tragic composition developed by the Sumerians to commemorate the not infrequent destruction of their cities and homes by the surrounding more barbaric peoples; it is the forerunner of such Biblical compositions as the Book of Lamentations. To judge from our available material, at least five such lamentations, each running into hundreds of lines, can now be restored wholly or in part. Three are concerned with the destruction of each of the three ancient centers: Ur (that is, Biblical Ur of the Chaldees); Nippur, long the spiritual and religious center of Sumer; and Agade, the capital of that part of Sumer which at a very early day came to be known as the land of Accad. The fourth laments the destruction of Sumer and Accad as a whole, while the fifth may for the moment be best described as the "weeping mother" type. In addition we have a large and unique group of Tammuz lamentations involving the mysteries of the dying god and his resurrection, the Tammuz laments whose Hebrew counterparts are denounced in the Book of Ezekiel as one of Israel's abominable acts.

We come finally to the "wisdom" compositions of the Sumerians, which — together with their Egyptian counterparts — are the prototypes of the Wisdom Literature current all over the Near East and best exemplified by the Biblical Book of Proverbs. Sumerian "wisdom" consists of a large number of brief, pithy and pointed proverbs and aphorisms. It includes a group of fables such as The Bird and the Fish, The Tree and the Reed, The Pickax and the Plow, Silver and Bronze. In addition we find a group of didactic compositions, long and short, several of which are devoted to a description of the process of learning the scribal art and of the advantages that flow from it, while at least one consists of instructions on matters agricultural, proffered by a farmer to his son.

So much for the structure and contents of the Sumerian belles lettres as found inscribed on the more than three thousand tablets and fragments now lying in the basements and storerooms of various museums in this country and abroad. Obviously enough,

they are the products of a fully conscious and highly sophisticated art developed over a long period of practice in creative writing. Our Sumerian literary compositions, therefore, represent a very material addition to the world's literature.

But they are of major significance for still another reason. The tablets on which they are inscribed belong to what the cuneiform scholars designate as the early post-Sumerian period, the period covered by the overlapping dynasties of the cities Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. Not so long ago, this period was dated by some cuneiformists as early as 2300–1900 B.C., and even the more conservative estimates reduced these dates by no more than a century or at most a century and a half. But as a result of the recent archaeological and inscriptional evidence analyzed by Sidney Smith of the British Museum and William Foxwell Albright of Johns Hopkins, the date of the early post-Sumerian period has been radically lowered to approximately 1960–1550 B.C. Some of our tablets, therefore, may have been written as early as the twentieth century B.C., while others may have been inscribed as late as the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, except in a few cases, no more precise dating within this broad period is as yet possible. What we may put down as certain, however, is this: the writing of our Sumerian literary tablets — the actual writing, let it be carefully noted, not the first *composition* of their contents which at least in some cases may go back to a considerably earlier day — took place sometime in the first half of the second millennium B.C. Our tablets, therefore, contain what is by all odds the oldest written literature of any significant amount ever uncovered. However, since this is a claim which is usually made for Egyptian literature — and it was quite justified as long as our Sumerian material remained a closed book — it is of some importance to look into this matter of comparative dating a little more closely; the facts are not uninstructive.

In Egypt, as in Sumer, writing was probably invented sometime about 3000 B.C. Indeed there is now a general tendency among Orientalists, Egyptologists as well as cuneiformists, to assume that the idea of writing — the idea, let it be stressed, not the particular system — was borrowed by the Egyptians from the

Sumerians. But the available evidence is of a purely circumstantial character, and by no means conclusive. Again, there is good reason to believe that in Egypt, just as in Sumer, the second half of the third millennium witnessed the creation of a very considerable written literature.

To be sure, our evidence is meager. Almost all that we have to go on are the so-called Pyramid Texts from the third quarter of the third millennium, and these have been characterized by Egyptologists as disjointed and diffused semi-magical spells, and so hardly rate as belles lettres. Nevertheless, their contents do reveal the existence at this early period in Egypt of complex hymnal and mythological patterns which presuppose considerable activity in the art of creative writing. Be that as it may, we can rest assured that during the Middle Kingdom — the period in Egyptian history that corresponds roughly to the early post-Sumerian period in which the Sumerian literary tablets were inscribed — the Egyptians had every bit as rich and varied a written literature as the Sumerians.

No doubt the two literatures, the Egyptian and the Sumerian, reflecting the diverging psychological, social and political directions of their creators, showed a number of significant differences. Thus it is not improbable that Egypt failed to develop the epic genre so popular in Sumer and, later, almost everywhere in the Near East. On the other hand, the Egyptians delighted in the narrative story, which seems to have no counterpart in Sumerian literature. Again, in Sumer the lamentation was molded into a significant literary type. Egypt, on the other hand, developed a characteristic genre of pessimistic composition which has as yet been found wanting in Sumer. Certainly Egypt at this time must have had a rich and varied group of wisdom compositions as well as a diversified collection of hymns.

Now while all this wealth of belles lettres can be adduced with reasonable certainty for the Egypt of the Middle Kingdom, the fact remains that the literary writings justifying this assumption date in the main from a considerably later day and age. When it comes to texts actually written down, like our Sumerian literary tablets, in the first half of the second millennium, these are found

to be disappointingly few. Quantitatively speaking, they are but a fraction of our corresponding Sumerian material. Thus, in the recently published volume, *The Legacy of Egypt*, Alan Gardiner, one of the greatest Egyptologist authorities of our day, after listing three narrative stories of considerable length, several compositions of the pessimistic genre, and three "wisdom" compositions, adds: "This concludes pretty well all that has survived from the Middle Kingdom, except the panegyric of a king and some fragments of songs and hymns."

Indeed, again according to Gardiner, even from the flourishing Eighteenth Dynasty — that is, approximately from 1573 to 1314 B.C. — hardly any original composition has survived. And the reason for the relative scarcity of the earlier Egyptian, as compared to Sumerian literary remains, is not far to seek. It is a consequence of nothing more relevant than the choice of the writing material by the scribes of the two peoples. While the Sumerians inscribed their literature on drab, uninviting, but at the same time almost indestructible clay, the Egyptians wrote theirs largely on smooth, attractive, but unfortunately far more perishable papyrus. For this reason, the future, too, it is safe to say, will see the uncovering of many more Sumerian than Egyptian literary remains.

The Egyptian and Sumerian literatures differ materially in yet another respect. The impact and impress of Sumerian belles lettres on the literatures of the peoples of Western Asia were far more pronounced than those of the Egyptians. As early as the second half of the third millennium B.C., the Semitic Accadians borrowed the Sumerian system of writing and adapted it to their own language. Later the Assyrian and Babylonian scribes and poets made the Sumerian language and literature the basic discipline of their scribal schools. Indeed the greater part of their literary activity consisted of selecting, modifying, molding and adapting the Sumerian mythological motifs and hymnal and "wisdom" patterns into new and at times more elaborate arrangements. The relationship of the Assyro-Babylonian literature to that of the Sumerians is even closer and more patent than that of the Latin literature to the Greek.

As for the other peoples of Western Asia — Elamites and Hurrians, Hittites, Canaanites and Amorites — these too borrowed at one time or another the cuneiform system of writing. The scribes of these peoples no doubt devoted considerable time and effort to the study of the Sumerian language and literature, although their major contact was with the Assyrian and Babylonian literary works. And so in the course of time, the belles lettres of all the more literate peoples of Western Asia, from Anatolia to the Persian Gulf, and from the Mediterranean Sea to the Zagros Mountains, were permeated with Sumerian literary motifs and patterns, a fact which is of course not without significance for the Greek and Hebrew literary evolution. No such widespread influence in Western Asia can be traced to Egyptian literature; only in Canaan does it leave a comparable imprint.

To sum up, our Sumerian literary tablets are inscribed with documents whose significance is threefold. As literary products ranking well up among the aesthetic creations of civilized man, they represent an impressive addition to the world's belles lettres. As mirrors reflecting the intellectual and spiritual life of the Sumerians, they help reconstruct the civilization of a people which for many centuries was the dominant cultural group in the Near East — a people whose influence came to be felt in language and literature, in law and politics, in religion and philosophy, in science and education. Finally, because of their age, and as a result of their impress on the literatures of their conquerors and neighbors, they abound in source material basic to all the humanities dedicated to the study of man's cultural evolution. It is the contents of these Sumerian documents which are now in the process of being reconstructed and restored. And unless the work is unexpectedly interrupted, there is good reason to hope that the coming decade will see the major part of the Sumerian belles lettres made available to the scholar and humanist.

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# NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

ONE of the more significant problems in the early history of the Near East revolves about the arrival of the Sumerians in Mesopotamia. Briefly put, it may be stated as follows: Were the Sumerians the first people to settle in Lower Mesopotamia, or were they preceded there by one or more ethnic groups? To be sure, in the course of the past several decades, the prehistoric levels of a number of important Mesopotamian sites have been excavated to some extent, and a not inconsiderable quantity of early remains have been brought to light. Unfortunately these new finds have not resolved the "Sumerian problem"; indeed they have served to divide the Near Eastern archaeologists into two diametrically opposed camps. Since this may seem rather strange to scholars not specializing in Mesopotamian archaeology, it will be useful to summarize the facts, if only in the briefest outline.[1]

The earliest cultural phase of Lower Mesopotamia is divided by general agreement in accordance with a number of pertinent archaeological criteria into two distinct periods, the Obeid period, the remains of which are always found immediately above virgin soil, and the Uruk period, the remains of which overlie those of the Obeid period. Moreover, and again by general agreement, the Uruk period itself is subdivided into two major stages, an earlier and a later. Now it is in the later stage of the Uruk period that we find the introduction of the cylinder seal as well as our first inscribed tablets. And since according to present indications the language represented on these tablets, in spite of the largely pictographic character of the signs, seems to be Sumerian, most archaeologists agree that the Sumerians must already have been in Lower Mesopotamia during the later stage of the Uruk period. It is with respect to the earlier part of the Uruk period and the still earlier Obeid period that we find a very serious conflict of views. From an analysis of the material remains of these earlier periods, the one group of archaeologists concludes that while their remains differ considerably from those of the later stage of the Uruk period, and of the periods which follow, they can nevertheless be recognized as the prototypes from which the latter developed, and since these latter are admittedly Sumerian, the earliest remains, too, must be attributed to the Sumerians; hence the Sumerians were the first settlers in Mesopotamia. On the other hand, another group of archaeologists, after analyzing practically identical archaeological data, arrives at an exactly opposite conclusion. For these claim that while the remains

[1] For lucid and basic statements of the problems involved, cf. Frankfort, *Archaeology and the Sumerian Problem* (*SAOC*, iv), and Speiser, *The Beginnings of Civilization in Mesopotamia* (*JAOS*, supplement 4). To the literature cited in note 1 of Speise'rs study, add now especially Andrae in Walter Otto's *Handbuch der Archäologie*, pp. 643–678; McCown, *The Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran* (*SAOC*, xxiii); Delougaz and Lloyd, *Presargonid Temples in the Diyala Region* (*OIP*, lviii); Frankfort's "Introduction" to Lloyd and Safar's report on Tell Uqair (*JNES*, ii, pp. 131–134); Van der Meer, "The Al-Obeid Culture and Its Relation to the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods" (*Jaarbericht no. 8 van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap Ex Oriente Lux*, pp. 708–721); Mallowan, *Excavations at Braq and Chagar Bazar* (*Iraq*, ix, part 1); Burton-Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History;* Lloyd's "Introduction" to Fuad Safar's report on Eridu (*Sumer*, iii, no. 2, pp. 85–95); Van der Meer, *The Ancient Chronology of Western Asia and Egypt.*

The following abbreviations are used in addition to those appearing in *AJA*, li, pp. 348 ff.: *AS, Assyriological Studies; OECT, Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts; ZA, Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

of the earliest periods do show certain similarities to those of the later and admittedly Sumerian periods, the differences between them are significant enough to indicate a major ethnic break between the later stage of the Uruk period and the preceding phases, and since the former is Sumerian, the latter must be attributed to a pre-Sumerian culture in Lower Mesopotamia; hence the Sumerians were not the first settlers in that region.

It is obvious from the preceding summary, brief as it is, that as a result of the unavoidably subjective interpretation of the material archaeological evidence leading to two diametrically opposed conclusions, the solution of the "Sumerian problem" has reached more or less of an impasse. The present paper presents new evidence to show that not only were the Sumerians not the first in the land, but that they were preceded there by a more civilized power of considerable magnitude. Fortunately enough this new evidence has nothing to do with the highly ambiguous material remains of prehistoric Mesopotamia; it is of a purely literary and historical character. Moreover, it permits a fresh insight into the role played by the Sumerians in the earlier history of Lower Mesopotamia and sheds no inconsiderable light on that of the Near East as a whole.

The realization of the existence of this literary evidence came about as follows. In preparation for what is hoped to be the second of the seven-volume series of *Studies in Sumerian Culture*,[2] several years have been spent by me piecing together and reconstructing the extant texts of the Sumerian epic tales. At present there are available about a hundred clay tablets and fragments inscribed with Sumerian epic poetry; almost all date from the first half of the second millennium B.C. The great majority of these documents were excavated by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur some fifty years ago and are now located in the University Museum at Philadelphia and in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul. From all these tablets and fragments, published and unpublished, it is now possible to piece together wholly or in part nine epic tales, the extant texts of which vary in length from a little over one hundred to more than six hundred lines. Two of these epic tales revolve about the hero Enmerkar; two concern the hero Lugalbanda; five center about the most famous of the three heroes, Gilgamesh. A preliminary sketch of their contents appeared in a study entitled "Heroes of Sumer: A New Heroic Age in World History and Literature" (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. xc, no. 2, pp. 120–130);[3] the scientific editions, including autograph copies of the unpublished texts in the University Museum and in the Museum of the Ancient Orient, are now in the process of preparation.[4]

In the course of this concentrated work on the Sumerian epic tales, it became ever more clear that early in their history, the Sumerians had passed through a cultural stage now commonly known as a Heroic Age. This fact turned out to be quite revealing. For, once the existence of a Sumerian Heroic Age had been determined, it was possible to adduce its cultural pattern and historic background on analogy with such long known Heroic Ages as those of the Greek, Indian, and Teutonic peoples. The results of this comparative analysis, in turn, proved highly significant for the possible resolution of the "Sumerian problem," and permitted a reinterpretation of the earliest history of Mesopotamia which may prove closer to the truth than those suggested hitherto. Let us turn therefore to a brief analysis of the various Heroic Ages.

[2] Cf. the preface to my *Sumerian Mythology*.

[3] For a more recent sketch of the epic tale "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," resulting from the copying of a twelve column tablet in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in the fall of 1946, cf. my "Interim Report of Work in the Museum at Istanbul" (*BASOR*, civ, pp. 8–12).

[4] Cf. for the present, *Gilgamesh and the Huluppu Tree* (*AS*, x), "The Death of Gilgamesh" (*BASOR*, xciv, pp. 2–12), and "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living" (*JCS*, i, pp. 3–46).

It is largely to the credit of the English scholar H. Munro Chadwick[5] that it is now generally realized that the so-called Heroic Ages which we come upon from time to time and from place to place in the history of civilization are not mere figments of the literary imagination, but represent very real and very significant social phenomena. Thus, to take only three of the more ancient and better known examples, there is the Teutonic Heroic Age which dominated much of northern Europe from the fourth to the sixth century A.D.; the Greek Heroic Age which flourished on the mainland of Greece toward the very end of the second millennium B.C.,[6] and finally the Heroic Age of India which probably dates only a century or so later than that of Greece. These three Heroic Ages reveal a marked and significant resemblance in social structure, governmental organization, religious concepts, and aesthetic expression; it is obvious that they owe their origin and being to very similar social, political, and psychological factors. The Sumerian Heroic Age now being revealed in its epic literature probably had its *floruit* no later than the first quarter of the third millennium B.C. Although it therefore precedes by more than a millennium and a half even the oldest of the three Indo-European Heroic Ages, that of the Greeks, it follows with remarkable closeness the culture pattern typical for those long known epochs.

Now the most characteristic feature of all four of our Heroic Ages is this: they represent a rather barbarous[7] cultural stage in the life of a people which has come far indeed from the primitive but has not yet attained the maturity and stability of a civilized society. Its dominant element is a rather numerous military class which prefers the soldierly life to agriculture and labor, and to whom the underlying bulk of the population counts for very little. It is these knightly aristocrats who have freed themselves from the tribal obligations and ideas which govern the more primitive peoples. At the same time they have developed no true national organization and are inspired by little if any national feeling; their success

[5] Cf. H. Munro Chadwick, *The Heroic Age;* H. Munro and N. Kirshaw Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature.*

[6] It is to be noted that the statements made in this paper with regard to the Greek Heroic Age are based on Chadwick's conclusions. My colleague John Franklin Daniel informs me that Chadwick's view, that the Achaeans were the people who invaded Greece and destroyed the Mycenaean civilization in the twelfth century B.C., is not likely to meet with general acceptance among students of early Greece. Daniel prefers to attribute this invasion to the Dorians, and suggests that the Achaeans be identified with the people who invaded the Greek mainland at the beginning of the Middle Helladic period, *ca.* 2000 B.C. This alternative hypothesis would fit into Chadwick's pattern and furnishes an apt parallel to the Sumerian development described below. The newcomers of the Middle Helladic period soon came into contact with the older and richer Minoan civilization of Crete, which influenced them profoundly. Gathering strength on land and becoming a maritime power, probably under Minoan tutelage, the mainlanders had become serious rivals of the Minoans by the sixteenth century B.C., and had wrested control of the Aegean from Crete by the fourteenth century. The Heroic Age falls a century or two later, with the expedition against Troy placed in the early twelfth century.

[7] Barbaric, primitive, and civilized societies are differentiated by Chadwick as follows: "By primitive we mean the conditions of a local community which is sufficient for itself and dependent upon its own resources, whether it live by hunting or by cultivation of the earth. It may be wholly independent, or it may be subject, or perhaps tributary, to some dominant power—which itself may be barbarous or civilized, but no external relations are necessary for its own sake. By civilized we mean the conditions of a society which is dependent for its existence—for the maintenance of its civilization—upon relations with the wide world. Barbaric society as we understand it, lies between these two extremes. The local community is one of a number of similar communities which are grouped together under a king or political organization. Each community contains an element which is in intimate and necessary relation with elements in other local communities. These elements are the more typically barbaric elements; sometimes they form an upper class. External relations with other groups vary both in character and degree, but are never entirely wanting. When external relations become a permanent necessity and widespread, the result is what we call civilization" (Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, iii, p. 728).

and failure depend upon the personal prowess of their leaders and kings whom they follow readily into all sorts of adventurous undertakings, but from whom they are ready to drift away if these tend to turn too peaceful or to become ungenerous in their rewards.

If now we analyze the genesis and growth of the three Indo-European Heroic Ages—and here again it is Chadwick's work which is fundamental—and then apply the results of this analysis to the analogous Sumerian Heroic Age, we come upon a group of data that are significant and revealing not alone for the early history of Lower Mesopotamia but for that of the ancient Near East as a whole. For the factors primarily responsible for the more characteristic features of the Greek, Indian, and Teutonic Heroic Ages are two. In the first place these Heroic Ages coincide with a period of national migrations, a Völkerwanderungszeit. Secondly—and this is by far the more significant factor—these peoples, that is, the Achaeans, the Aryas, and the Teutons, while still on a relatively primitive and tribal level, had come in contact with a civilized power in the process of disintegration. Particularly as mercenaries in the military service of this power during its struggle for survival we find them absorbing the military technique, and to a superficial extent, some of the cultural accomplishments of their far more civilized neighbor. It is when they finally break through the frontiers of this civilized empire and carve out kingdoms and principalities for themselves within its territory, amassing considerable wealth in the process, that they develop that rather adolescent and barbaric cultural stage known as a Heroic Age.

Thus to take as an example the Heroic Age the historical antecedents of which are best known, the Teutonic Heroic Age, we find in the first place that it coincided with a period of national migrations. But more significantly, for a number of centuries preceding their Heroic Age, the relatively primitive Teutonic peoples had come in contact with the far more civilized but ever weakening Roman Empire, and had been subjected to its cultural influences, particularly no doubt as hostages in its court and as mercenaries in its armies. By the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. these Teutonic peoples had succeeded in occupying most of the territories which had formerly been part of the Roman Empire, and these are the two centuries that mark the *floruit* of the Teutonic Heroic Age.

If now we assume that the factors responsible for the origin and development of the Sumerian Heroic Age were analogous to those responsible for the origin and development of the Greek, Indian, and Teutonic Heroic Ages—and there seems to be no reason to assume otherwise—we may conclude in the first place that it must have coincided with a period of national migrations. More important, the occupation of Lower Mesopotamia by the Sumerians, which gave birth to their Heroic Age, must have marked the culminating stage in a historical process which had begun several centuries earlier, when Lower Mesopotamia was still part of a power whose state of civilization was far more advanced than that of the Sumerians who were settled somewhere along its outer fringes. It is from this more civilized power that the relatively primitive Sumerians, no doubt largely as mercenaries in its military employ, had absorbed in the course of time some of the essentials of its military technique as well as some of its more superficial cultural attainments. Finally, the Sumerians succeeded in breaking through the frontiers of this power, occupying a considerable portion of its territory, and amassing considerable wealth in the process; it is this period which marks the *floruit* of their Heroic Age. In short, as a result of the determining of the existence of a Sumerian Heroic Age, we seem justified in drawing the very significant conclusion that the Sumerians were *not* the first settlers in Lower Mesopotamia. Indeed the Sumerians must actually have been preceded by a civilized power of some magnitude, certainly one that was far more advanced culturally than the Sumerians, who, at the time they superseded it, that is, in the centuries immediately preceding the Sumerian Heroic Age, must still have

been a primitive people. As for what is generally spoken of as "Sumerian" civilization, that civilization which played so predominant a role in the Ancient Near East, and whose influence persisted long after the Sumerians had ceased to exist as a political entity, it must be looked upon as the product of some five or six centuries of cultural activity *following* the immature and barbaric Sumerian Heroic Age. It resulted no doubt from a constructive application of the Sumerian genius to the material and spiritual heritage of the pre-Sumerian civilization in Southern Mesopotamia.

With this fresh insight into the cultural morphology of early Lower Mesopotamia, let us now attempt to reconstruct the major outlines of its history; in spite of its necessarily oversimplified character, this tentative and hypothetical reconstruction should prove of considerable value for the interpretation and integration of the relevant archaeological material already unearthed in Southern Mesopotamia as well as of that still to be unearthed. From the days of the first settlements to those of the great Accadian king Sargon, who may be said to mark the end of Sumerian political domination in the land, the history of Lower Mesopotamia may be divided into two major periods, the pre-Sumerian, which, as will soon become evident, may perhaps be more positively named the Irano-Semitic,[8] and the Sumerian.

The pre-Sumerian period began as a peasant-village culture; as is now generally agreed, it was introduced into Lower Mesopotamia by immigrants from southwestern Iran, noted particularly for their specialized type of painted pottery.[9] Not long after the establishment of the first settlement by the Iranian immigrants, the Semites probably infiltrated into Southern Mesopotamia both as peaceful immigrants and as warlike conquerors. It is probably largely as a result of the fusion of these two ethnic groups, the Iranians from the east and the Semites from the west, and the consequent cross-fertilization of their cultures, that there came into being the first civilized *urban* state in Lower Mesopotamia. As in the case of the later Sumerian civilization, it consisted of a group of city states between which there was continual strife for supremacy over the land as a whole. But now and again through the centuries relative unity and stability were no doubt achieved, at least for a brief interval. At such times, this Mesopotamian power, in which the Semitic element was no doubt predominant, must have succeeded in extending its influence over many of the surrounding districts, and developed what may well have been the first empire in the Near East, perhaps even the first empire in the history of civilization. Part of the territory which this empire came to dominate both culturally and politically no doubt consisted of the more westerly parts of the Iranian plateau including the country later known as Elam. It was in the course of these political activities and their accompanying military campaigns that the Mesopotamian state first came in conflict with the Sumerians. For this primitive and probably nomadic people which may have erupted from either Transcaucasia or Transcaspia, was pressing upon the districts of western Iran, the "buffer" states between the civilized Mesopotamian empire and the barbarians beyond, and these had to be defended at all costs. In their first encounters there is little doubt that the Mesopotamian forces with their superior military technique, were more than a match for the Sumerian hordes. But, in the long run, it was the mobile primitive Sumerians who had the advantage over their more civilized sedentary adversary. Over the years, as captive hostages in Mesopotamian cities, and as mercenaries in the Mesopotamian armies, the Sumerian warriors learned what they needed most of the more advanced military techniques of their captors and hirers. And as the

[8] The term is useful in spite of the fact that it combines a name which is primarily geographical with one which is primarily linguistic.

[9] Cf. particularly McCown, *SAOC*, xxiii, pp. 36–42.

Mesopotamian power weakened and tottered, the Sumerians poured through the buffer states of western Iran, and invaded Lower Mesopotamia itself, where they took over as masters and conquerors.[10]

Turning now from the pre-Sumerian, or Irano-Semitic period in the earlier history of Lower Mesopotamia, to the following Sumerian period, the latter, too, is found to consist of three cultural stages, the preliterate, the proto-literate, and the early-literate. The first, or preliterate stage of the Sumerian period, begins with an era of stagnation and regression in the wake of the collapse of the earlier and more advanced Irano-Semitic civilization, and the incursion of the Sumerian barbaric war-bands into Lower Mesopotamia. During these centuries which culminated in the Sumerian Heroic Age, it was the culturally immature and psychologically unstable Sumerian war lords with their highly individualistic and predatory dispositions who held sway over the sacked cities and burnt villages of the first vanquished Mesopotamian empire. Moreover these Sumerian invaders were themselves at first far from secure in their new Mesopotamian habitat. For it would seem that not long after they had made themselves masters in the land, new nomadic hordes from the western desert, Semitic tribes known as the Martu, "who knew not grain"[11], poured into Lower Mesopotamia. As late as the days of Enmerkar and Lugalbanda, that is, in the heyday of the Sumerian Heroic Age, the struggle between these desert barbarians and the but recently "citified" Sumerians was still raging. Under these circumstances it is hardly likely that the times immediately following the arrival of the Sumerian hordes were conducive to progress in the economic and technological fields, or to creative efforts in the fields of art and architecture. Only in the literary field may we assume a marked creative activity on the part of the illiterate court minstrels who were moved to improvise and compose their oral epic lays for the entertainment of their lords and masters.

It is when we come to the second or proto-literate stage of the Sumerian period that we

[10] To use the more customary archaeological terminology, the first stage of the pre-Sumerian period corresponds perhaps to Uruk XVIII–XVII; the second stage perhaps to Uruk XVI–XV; the third stage perhaps to Uruk XIV–VIII. The most significant feature of this tentative reconstruction of the earliest history of Lower Mesopotamia is the assumed existence of a highly civilized urban state prior to that of the Sumerians; it follows of course only if the existence of a Sumerian Heroic Age has been correctly adduced and if its causes and antecedents have been properly analyzed. So high a civilization naturally implies the existence of monumental architecture in the more important sites of Lower Mesopotamia during the centuries represented by Uruk XIV–VIII; the pits and shafts excavated to date are unfortunately non-committal on this all important matter, but cf. now the prehistoric temples VI and VII excavated at Eridu (*Sumer*, iii, no. 2, pp. 84–111). It is not altogether impossible that this pre-Sumerian civilization may have had some form of writing; however, if the materials used consisted of such perishable stuff as wood or skin, it may be beyond recovery. The hypothesis that the first empire in Lower Mesopotamia was predominantly Semitic is based in the first place on the later pattern of Lower Mesopotamian history. Moreover it is not impossible that the Sumerian king list (cf. now Jacobsen's very useful compilation, *The Sumerian King List*, *AS*, xi) which gives for the first dynasty of Kish, that is, the first dynasty after the flood, a list of kings whose names are in large part Semitic, reflects a tradition based at least partially on fact (Kish must therefore have existed in the pre-Sumerian period in spite of the present dearth of archaeological evidence). Finally there are a number of Semitic loan words in the older Sumerian texts which point to a Semitic speaking people as the ruling ethnic group immediately preceding the Sumerians; for the present, cf. Poebel in *ZA*, 39, p. 149, note 2 (Frankfort's argument in *SAOC*, iv, p. 43, is based of course mainly on the assumption that the Sumerians were the first to settle in Lower Mesopotamia). As for the struggle between the civilized pre-Sumerian Mesopotamian power and the Sumerian barbarians settled on its utmost fringes, cf. the pertinent and illuminating parallel instances in the history of civilization gathered by Toynbee in vol. v of his *Study of History*.

[11] Cf. e.g. Langdon, *The H. Weld-Blundell Collection in the Ashmolean Museum* (*OECT*, i) pl. 6, col. ii, line 13.

find the Sumerians firmly planted and deeply rooted in their new land; it was perhaps in the course of this cultural phase that the name Sumer first came to be applied to Lower Mesopotamia. By this time the more stable elements of the ruling caste, particularly the court and temple administrators and intellectuals, were coming to the fore. There was now a strong movement for "law and order" in the land, as well as an awakening of the community spirit and patriotic pride. Moreover, the rather unusually fruitful fusion, both ethnic and cultural, of the Sumerian conquerors with the vanquished but more civilized native population, brought about a creative spurt that was fraught with significance not alone for Sumer but for Western Asia as a whole. It was during this cultural stage that architecture was developed to a new high level. And this was the time that probably witnessed the invention of writing, an event which proved to be the decisive factor in molding the Near East into a cultural unit in spite of its diverse and polyglot ethnic elements.[12] For this Sumerian system of writing in its later conventionalized form was borrowed by practically all the more cultured peoples of Western Asia. As a result, the study of the Sumerian language and literature became a major discipline in the narrowly restricted but highly influential "literate" circles of the ancient Near East. It was this leaven of Sumerian achievement on the intellectual and spiritual plane—note that the "Sumerian" achievements were actually the product of at least three ethnic groups, the proto-Iranian, Semitic, and Sumerian—that raised the Near Eastern ethos to a new high point in the early history of civilization.

The last, or early-literate cultural stage of the Sumerian period witnessed the further development and continued maturing of the material and spiritual achievements which originated in the main in the preceding and more creative proto-literate stage. Particularly in the matter of writing, the largely pictographic and ideographic script of the preceding era was molded and modified over the years into a thoroughly conventionalized and purely phonetic system of writing; by the end of this period it could already be utilized for even the more complex historical compositions.[13] It is probably during this early-literate stage, or perhaps even towards the end of the preceding proto-literate phase, that strong Sumerian dynasties first came into being. In spite of the constant strife between city and city for the hegemony over Sumer, some of them did succeed, if only for brief intervals, in extending the political boundaries of Sumer considerably beyond Lower Mesopotamia itself. There thus came into being what might be termed the second—and this time predominantly Sumerian—empire in the history of the Near East.[14] Finally, the Sumerian empire, like its presumably

[12] Cf. particularly Speiser's illuminating comment in *JAOS*, supplement 4, pp. 25–28.

[13] Cf. Thureau Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 10–59, 152–156, and Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, p. 19 and plate III.

[14] This Sumerian empire may have been every bit as extensive as that attributed to Sargon of Accad or to the Third Dynasty of Ur; cf. e.g. the seven countries listed as under the sway of Lugalannimundu, king of Adab, in the early post-Sumerian text published by Poebel and translated by Güterbock (for references see now Jacobsen, *AS*, xi, p. 102, note 183); they extend from the Zagros or even beyond, to the Mediterranean Sea. As for the approximate date of Lugalannimundu, note that, if the king list is to be trusted at all at this point, his reign preceded by a considerable margin that of UR-UR of Akshak. Even on the assumption of a very considerable overlapping of the dynasties of Adab, Mari, Kish III–IV, and Akshak, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that Lugalannimundu of Adab preceded UR-UR of Akshak by some one hundred years. Now it is not at all unlikely that this king UR-UR of Akshak is to be identified with ZU-ZU, the king of Akshak who was defeated by Eannatum of Lagash (cf. now Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 181) for according to a verbal suggestion made by Poebel more than ten years ago, UR-UR is to be read zu(r)-zu(r), just as e.g. UR-šanabi is to be read zu(r)-šanabi (cf. Poebel, *JAOS*, lvii, p. 54, note 22, where a future study on the subject is alluded to; cf. also Jacobsen in *OIP*, lviii, p. 203; note that, if the identification UR-UR with zu-zu proves correct, the synchronistic

Semitic predecessor, weakened and crumbled. As a result of the continued infiltration into the land, the Semitic Accadians became ever more powerful, until with the reign of Sargon, which may be said to mark the beginning of the Sumero-Accadian period, we come to the close of the Sumerian period.[15]

In conclusion it may prove of value to attempt to assign, ever so roughly to be sure, absolute dates to the cultural stages outlined in the preceding reconstruction of the earliest history of Lower Mesopotamia, particularly since of late a tendency to an overlong chronology is again manifesting itself.[16] Let us start with Hammurabi and assign the beginning of his reign to the middle of the eighteenth century B.C.[17] Since the interval between the be-

arrangement of the table at the end of *AS*, xi, will need very considerable revision). Now if Lugalannimundu of Adab preceded UR-UR of Akshak by a century, and if the latter was a contemporary of Eannatum of Lagash, Lugalannimundu should be dated before Ur-Nanse; indeed it is not altogether impossible that he antedates Mesannipadda, the founder of Ur I. Certainly it is not at all unlikely that, in spite of their position in the king list, the dynasties of Awan, Kish II, Ḫamazi, and Erech II with their incredibly long reigns, not to mention a goodly number of rulers altogether unlisted in the king list, are to be placed between Gilgamesh of Erech I, and Mesannipadda of Ur I. For if the conclusions drawn in the earlier part of this study are correct, the Enmerkar-Lugalbanda-Gilgamesh era is to be identified as the Sumerian Heroic Age, a barbaric form of society flourishing toward the end of the first, or preliterate, stage of the Sumerian period. Ur I, on the other hand, shows Sumerian civilization in a highly mature form; even the system of writing had already progressed to a purely phonetic and conventionalized script. The time interval between these two eras, or more concretely, between Gilgamesh, the hero of Erech, and Mesannipadda, the first ruler of Ur, cannot possibly be some thirty or forty years (cf. the table at the end of *AS*, 11); it is much more likely to be closer to four hundred years. As for the factors which induced the compilers of the king list to enumerate the earlier dynasties in the particular order chosen, and to attribute to them the unusually large number of reigning years, these still remain quite obscure.

[15] In more customary archaeological terminology, the preliterate stage of the Sumerian period corresponds perhaps to Uruk VII–VI; the proto-literate, perhaps to Uruk V–III (the term "proto-literate" was introduced in *OIP*, lviii, p. 8, note 10, where, however, it is made to correspond with Uruk VII–III); the early-literate period corresponds to the early-dynastic (for the three major subdivisions of the latter, cf. especially Frankfort, *OIC*, xx). The most significant feature of this reconstruction of the Sumerian period in the early history of Lower Mesopotamia consists of the treatment of the Enmerkar-Lugalbanda-Gilgamesh era, that is, the larger part of the first half of the first dynasty of Erech, as a barbaric and illiterate Heroic Age, which is to be separated from the days of Ur I and its highly mature and relatively literate civilization by a very considerable time-span, one which includes the entire length of the proto-literate period and approximately the first half of the early-literate (or early-dynastic) stage; cf. the preceding note.

[16] Cf. especially *OIP*, lviii, pp. 123–135, where the combined length of the Jemdet Nasr (i.e. the period there labelled as proto-literate c and d) and early-literate (i.e. early-dynastic) is estimated to be more than eleven centuries. The calculations in support of this rather unexpectedly long time-span are based on the precarious assumption that the walls of the Sin temple in Khafajah were replastered *annually*, in view of the fact that "annual replastering of the roofs and exposed walls of buildings of this type at the end of each summer in preparation for the winter rains is still a very common annual routine in the Near East" (*OIP*, lviii, p. 127). But even if this "wall-plastering" criterion were reliable, we might perhaps be not unjustified in assuming a *semi-annual* plastering for so important a building as the Sin temple; the combined length of the Jemdet Nasr and early-literate periods would thus be cut in half, that is, to about five and one half centuries. If we take the Sumerian system of writing into consideration, it seems quite incredible to assume that it took some eleven centuries to evolve from its Jemdet Nasr stage to that exemplified by the inscriptions of Sargon's predecessor and victim, Lugalzaggisi; some five to six centuries would seem to be a far more reasonable estimate.

[17] For a summary of the problems involved and the pertinent references, cf. Sidney Smith, *AJA*, xlix, pp. 17–23. On the data available at present it seems difficult to decide between the conflicting views, and the date 1750 for the beginning of Hummurabi's reign is merely a makeshift compromise which may prove to be some four decades off one way or the other.

ginning of Hammurabi's reign and that of Sargon of Accad is approximately five and one half centuries,[18] Sargon's rule began some time about 2300 B.C. If now we attribute some four centuries to the early-literate stage of the Sumerian period,[19] its beginning would reach back to approximately 2700 B.C. The preceding proto-literate stage probably did not last longer than about two centuries,[20] and the barbaric Sumerian Heroic Age which it followed may therefore perhaps be best assigned to the first century of the third millennium B.C. As for the first arrival of the conquering but primitive Sumerians in Lower Mesopotamia, it must have taken place in the course of the last quarter of the fourth millennium B.C.[21] If we further attribute some five to six centuries to the Irano-Semitic civilization,[22] the first settlements in Lower Mesopotamia may have taken place in the course of the first quarter of the fourth millennium B.C.

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[18] Cf. Christian, *AOF*, v, pp. 139–141, and now especially Jacobsen, *AS*, xi, pp. 204–208, and the table at the end of *AS*, xi (the overlong *absolute* dates are of no significance for this particular purpose).

[19] The evolution of the Sumerian system of writing from the stage exemplified by the archaic Ur tablets to that exemplified by the Lugalzaggisi inscriptions speaks in favor of this shorter time-span. Note, too, that on the archaeological side, Frankfort, *JRAS*, 1937, p. 337, attributes less than five centuries to the early-dynastic period.

[20] A time-span of two centuries seems to be rather ample for the evolution of the Sumerian system of writing from its first beginnings to its Jemdet Nasr stage.

[21] That is, the preliterate state of the Sumerian period, corresponding perhaps to Uruk VII–VI, began sometime in the last quarter of the fourth millennium B.C. and ended sometime in the first quarter of the third millennium B.C.

[22] That is, perhaps Uruk XVI–VIII.

Gilgamesh and Agga
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# GILGAMESH AND AGGA

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

WITH COMMENTS BY THORKILD JACOBSEN

*Plates I–III*

PROBABLY the most significant piece of creative writing in the ancient Near East is the long known Semitic epic poem commonly called "The Epic of Gilgamesh." Divided over twelve tablets, its text originally consisted of more than three thousand lines written in the cuneiform script and in the Semitic language now usually designated as Accadian. It is particularly remarkable for its plot-structure; a number of episodes in the restless, adventurous life of the hero Gilgamesh are integrated with no little skill into a relatively long and intricate epic tale, probably the first of such size and complexity in the history of epic literature. Moreover, this Babylonian product was current all over the ancient Near East; fragments of the epic written in the Accadian, Hittite, and Hurrian languages have been excavated in Boghaz Keui, in central Anatolia. In modern days, quite a number of cuneiformists have devoted much of their time and effort to the copying, translating, and interpreting of the poem; among the better known of these are George Smith and Paul Haupt, Peter Jensen and Campbell Thompson.

Now while on the whole the Epic of Gilgamesh may be accurately described as a Semitic literary creation, not a little of its contents goes back to Sumerian sources. Available at present, wholly or in part, are the texts of five Sumerian epic tales concerned with the deeds and adventures of the hero Gilgamesh; an analysis of their contents reveals that, while there was no Sumerian original for the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh as a whole, several of the individual episodes and motifs can be traced back to Sumerian prototypes.[1] However, by no means all of the Sumerian tales concerned with Gilgamesh were utilized by the Semitic authors and redactors of the Epic of Gilgamesh; it is one of these tales, an epic poem of which there is not a trace in the Semitic work, that forms the basis of the present study.

This Sumerian poem, which for reasons that will soon become obvious may be entitled "Gilgamesh and Agga," is one of the shortest of all Sumerian epic tales; it consists of no more than 115 lines of text. In spite of its brevity, however, it is of unusual significance from several points of view. In the first place, its plot deals with humans only; unlike the rest of the Sumerian epic tales, it introduces no mythological motifs involving any of the Sumerian deities. Secondly, it is of considerable historical importance since it provides a number of hitherto unknown facts concerning the early struggle between the cities of Kish and Erech. More important still is the implication of these new bits of data for modern historical methodology, for, interestingly enough and quite unintentionally of course, they help the present-day Orientalist to evaluate more intelligently his ancient source material and recognize some of its hidden pitfalls. Thus, one of the most important documents for the reconstruction of the earlier history of Sumer is the so-called "Sumerian King List."[2] According to this document, the first dynasty in Lower Mesopotamia immediately following

[1] Cf. the writer's "The Epic of Gilgamesh and Its Sumerian Sources," *JAOS*, lxiv, 1944, pp. 7–23 (also "Brief Communication" in *JAOS*, lxiv, 1944, p. 83) for a detailed discussion of the problem, as well as an outline of the contents of the Epic of Gilgamesh and of the relevant Sumerian material.

[2] Cf. now Jacobsen's valuable study, *The Sumerian King List* (*AS* no. 11, 1939).

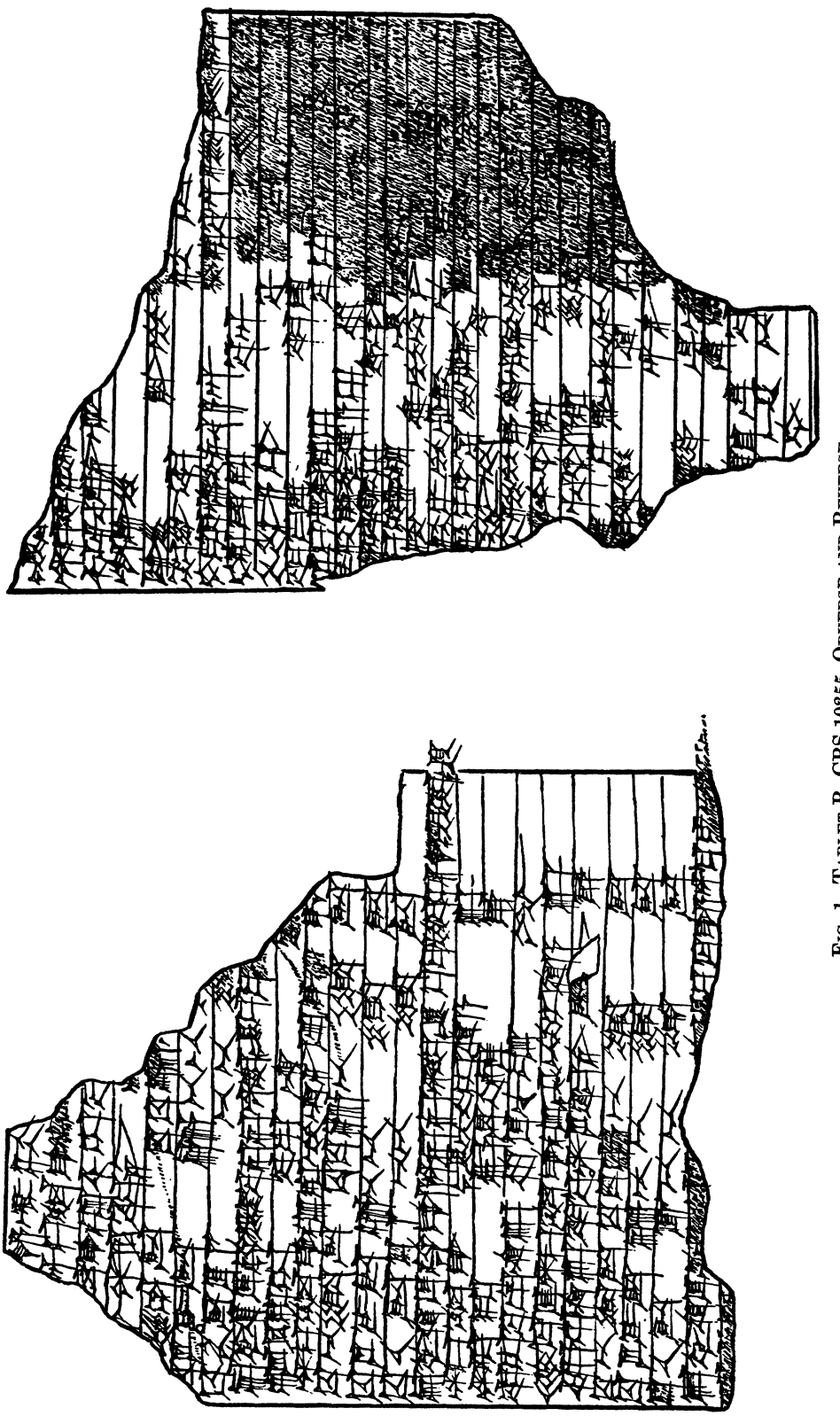


FIG. 1. TABLET B. CBS 10355, OBVERSE AND REVERSE

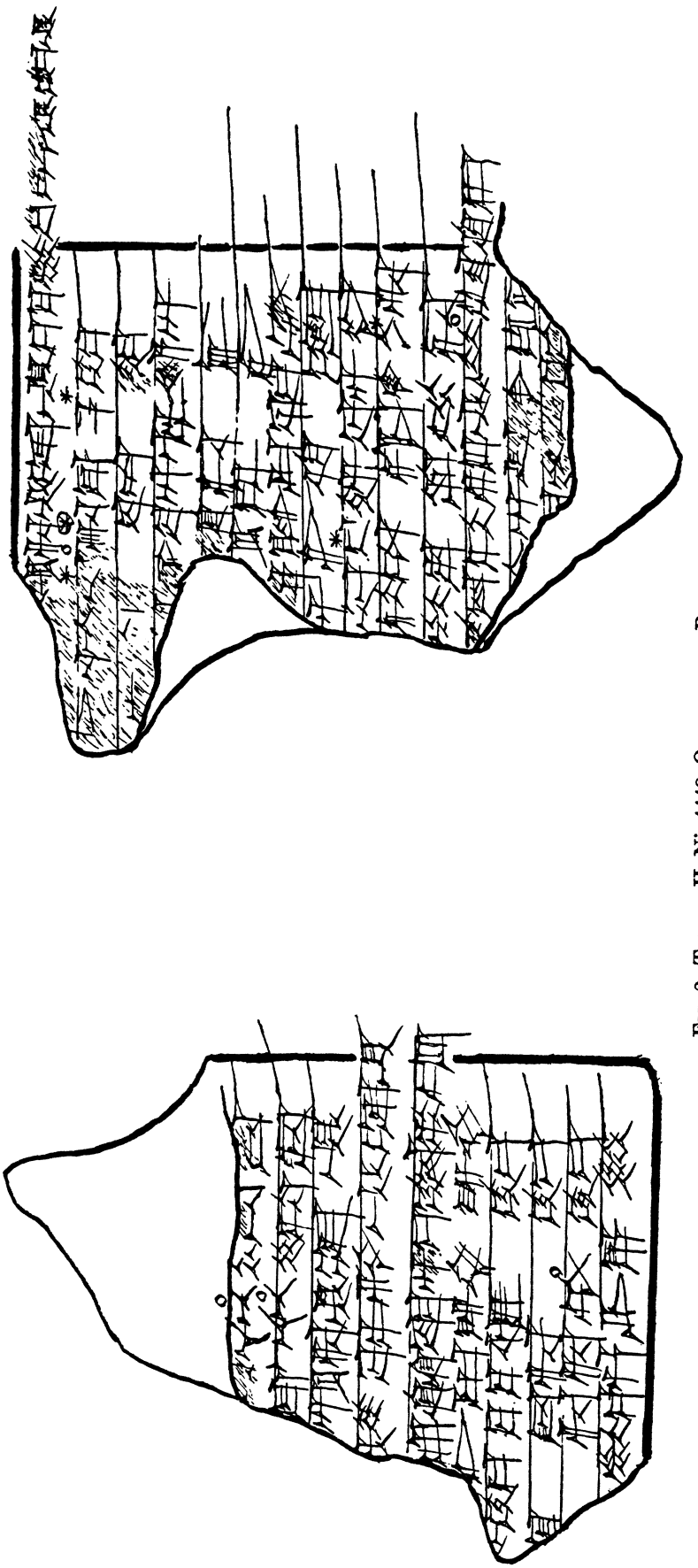


FIG. 2. TABLET H. Ni. 4448, OBVERSE AND REVERSE

the flood is that of the city of Kish; it names the Agga of our poem as one of its kings. After Kish had been smitten with arms, the King List goes on to state, its kingship was carried to Eanna; among the kings of this second dynasty after the flood it lists the name of Gilgamesh. From these statements in the King List, the modern scholar would be led to conclude that the dynasty of Erech—Eanna and Erech are synonymous—did not begin its rule until the dynasty of Kish had come to an end as a result of a military defeat. Our poem, however, which treats Gilgamesh and Agga as contemporaries, shows fairly conclusively that this was not the case. For according to the King List, while Agga is actually the last king of the dynasty of Kish, Gilgamesh is not the first, but the fifth[3] member of the succeed-

FIG. 3. TABLET D. Ni. 4396, OBVERSE AND REVERSE

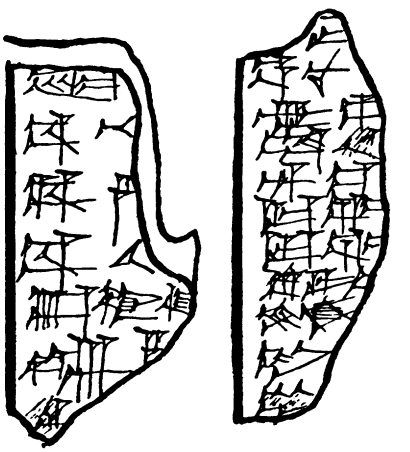


FIG. 4. TABLET F. Ni. 4351, OBVERSE AND REVERSE

ing Erech dynasty; he is preceded by four rulers who must have reigned over a considerable span of time. In brief, as a result of the historical data provided by our poem, we now realize that in spite of the sequence arrangement in the King List, the dynasties of Kish and Erech overlap to a large extent.[4]

Finally, our poem is of very special significance for the history of political thought and practice. Thorkild Jacobsen, in a penetrating study of the first part of the poem several years ago,[5] was the first to point out that it records what are by all odds the oldest two political assemblies yet known to man. To be sure, the tablets on which the poem has been found inscribed date back no earlier than the first half of the second millennium B.C.; however, the events recorded in them go back to the days of Gilgamesh and Agga, that is, probably to the first quarter of the third millennium B.C.[6] According to the poem, there were two assemblies in Erech, one of elders and one of arms-bearing males. Gilgamesh, who

[3] The relevant statement in "Sumerian Epics and Myths," *OIP* xv, 1934, p. 2 is to be corrected accordingly; cf. also M. Witzel, *Orientalia*, n.s., v, 1936, p. 333.

[4] It is only fair to state that the authenticity of the arrangement and succession of the dynasties in the King List has been doubted by more than one scholar; cf. now Jacobsen, *AS*, no. 11, pp. 165 ff., and particularly note 1 on p. 165. Our poem, however, furnishes one of the very rare bits of concrete evidence from an ancient source to support the modern scholar's suspicions and surmises.

[5] *JNES*, ii, 1943, pp. 165–166.

[6] Cf. the writer's "New Light on the Early History of the Near East," *AJA*, lii, 1948, pp. 156–164.

was eager to have them agree to a war with Kish, first consulted the elders. But these declared for peace even at the cost of submission to Kish. Displeased with this response, Gilgamesh brought the matter before the assembly of "men."[7] These decided for war and independence in accordance with Gilgamesh's wishes.[8]

Turning now to the contents of the poem "Gilgamesh and Agga," they may be summarized as follows: Agga, the king of Kish, has sent envoys to Gilgamesh in Erech (lines 1–2); the purpose of the mission is not stated, but the following context makes it certain that they brought an ultimatum demanding that the Erechites submit to Kish or take the consequences. Gilgamesh seeks the advice of the assembly of elders and urges them, for reasons that are far from clear, to fight rather than submit (lines 3–8).[9] But the elders are contrary

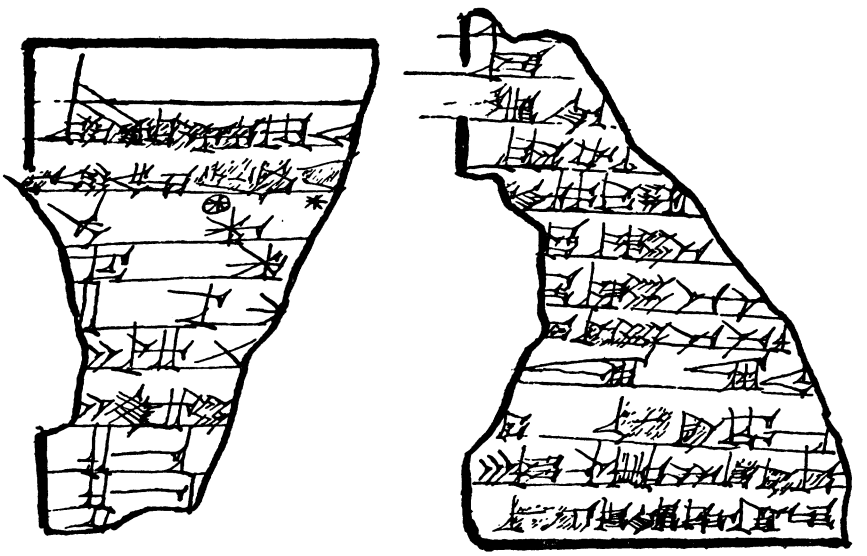


FIG. 5. TABLET E. Ni. 9743, OBVERSE AND REVERSE

minded; they would rather submit to Kish that fight it out (lines 9–14). Gilgamesh, displeased with this answer, now turns to the assembly of "men" and repeats his plea for war

[7] The Sumerian word used is guruš; it may be rendered "men" with the implication that these are arms-bearing males; cf. now Jacobsen, *JNES*, ii, 1943, p. 166, note 44.

[8] Unfortunately our poem gives no inkling of the size of the assemblies, nor of the method by which their members were selected, nor of the nature of what might be termed their parliamentary procedure. As for the authenticity of the few positive facts furnished by the poem with regard to the assemblies, it seems not unreasonable to assume that the poet who first composed it, although living many centuries after the events which he describes took place, was utilizing written records and oral traditions of a fairly trustworthy character; it is less than likely that he was projecting political conditions of a later day to the Gilgamesh-Agga period.

[9] It is well to note at this point that our poem provides an excellent example of one of the major difficulties confronting the translator of the Sumerian unilingual material. Here is a composition whose text is in practically perfect condition; there is hardly a single word broken or missing. Moreover, the reading of almost all the signs is certain, and so, too, is the meaning of most of the individual words. In spite of these favorable conditions, however, several crucial passages remain uncertain and obscure; cf. particularly lines 5–7, a passage which is repeated in lines 11–13 and 20–22; lines 76–81 and the corresponding passage in lines 94–99. The major difficulty with these passages consists of their laconic style; the aphoristic, riddle-like character of their contents obscures, at least for the present, their real meaning.

with Kish rather than submission to its rule (lines 15–23). In a long statement ending with a eulogy of Gilgamesh and with highly encouraging words of victory, the assembly of "men" declare for war and independence (lines 24–39). Gilgamesh is now well pleased; in a speech to Enkidu, his servant and companion, urging him perhaps to take to arms, he shows himself highly confident of victory over Agga (lines 40–47). In a very short time, however, Agga besieges Erech, and in spite of their brave words, the Erechites are dumbfounded (lines 48–50). Gilgamesh then addresses the "heroes" of Erech and asks for a volunteer to go before Agga (lines 51–54). One Birḫurturri readily volunteers; he is confident that he can confound Agga's judgment (lines 55–58). No sooner does Birḫurturri pass through the city gate, however, than he is seized, beaten, and brought before Agga. He begins to speak to Agga, but, before he has finished, another hero from Erech, one Zabar . . . ga by name, ascends the wall (lines 59–67). There now follows a series of passages which are of utmost

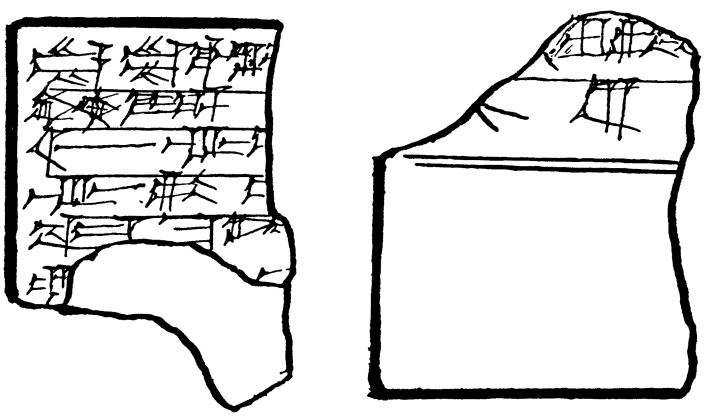


FIG. 6. TABLET K. Ni. 4402, OBVERSE AND REVERSE

importance for the understanding of the plot of the tale, but which, for the reasons outlined in the commentary below, are difficult and obscure. Certain it is, nevertheless, that in some way Agga has been induced to take a more friendly attitude and probably to lift the siege (lines 68–99). We then come to a passage whose meaning is quite certain; it consists of an address by Gilgamesh to Agga in which he thanks him for all his kindness (lines 100–106). The poem concludes with a paean of praise addressed to Gilgamesh (lines 107 to the end).

## TRANSLITERATION[10]

1. lú-kin-gi$_4$-a-ag-ga$^{11}$-dumu-en-me-bara-gi$_4$-e-si-ke$_4$
   kiši$^{ki}$ -ta $^{d}$gilgameš-ra$^{12}$ unu$^{ki}$ -šè mu-un-ši-súg-es

[10] The texts utilized are: A, The Rylands Tablet; B, CBS 10355; C, Ni. 4448; D, Ni. 4396; E, Ni. 9743; F, Ni. 4351; G, CBS 4564; H, Ni. 4448; I, Ni. 2334; J, CBS 6140; K, Ni. 4402. CBS = Catalogue of the Babylonian Section, University Museum; Ni. = Nippur Collection, Asarı atika müzeleri, Istanbul. A copy of A was published by T. Fish in the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library, xix, 1935, pp. 369–372; copies of B, D, E, F, H, and K are published for the first time on plates I–III of this number of the *AJA* (for a hitherto unpublished photograph of B, see plate I); C was published by the writer in "Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur," *AASOR*, xxiii, 1944, no. 3; G was published by Stephen Langdon in *Publications of the Babylon Section*, University Museum, x (part 2), 1917, no. 5 (for a hitherto unpublished

$^{d}$gilgameš igi-ab-ba-uru[13]-na-ka[14]
inim ba-an-gar inim ì-kin-kin-e
PÚ til-li-da PÚ-PÚ[15]-kalam[16] til-til[17]-li-da[18]
PÚ-NÍG-bàn-da-kalam til-til-li-da
PÚ U-da ešé[19]-lá til-til-li-da[20]
é-kiši$^{ki}$ -šè gú nam-ba-gá-gá-an-dè-en[21] $^{giš}$tukul ga-àm-ma-sìg-gi-en-dè-en[22]
ukkin-gar-ra-ab-ba-uru-na-ka[23]
$^{d}$gilgameš-ra[24] mu-na-ni-ib[25]-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
PÚ til-li-da PÚ-PÚ[26]-kalam til[27]-li-da
PÚ-NÍG-bàn-da-kalam til-li-da
PÚ U-da ešé[28]-lá til-til-til-li-da
é-kiši$^{ki}$ -šè gú ga-àm-gá-gá-an-dè-en[29] $^{giš}$tukul nam-ba-sìg-gi-en-dè-en[30]
$^{d}$gilgameš[31]-en-kul-aba$^{ki}$ -a-ke$_4$
$^{d}$inanna-ra nir-gál-la-e
inim-ab-ba-uru[32]-na-ke$_4$ šà-šè nu-um-BU
mìn-kam-ma-šè $^{d}$gilgameš-en-kul-aba$^{ki}$ -a-ke$_4$
igi-guruš-uru-na-ke$_4$ inim ba-an-gar inim ì-kin-kin-e[33]
PÚ til-li-da[34] PÚ-PÚ[35]-kalam til[36]-li-da
PÚ-NÍG-bàn-da-kalam til-til-li da
PÚ U-da ešé[37]-lá til-til-li-da

photograph of this tablet see plate II; in following the transliteration of the text, the reader should utilize the photograph as much as possible since Langdon's copy contains a number of errors); a copy of I was published by Edward Chiera in *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Upland, Pa., 1924), no. 38; J was published by the same scholar in "Sumerian Epics and Myths," *OIP*, XV, 1934, no. 29 (for a hitherto unpublished photograph of this tablet see plate III).

Line by line, the text of our poem is reconstructed as follows: lines 1–17 = A, obv., col. i; lines 1–24 = B, obv.; lines 1–12 = C, obv.; lines 1–8 = D, obv.; lines 1–12 = E, obv.; lines 4–10 = F, obv.; lines 16–66 = G, obv. and rev.; lines 21–42 = H, obv. and rev.; lines 32–49 = A, obv., col. ii; lines 47–56 = D, rev.; lines 47–57 = F, rev.; lines 58–66 = I, obv.; lines 61 to the end = J, obv. and rev.; lines 61–66 = K, obv.; lines 73–82 = E, rev.; lines 82–96 = A, rev., col. iii; lines 88 to the end = B, rev.; lines 112 to the end = A, rev., col. iv; lines 114 to the end = K, rev.

All of the tablets except A, the provenience of which is unknown, were excavated in Nippur; they all date from the early Post-Sumerian period, that is, from the first half of the second millennium B.C. A translation of the poem based on the texts then available was published by Maurus Witzel in *Orientalia*, n.s., v, 1936, pp. 331–346. An excellent translation of most of the first forty-one lines of the poem was published by Jacobsen, *JNES*, ii, 1943, pp. 165–166; a brief résumé of the contents of the poem was published by the writer in *JAOS*, lxiv, 1944, pp. 17–18.

[11] C: *a-ka* for *ag-ga*.

[12] C omits *-ra*.

[13] C and E add determinative *ki*.

[14] C: *-še* for *-ka*.

[15] A omits one PÚ.

[16] C adds *-ma* after *-kalam*.

[17] C: *-ti-ti-* for *-til-til-*.

[18] The traces in C point to *-dam* for *-da*.

[19] In C, the sign seems to be TÚG; miscopy?

[20] In C, if the copy is correct, there is no dividing line between lines 6 and 7; the latter may therefore have been indented and considered by the scribe as part of line 6.

[21] A inserts *-an-* after *-ba-*; in C, the verb reads: *nam-ba-an-gar-ri-en-dè-en*.

[22] C: *nam-ba-an-sìg-gi-en-dè-en*.

[23] A: *-ke$_4$* for *-ka*.

[24] C omits *-ra*.

[25] In A, the traces point to *-íb-*.

[26] A omits on PÚ.

[27] A and C add one *til*.

[28] In A, the sign seems to be TÚG; miscopy?

[29] A: *nam-ba-gá-gá-an-dè-en*.

[30] A: *ga-àm-ma-sìg-gi-en-dè-en*.

[31] In B, the scribe omitted the *-meš* of $^{d}$*gilgameš*.

[32] G adds the determinative *ki*.

[33] In G, lines 18–19 read: *mìn-kam-ma-šè $^{d}$gilgameš igi-guruš-*[*uru-na-ke$_4$*] *inim ba-an-gar inim ì-kin-*[*kin-e*].

[34] G: *-dam*.

[35] G omits PÚ.

[36] G adds one *til*.

[37] G and H seems to have TÚG.

é-kiši$^{ki}$ -šè gú nam-ba-an-gar-ri-en-şi-en $^{giš}$tukul ga-àm-ma-sìg-gi-en-dè-en[38]
ukkin-gar-ra-guruš-uru$^{ki}$ -na-ka[39] $^{d}$gilgameš mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
gub-gub-bu-ne tuš-tuš-ù-ne
dumu-lugal-la-da-ri-e-ne
haš-ansu-díb-díb[40]-bi-ne
a-ba zi-bi mu-un-tuku-e-še
e-kiši$^{ki}$ -a gú nam-ba-an-gar-ri-en-şi-en $^{giš}$tukul nam-ba-sìg-gi-dè-en[41]
30. unu$^{ki}$ -giš-kin-ti-dingir-ri-e-ne-ke$_4$[42]
é-an-na é-an-ta-e$_{11}$-dè
dingir-gal-gal-ene me-dím-bi ba-an-ag-eš-àm
bàd-gal-IM-dugud-ki-ús-sa-a-ba[43]
ki-tuš-mah-an-ni-gar-ra-a-ba[44]
sag mu-e-sì za-e[45]-lugal-ur-sag-me-en[46]
sag-lum-lum nun-an-ni-ki-ág
du-a-ni-ta a-gim ní ba-an-te
erín-bi al-tur a-ga-bi-ta al-bir-ri
lú-bi-ne igi nu-mu[47]-da-šub(!)-gú-uš
40. u$_4$-bi-a $^{d}$gilgameš-en-kul-aba$^{ki}$ -ke$_4$
in[im]-guruš-uru-na-šè šà-ga-ni an-húl[48] har-ra-ni ba-an-zalag
arad-da-ni-en-ki-du$_{10}$-ra gù mu-na-dé-e
NE-šè $^{giš}$šu-kará á-mé[49] sa hé-im-mi-gi$_4$
$^{giš}$tukul-mé á-zu-šè[50] hé-im-mi-gi$_4$[51]
ní-gal-me-lám-ma hé-im-dím-dím-e[52]
e-ne du-a-ni-ta ní-gal-mu hé-ib-šú
dím-ma[53]-ni hé-suh galga-a-ni hé-bir-ri
u$_4$-nu-iá-àm u$_4$-nu-u-àm
ag-ga-dumu-en-me-bara-gi$_4$-e-si unu$^{ki}$ zag-ga ba-an-díb-bi-eš
50. unu$^{ki}$ -ga dím-ma-bi ba-suh
$^{d}$gilgameš-en-kul-aba$^{ki}$ -ke$_4$
ur-sag-bi[54]-ne-ir gù mu-na-dé-e
ur-sag-mu-ne igi mu-un·MÛŠ-MÛŠ-ù-ne
šà-tuku hé-en-zi-zi-i ag-ga-šè ga-àm-ši-DU
bir[55]-hur-tur-ra lú-sag-lugal-a-ni
lugal-a-ni-ir[56] zà-sal mu[57]-na-ab-bi
mà-e ag-ga-šè ga-àm[58]-ši-DU
dím-ma-ni[59] hè-suh galga-a[60]-ni hé-bir-ri
bir-hur-tur-ri[61] ká-gal-la ba-ra-è

[38] H: *nam-ba-sìg-gi-en-şi-en*; in G, the verb begins with *nam-ba-an-sìg-*.
[39] The determinative *ki* looks more like the sign DI on the original of G.
[40] H: -RI-RI for *-díb-díb-*.
[41] H inserts *-en-* before *-dè-en*.
[42] H omits *-ke$_4$*.
[43] In G, the line reads *bàd-gal bàd-an-ni-ki-ús-sa*.
[44] G and H: *-ni* for *-a-ba*.
[45] G omits *-e*.
[46] G and H: *-bi* for *-me-en*.
[47] A inserts *-un-*.
[48] A omits *šà-ga-ni an-húl*.
[49] A: *-mé*(!).
[50] A omits *-šè*.
[51] In A, the verb seems to read *hé-im-zu*(?) . . . .
[52] In G, the verb may perhaps read *hé-d*[*ím*](?)-*dím*(?)-[*e*].
[53] A inserts *-a-*.
[54] D probably reads *ur-sag-e-n*[*e*] for *ur-sag-bi-ne*.
[55] D seems to have AŠ- for bir-.
[56] C omits *-ir*.
[57] C inserts *-un-*.
[58] C: *-an-* for *-àm-*.
[59] In C, *-ni* is erroneously repeated.
[60] C omits *-a-*.
[61] C: *-ra* for *-ri*.

bir-ḫur-tur-ri[62] ká-gal-la-è-da-ni
ká-ká-gal[63]-ka mu-ni-in-díb-bi-es[64]
bir-ḫur-tur-ri[65] uzu-du-ni mu-ni-in-qum-qum-ne
igi-ag-ga-šè mu-ni-in-te
ag-ga-šè gù mu-na-dé-e
inim-ma-ni nu-un-ti zabar- . . . -ga-ke$_4$ bàd-šè im-me(?)-e$_{11}$-de
bàd-da gú-na im-ma-an-lá
ag-ga igi im-ma-ni-in-du$_8$
bir-ḫur-tur-ri gù mu-na-dé-e
arad-LÚ.ŠE lugal-zu-ù
LÚ.ŠE lugal-mu in-nu
LÚ.ŠE lugal-mu ḫé-me-a
sag-ki-GÌR-a-ni ḫé-me-a
igi-GÌR-ma-ka-a-ni ḫé-me-a
su$_6$-$^{na_4}$ za-gìn-na-ka-a-ni ḫé-me-a
šu-si-šag$^5$-ga-ni ḫé-me-a
šár-ra la-ba-an-šub-bu-uš šár-ra la-ba-an-zi-gi-eš
šár-ra saḫar-ra la-ba-an-da-šár-ri-eš
kur-kur dù-a-bi la-ba-an-da[66]-šú-a
KA-ma-da-ka(!?) saḫar-ra la-ba-da-an-si
si-$^{giš}$ma-gur$_8$-ra(?) la-ba-ra-an-kud
ag-ga-lugal-kiši$^{ki}$ -a šà-erín-na-ka-ni LU+KÁR-a la-ba-ni-in-ag[67]
mu-ni-ib-ra-ra-ne mu-ni-ib-sìg-sìg-gi-ne[68]
bir-ḫur-tur-ri uzu-du-ni mu-ni-in-qum-qum-ne
egir—zabar- . . . ga-ke$_4$ $^d$gilgameš bàd-šè im-?-e$_{11}$-dè
ab-ba-du$_{13}$-du$_{13}$-lá-kul-aba$^{ki}$ -ke$_4$ me[69]-lám bí-ib-šú-šú
guruš-unu$^{ki}$ -ga-ke$_4$ $^{giš}$tukul-mé á[70]-ne-ne bí-in-díb
$^{giš}$ig-ká-gal-la-ka[71] sila-ba bí in-gub
en-ki-du$_{10}$ ká-gal-la[72]-aš ba-ra-è
$^d$gilgameš bàd-da gú-na[73] im-ma-an-lá
ag-ga igi ba(!)-ni-in-du$_8$[74]
arad-LÚ.ŠE lugal-zu-ù
LÚ.ŠE lugal-mu ì-me-a[75]
bí-in-dug$_4$-ga-gim-nam
šár-ra ba-an-šub-bu-uš[76] šár-ra ba-an-zi-gi-eš[77]
šár-ra sahar-ra ba-an-da-šár-ri-eš[78]
kur-kur dù-a-bi ba-an-da-šú[79]
KA-ma-da-ka saḫar-ra[80] ba-da-an-si
si-$^{giš}$ma-gur$_8$-ra-ke$_4$[81] ba-ra-an-kud[82]

[62] C and I: *-ra* for *-ri*.
[63] C inserts *-la-*.
[64] C: *mu-un-* for *mu-ni-in-*.
[65] I: *-ra* for *-ri*.
[66] E probably *-da-an-* for *-an-da*.
[67] E seems to read *i-ni-in-ag* for *la-ba-ni-in-ag*.
[68] E seems to have a difficult variant reading *mu-ni-ib-sìg-sìg-ʔ-en-*NE.
[69] J omits *-lá-* before *-kul-*; A inserts *-a* before *-ke$_4$*.
[70] A: *šu-* for *á-*.
[71] A: *-ke$_4$* for *-ka*.
[72] A omits *-la*.
[73] A omits *-na*.
[74] In A and B, the line reads *igi-bar-ri-da-ni ag-ga igi bí-in-du$_8$*.
[75] So A and probably B; J omits *ì-me-a*.
[76] A adds *-a*; B adds *-àm*.
[77] In A, the second verb reads: *ba-an-šár-ri-eš-a*.
[78] A reduplicates *-šár-*; A and B add *-àm*.
[79] A adds *-àm*.
[80] B omits *-ra*.
[81] B: *-ni* for *-ke$_4$*.
[82] F: *-ni-in-* for *-ra-an-*.

ag-ga-lugal-kiši$^{ki}$ -a[83] šà-erín-na-ka-ni LU+KÁR-a ba-ni-in-ag[84]
100. $^{d}$gilgameš-en-kul-aba$^{ki}$ -ke$_4$
ag-ga-a[85] gù mu-na-dé-e[86]
ag-ga-a[87] ugula-a[88]-mu ag-ga-a[89] nu-bandà-mu[90]
ag-ga šakanna-erín-na-a-mu
ag-ga mušen-kar-ra še bí-ib-si-si[91]
ag-ga zi ma-an[92]-sì ag-ga nam-ti ma-an[93]-sì
ag-ga lú-kar-ra úr-ra bí-in-túm-mu
unu$^{ki}$ -giš-kin-ti[94]-dingir-ri-e-ne-ke$_4$
bàd-gal bàd-an-ni-ki-ús-sa[95]
ki-tuš-maḫ-an-ni-gar-ra-ni
110. sag mu- sì za-e lugal-ur-sag-bi[96]
sag-lum-lum nun-an-ni-ki-ág[97]
ag-ga kiši$^{ki}$ -šè šu ba-ni-in-bar[98]
igi- $^{d}$utu-šè šu-u$_4$-bi-ta e-ra-an-gi$_4$[99]
$^{d}$gilgameš-en-kul-aba$^{ki}$ -ke$_4$[100]
zà-sal-zu dùg-ga-àm[101]

## TRANSLATION[102]

1. The envoys of Agga, the son of Enmebaraggesi
Proceeded from Kish to Gilgamesh *in* Erech.
The lord Gilgamesh before the elders of his city
Put the matter, seeks out (their) word:
"*To complete the wells, to complete all the wells of the land,*
*To complete the wells (and) the small bowls of the land,*
*To dig the wells, to complete the fastening ropes,*
Let us not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons."
The convened assembly of the elders of his city
10. Answer Gilgamesh:
"*To complete the wells, to complete all the wells of the land,*
*To complete the wells (and) the small bowls of the land,*
*To dig the wells, to complete the fastening ropes,*
Let us submit to the house of Kish, let us not smite it with weapons."
Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab,

[83] B adds *-ke$_4$*.

[84] Between lines 99 and 100, B inserts a line which reads: . . *-unu$^{ki}$ -ga-ke$_4$ erín-bi* . . . . .

[85] B: *-aš* for *-a*.

[86] In B, the verb may read *sá mu-na-ni-ib-bi*; for the reading *sá*, cf. now Poebel, *Miscellaneous Studies* (*AS* no. 14), 1947, pp. 97 ff.

[87] B omits *-a*.

[88] B omits *-a*.

[89] B omits *-a*.

[90] Between lines 102 and 103, B inserts a line which probably reads: *ag-ga ensí-mu ag-ga šak[anna]-mu*.

[91] In B, the order of the lines 104, 105, and 106 is 105, 106, 104.

[92] B: *mu-e-* for *ma-an-*.

[93] B: *mu-e-* for *ma-an-*.

[94] B seems to have an added TI.

[95] In B, the line probably read: *[bàd]-gal-*IM*-dugud-ki-us-sa-[a-ba]*.

[96] In B, the first half of the line may correspond to our text, but the second half of the line seems to have a variant reading beginning with the sign ŠU.

[97] B may have a variant reading for this line.

[98] A: *-ba* for *-bar*; in A, lines 112 and 113 are in the reverse order.

[99] So the original of J; the entire line is omitted in B.

[100] A inserts *-a-* before *-ke$_4$*.

[101] In J, the left edge has a line which reads . . . . *lú-kin-gi$_4$-a-ag-ga*; perhaps it is a notation to indicate that the tablet which begins with line 61 of the poem was the second of two tablets which between them contained the entire text; cf. Witzel, *loc. cit.*, p. 336.

[102] Italics in the translation are used to indicate doubtful renderings as well as foreign words.

Who performs heroic deeds for Inanna,
Took not the word of the elders of his city to heart.
A second time Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab,
Before the men of his city put the matter, seeks out their word:
"*To complete all the wells, to complete all the wells of the land,*
*To complete the wells (and) the small bowls of the land,*
*To dig the wells, to complete the fastening ropes,*
Do not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons."
The convened assembly of the men of his city answer Gilgamesh:
*O ye* who stand, *O ye* who sit,
*O ye* who are raised with the sons of the king,
*O ye* who *press* the donkey's thigh,
Whoever *holds* its[103] life,
Do not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons.
Erech, the *handiwork* of the gods,
Eanna, the house descending from heaven—
It is the great gods who have fashioned its parts—
Its great wall touching the clouds,
Its lofty dwelling place established by Anu,
Thou hast cared for, thou who art king (and) hero.
O *thou* . . . -headed, *thou* prince beloved of Anu,
How hast *thou* feared his[104] coming!
Its army is small, it is scattered *behind it,*
Its men *do* not *hold high* (*their*) *face.*"
Then—Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab—
At the wo[rd] of the men of his city his heart rejoiced, his spirit brightened;
He says to his servant Enkidu:
"*Therefore* let the *šukara*-implement *be put aside for the violence* of battle,
Let the weapons of battle return to your side,
Let them *produce* fear (and) terror,
As for him,[105] when he comes, verily my great fear will fall upon him,
Verily his judgment will be confounded, verily his counsel will be dissipated."
The days were not five, the days were not ten,
Agga, the son of Enmebaraggesi *besieged* Erech;
Erech—its judgment was confounded.
Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab
Says to its heroes:
"My heroes *frown;*
Who has heart, let him stand up, to Agga I would *have him* go."
Birḫurturri, *his head . . . . man,*
Utters praises to his king:
"I would go to Agga,
Verily his judgment will be confounded, verily his counsel will be dissipated."
Birḫurturri went out through the city-gate.
As Birḫurturri went out through the city-gate,
They[106] seized him at the entrance of the city-gate,
Birḫurturri—they crush his *flesh,*

[103] "Its" presumably refers to Erech.
[104] "His" presumably refers to Agga; in the line following, "its" presumably refers to Kish.
[105] "Him" presumably refers to Agga.
[106] "They" presumably refers to Agga's men.

He was brought before Agga,
He speaks to Agga.
He had not finished his word (when) Zabar . . . ga ascends toward the wall;
He *peered over* the wall,
He saw Agga.
Birḫurturri says to him:[107]
O servant of the *stout man*, thy king
The *stout man*—*is he not* (*also*) my king?
Verily the *stout man* is my king,
Verily it is his . . forehead,
Verily it is his . . face,
Verily it is his beard of lapis-lazuli,
Verily it is his gracious finger."
*The multitude did not cast itself down, the multitude did not rise,*
*The multitude did not cover itself with* dust,
(*The people*) *of* all the foreign lands were not *overwhelmed,*
*On the mouths of* (*the people*) *of the lands* dust was not heaped,
The prow of the *magurru*-boat was not cut down,
Agga, the king of Kish, *restrained* not his *soldierly* heart.
They keep on striking him, they keep on beating him,
Birḫurturri—they crush his flesh.
After Zabar . . . ga, Gilgamesh ascends toward the wall,
Terror fell upon the old and young of Kullab,
The men of Erech held their battle weapons at their sides,
The door of the city-gate—they stationed themselves in its *approaches,*
Enkidu went out toward the city-gate.
Gilgamesh *peered over* the wall,
He saw Agga:
"O servant of the *stout man*, thy king
The *stout man* is my king."
As he spoke,
*The multitude cast itself down, the multitude rose,*
*The multitude covered itself with* dust,
(*The people*) of all the foreign lands were *overwhelmed,*
*On the mouths of* (*the people*) *of the lands* dust was heaped,
The prow of the *magurru*-boat was cut down,
Agga, the king of Kish, *restrained* his *soldierly* heart.
Gilgemesh, the lord of Kullab
Says to Agga:
"O Agga, my overseer, O Agga, my steward,
O Agga, my army leader,
O Agga, the fleeing bird thou hast sated with grain,
O Agga, thou hast given me breath, thou hast given me life,
O Agga, thou bringest the fleeing man *to rest.*"
Erech, the *handiwork* of the gods,
The great wall touching the sky,
The lofty dwelling place established by Anu,
Thou hast cared for, thou who art king (and) hero.
O *thou* . . . -headed, *thou* prince beloved of Anu,

[107] For the ambiguity involved in the "him" of this line, cf. the commentary to lines 68–75.

Agga has *set thee free for Kish,*
Before Utu he has returned to thee the power of former days;
O Gilgamesh, lord of Kullab,
Thy praise is good.

## COMMENTARY

Lines 1–2. For the variant writings of the name Agga, cf. Jacobsen, *AS*, no. 11, 1939, p. 84, note 99, and cf. the variant *a-ka* in our text C (see above, p. 6, note 10). For the transliteration of the signs AG-GA as *ag-ga*, as well as for the method of transliteration of our poem as a whole, cf. Kramer, *AS*, no. 12, 1940, pp. 6–8. For the writing of the name Enmebaraggesi, cf. Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 83, notes 93 and 94. For a correct restoration of the beginning of line 2, cf. Witzel, *Orientalia*, n.s., v, 1936, p. 342. For the writing of the name Gilgamesh, cf. Jacobsen, *loc. cit*, p. 89, note 128; Kramer, *JAOS*, lxiv, 1944, p. 11, note 15, and *JCS*, i, 1947, p. 34, note 213; note than in text A (see note 10) the sign used everywhere except on rev. col. i, line 8 is BIL, not BÍL, unless some miscopy is involved.

Lines 3–8. In line 3, note the omission of the subject element *-e* after *$^{d}$gilgameš*. Lines 5–7 (the text is repeated in lines 11–13 and 20–22) contain a proverb-like or riddle-like passage whose meaning in the context is altogether obscure; the renderings given are those usually attributed to the individual words, but they may prove to be unjustified. Similarly the grammatical relationships among the various complexes are by no means certain. To judge from the contents of line 8, one might be led to conclude that the passage contained in lines 5–7 gives Gilgamesh's reasons for his plea to fight rather than submit to Kish. It will be noted, however, that in the passage immediately following, the very same words are used by the assembly of elders to justify their decision to submit to Kish rather than go to war. In short, we may have here an early example of what is now generally described as "double-talk." In line 6, NÍG-*bàn-da* is taken to be a type of bowl used primarily to hold milk and butter, cf. A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon*, no. 597:172 and "Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur," *AASOR*, xxiii, 1944, no. 35, obv., col. i, line 27; it may turn out that the complex should be read *níg-bàn-da* with a meaning approximating "that which is second in size," a phrase descriptive in some way of the preceding PÚ. In line 8, note the variant *nam-ba-an-gar-ri-en-dè-en* for *nam-ba-gá-gá-an-dè-en;* some post-Sumerian scribal schools, therefore, formed the present-future of the verb *gar* in the regular way instead of by using the reduplicated root. In the same line note the variant *nam-ba-* for *ga-àm-ma-* in the second verbal form (cf. also the variants to lines 14 and 23); it is difficult to decide whether these variants involve errors, or whether they actually represent different versions of the lines (cf. especially the comment to line 14 where an error seems to be clearly indicated).

Lines 9–14. For lines 11–13, cf. the comment to lines 5–7. In line 14, note the variants in text A which give a meaning exactly opposite to that of our reconstructed text; that the scribes of A erred, however, seems to be reasonably certain from the contents of line 17.

Lines 15–17. The name Kullab in line 15 refers to a district in Erech or adjacent to it. In line 16, note the rather unusual plene writing involving the subject element *-e*. For *šà-šè*—BU in line 17, cf. *JAOS*, lxiv, p. 23, note 115; the Sumerian compound corresponds to the Semitic *amāta ana libbi šadādu.*

Lines 18–23. For lines 20–22, cf. comment to lines 5–7. In line 23, note that while the second verb is the *first* person plural, the first verb is the *second* person plural; it is difficult to see the reason for the change (note, moreover, that the variant in text H and probably G has the second verb, too, in the second person plural).

Lines 24–39. Lines 24–27, if the rendering is correct, describe the aristocrats ruling Erech; just what the connection between them and the assemblies may have been, is unknown.[108] In line 28, the meaning of the postposition *-e-še*, sometimes found at the end of verbs, is still obscure; it is left unrendered in our translation.[109] In line 29, the translation assumes that the *nam-ba* of nam-ba-síg-gi-dè-en is an error for ga-àm-ma- (cf. comment to line 14, where the same error seems to be involved). In line 32, note that in spite of the copy, text A, obv. col. ii, line 1 reads *me-dím*(!)*-bi*.[110] In line 34, the variant *-ni* for *-a-ba* seems inexplicable. In lines 36–39 note the numerous doubtful renderings as well as the far from assured assumptions that the *-ni-* of *du-a-ni-ta* (line 37) and the *-bi* of *erín-bi* (line 38) refer to Agga and Kish respectively. In line 39, the verb is of course a preterit and its more literal rendering may perhaps be "they raised."

Lines 40–47. The rendering of line 43 is most uncertain; it is predicated largely on the assumption that it parallels line 44 in meaning, that is, Enkidu is urged to put aside the peaceful agricultural implement known as the *šukara* in preparation for the expected battle with Kish.[111] In lines 43, 44, and 45, note the use of the precative particle *hé-* with the preterit of the intransitive verb $gi_4$, and with the present-future of the transitive verb *dím*. In lines 46 and 47, note the use of the asseverative particle *hé-* with the preterit of the intransitive verbs *šú* and *suḫ*, but with the present future of the root *bir*.[112]

Lines 48–50. In line 49, the verb is in the plural although the subject seems to be Agga; this may perhaps be justified on the assumption that under Agga the poet intended to include his army as well. In the same line note the omission of the subject element after the first complex, and the seemingly unjustified writing *zag-ga* for *zag*.

Lines 51–58. For *-na-* instead of *-ne-* in *mu-na-dé-e* in line 52, cf. Falkenstein, *AOF*, xiv, 1942, pp. 128f. For the uncertainty of the reading DU in *ga-àm-ši*-DU (line 54), cf. *JCS*, i, p. 39, note 228. Instead of *ga-àm-ši*-DU one might perhaps have expected *hé-im-ši*-DU "let him go." In line 55, note that in the complex *lú-sag-lugal-a-ni*, both *sag* and *lugal* seem to be in apposition to *lú;* in spite of the obvious meaning of the individual words, the rendering of the complex remains difficult.

Lines 59–67. The complex *ká-gal-la* in lines 59 and 60 might have been expected to read *ká-gal-ta*. In lines 60 and 61, the plural verb must refer to Agga's men, although actually these have not been mentioned directly anywhere in the text.[113] In line 62, the rendering "his flesh" for *uzu-du-ni* assumes that the word for flesh is *uzu(d);* note, however, that *uzu-du* has thus far been found only in the meaning "tall."[114] The verb in line 62 might have been expected to contain an *-e-* or an *-ù-* before the final *-ne;* we may perhaps assume, how-

[108] For the expressions "sit" and "stand" (line 25) cf. Jacobsen, *JNES*, ii, p. 160, note 24 and Kramer, *BASOR*, xciv, p. 8 (line 70).

[109] In his *Miscellaneous Studies* (p. 98, note 32), Poebel tentatively explains *-eše* as a dialectical form of *-ene*; in our case, however, there is no reason to assume that line 28 is written in any but the main dialect, the *Eme-*KU.

[110] Cf., for example, the first sign in line 16 of the same column.

[111] The rendering "therefore" for NE-*šè* rests on the assumption that it is to be read *ne-šè*, "for this," that is, for the expected conflict with Kish. For *šu-karà* as an agricultural implement, cf. the line in an agricultural wisdom text which reads $^{giš}$*šu-karà-zu sa ḫa-ra-ab-gi*$_4$*-a* ("Sumerian Epics and Myths," *OIP*, xv, 1934, no. 42, obv., col. i, line 16+*Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, i, pl. 32, col. i, line 14), and note the use of *šu-karà* with the verbal compound *sa*$_2$*-gi*$_4$. The rendering "for the violence of battle" treats the complex *á-mé* as if it read *á-mé-šè*.

[112] For the rendering of *dím-ma*, cf. *AS*, no. 11, p. 88 (note the change to be made in the translation of the line there quoted), and note 775; also *JCS*, i, p. 4, note 3.

[113] Cf., however, comment to line 49.

[114] Cf. *JCS*, i, p. 10, note 15, and p. 35, note 215.

ever, that the preceding *-qum-qum-* was actually pronounced *quqmu*. In line 64 note the very unusual use of *-šè* for *-ra* in the first complex; cf. also the variant *ag-ga-aš* in line 101. For the compound verb *gú—la* in line 66, cf. *JCS*, i, p. 34, note 212.[115] Note, too, that *gú-na* in line 66 might have been expected to read *gú-ni;* cf. e.g. *gú-mu*, not *gú-mà*, in *JCS*, i, p. 8, line 25.

Lines 68–75. The meaning of this passage presumably containing the words uttered by Birḫurturri in the hope of soothing Agga and inducing him to call off his men and lift the siege, is quite uncertain and obscure. One of the major difficulties results from the ambiguity of the "him" of line 68. If we assume that it refers to Agga, then Birḫurturri seems to say to him that an individual described as a "*stout man*"[116] is not only Agga's "king" but also his, that is, Birḫurturri's. Presumably this "stout man" would be Gilgamesh, since the latter is not only Birḫurturri's overlord, but also, as lines 102–103 seem to indicate, that of Agga as well. But just how was this statement expected to pacify Agga? Indeed, if Agga recognized Gilgamesh as his king, why did he proceed against Erech in the first place? Another difficulty with this assumption is that it does not explain in any way the presence of Zabar . . . ga on the wall. Perhaps therefore we must assume that the "him" of line 68 refers to Zabar . . . ga and that the "stout man" of lines 69, 70, and 71 refers to Agga, not Gilgamesh; that is, Birḫurturri, while standing before Agga cries out to Zabar . . . ga who is looking down on the scene from the wall, that Agga is the acknowledged king of both. For the rendering of *in-nu* (line 70), cf. a forthcoming publication by Falkenstein of the Ibbisin letter whose text is reconstructed from *Publications of the Babylonian Section*, University Museum, xiii, nos. 3 and 6 and G. A. Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, no. 9.

Lines 76–81. The highly doubtful rendering of this passage assumes that Birḫurturri's words had failed to satisfy Agga and his men, and that as a result the siege continued. The "multitude" of lines 76–77, the "people of all the foreign lands" of line 78,[117] the "people of all the lands" of line 79,[118] if the translations are correct, all refer to Agga's motley host besieging Erech; the acts attributed to them in these lines are descriptive of their total indifference to Birḫurturri's words. Line 80 may indicate that the siege was conducted by sea as well as by land; just what the cutting down of the prow of the *magurru*-boat[119] signified, however, is not clear.[120]

Lines 82–90. According to this passage, Gilgamesh, seeing that Birḫurturri's words had no effect on Agga and his men, in spite of the presence of Zabar . . . ga on the wall, himself ascends the wall. At this act, the young and old of Erech are terrified, presumably because of the danger threatening Gilgamesh; the men of Erech now hold their weapons in readiness while Enkidu goes out to the city gate, perhaps to take charge of the Erechites in the expected battle.[121]

Lines 91–99. Lines 91–92 probably represent a much abbreviated form of the passage con-

[115] The rendering "peer over" for *gú—lá* (literally "to stretch the neck") seems preferable to "climb" as suggested in the *JCS*.

[116] For the meaning and reading of LÚ.ŠE, cf. particularly Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 202.

[117] For lines 76–78, see now Falkenstein, *AOF*, xiv, 1942, p. 120.

[118] As for the final *-a* of this line, cf. lines 94–98 where the verbal forms have variants ending in *-a* or *-àm* without any particular semantic significance.

[119] For the *magurru*-boat, cf. now Armas Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*, 1939, pp. 12–19.

[120] In the rendering of line 81, note that its corresponding line 99 has a variant which has the subject element after the first complex; for the meaning of the compound LÚ+KÁR—*ag*, cf. the discussion by Poebel in *AOF*, ix, pp. 267–273.

[121] With lines 83, 84, 89, and 90, cf. lines 62, 65, 66, and 67.

tained in lines 69–75;[122] note, too, that the crucial line corresponding to line 68, that is, "Birḫurturri says to him," is omitted. As in the case of the former and fuller passage, the interpretation of lines 91–92 hinges on the ambiguous "him" whom Birḫurturri is addressing. If this "him," refers to Agga then the "stout man" of lines 91–92 is Gilgamesh; if on the other hand, it refers to Gilgamesh, then the "stout man" is Agga; cf. the comment to lines 69–75. In any case, this time Birḫurturri's words seem to have the desired effect;[123] for according to lines 94–99 which are an exact repetition of lines 76–81 except that the verbs are all positive instead of negative in form, the multitudinous host for many lands which was besieging Erech was now prostrate and overwhelmed, and presumably no longer threatened Erech.

Lines 100–106. In this passage Gilgamesh thanks Agga for some extraordinary kindness, presumably for the lifting of the siege; unless there has been a shift of scene unmentioned in the text, Gilgamesh is addressing Agga from the wall of Erech. Note, too, that according to lines 102–106, unless we are prepared to read in implications contrary to the obvious meaning of the words, Gilgamesh addresses Agga as his, that is, Agga's superior and overlord in spite of the fact that Agga seems to be the more powerful of the two (cf. the comment to lines 68–75). In line 104, "the fleeing bird," and in line 116, "the fleeing man" refer no doubt to Gilgamesh.[124]

Lines 107 to the end. The translation assumes that this entire passage contains the poet's concluding eulogy of Gilgamesh. For lines 107–111 (cf. also the variant in note 87), see the comment to lines 30–36 which are almost identical. The implications of lines 112–113 are not clear. On the surface they seem to say that Agga has restored Gilgamesh to his former greatness, which again tends to indicate that at one time Gilgamesh was the ruler of the entire land, including Kish (cf. comment to lines 100–106 and lines 68–75).[125] The last two lines contain the conventional phrases for the end of a myth or epic tale.

## APPENDIX

Following the completion of this study, the writer forwarded the manuscript in its entirety to Thorkild Jacobsen for corrections and suggestions. As the following paragraphs show, this was a fortunate move; Jacobsen's comment has proved most constructive for the interpretation of the text of the poem. Particularly noteworthy are his renderings of lines 36–39; the interpretation of the enclitic *-eše* (line 28), and the reading of the hero's name in lines 64 and 84 as *zabar-díb-unu$^{ki}$-ga;* in all three cases Jacobsen has probably "hit the nail on the head." The "corvé" suggestion for lines 5–7 and the proposed changes in the renderings of lines 1–2 may also turn out to be quite correct. The suggested renderings of lines 25–28, 67–75, and 90–94 seem less certain; nevertheless they may prove to be closer to the truth than those of the writer. Following, then, is Jacobsen's comment in practically his own words:

[122] It is hardly likely that the use of *ì-me-a* for the corresponding *ḫé-me-a* is of semantic significance; note that in F, *ì-me-a* is omitted altogether.

[123] For *gim-nam* in line 93, cf. Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik* (Rostock, 1923), ¶ 353.

[124] The reading *sakanna* for ANŠU. ARAD in line 103 is based on the loan-word *šakannakku*. In line 106 the rendering "to bring to rest" for *úr-ra–túm* is based on a more literal meaning of the compound such as "to bring on the lap."

[125] As for the phrase "before Utu" in line 113, it may refer to the sun-god Utu as the god of justice; it may perhaps be worth noting, however, that two predecessors of Gilgamesh in the first Erech dynasty are described as "the son of Utu"; thus the founder of the dynasty according to the King List, Meskiaggašher is termed "the son of Utu" in the King List itself (cf. Jacobsen, *AS*, no. 11, p. 84), while his son Enmerkar is so described throughout the epic tales in which he is a major protagonist.

Here are a few comments. I feel that the text is still full of difficulties and unsolved problems and I offer these suggestions in a very tentative fashion:

*Lines 1–3.* To account for the subject element in line 1, I would prefer to take SÚG as factitive, "to cause to go," and *eš* at the end of the form as the accusative element third person plural (cf. *GSG*, ¶517); the rendering of these two lines would therefore read: "Agga, the son of Enmebaraggesi sent envoys from Kish to Gilgamesh in Erech." On the resumption of the direct object *lú-kin-gi₄-a* by the accusative element in the verb, cf. the second quotation in *GSG* ¶517.

*Lines 5–7.* These lines describe the corvé or labor service to which Agga summoned the Erechites through his messengers. The work is agricultural: to dig wells, etc.

*Lines 25–28.* Very tentatively I suggest to read *-dè* instead of *-ne* for the sign NE at the end of verbal forms in lines 25–27 and to translate:

25. "To continually stand at attention, to continually be assigned to a post.
26. To go on raids with the king's son,
27. To continually urge on the donkey,
28. Who has wind (enough) for that?"

I interpret these lines as follows: Whereas the older men will be used for agricultural tasks, the *guruš* will be used for raids and campaigns in military service. The words *gub* and *tuš* (line 25) are technical terms for tasks connected with labor or military service; examples occur in the texts of the Ur III period. Military service is an exhausting life and few have stomach for it, or, to render literally the Sumerian word *zi* (line 28), few have "breath" or "wind" enough for its exertions. The *eše* at the end of line 28 marks direct speech and acts as a kind of "inverted commas." It may be translated "there is a saying," or "people say," and marks these lines as a common saw. It is frequent in bilingual proverbs.

*Lines 36–39.* I would propose the rendering of these lines as follows:

The smasher of heads, the prince beloved by Anu,
How they (the enemy) fear his coming!
Their army diminishes, scatters from behind (i.e. people desert),
Their men cannot face him (literally, hold up the face against him).

*Lines 67–75.* The immediately preceding section is difficult in the extreme. Tentatively I suggest that we have parallelism with the episode in lines 84 ff. This would mean that Birḫurturri is the slave of Zabardibunuga (I would read the Sumerian signs for that name as *zabar-dím-unu$^{ki}$-ga*), just as Enkidu is the slave of Gilgamesh. Lines 67–68 I would render as: "Agga saw him (Zabardibunuga), Birḫurturri calls out to him (to his master, Zabardibunuga)." Line 69 I take to contain a question directed by Agga to Birḫurturri, and is to be rendered: "Slave, is thy master the 'grain-giver'?" "Grain-giver" I take to be a title like "lord" which originally meant "the one who distributes the loaves." The "grain-giver" is the "employer" who distributes the grain-rations, and refers to Gilgamesh, the ruler of Erech. In line 69, therefore, Agga is asking Birḫurturri who is standing before him whether the man on the wall, really Zabardibunuga, is Gilgamesh. Birḫurturri's answer is given in lines 70–75 which I would render as follows:

"My master is not the 'grain-giver' (Gilgamesh),
Though my master might (as well) have been the 'grain-giver,'
Though it might (as well) have been his (Gilgamesh's) wrathful forehead,
Though it might (as well) have been his bison's face,

Though it might (as well) have been his dark blue beard,
Though it might (as well) have been his gracious fingers."

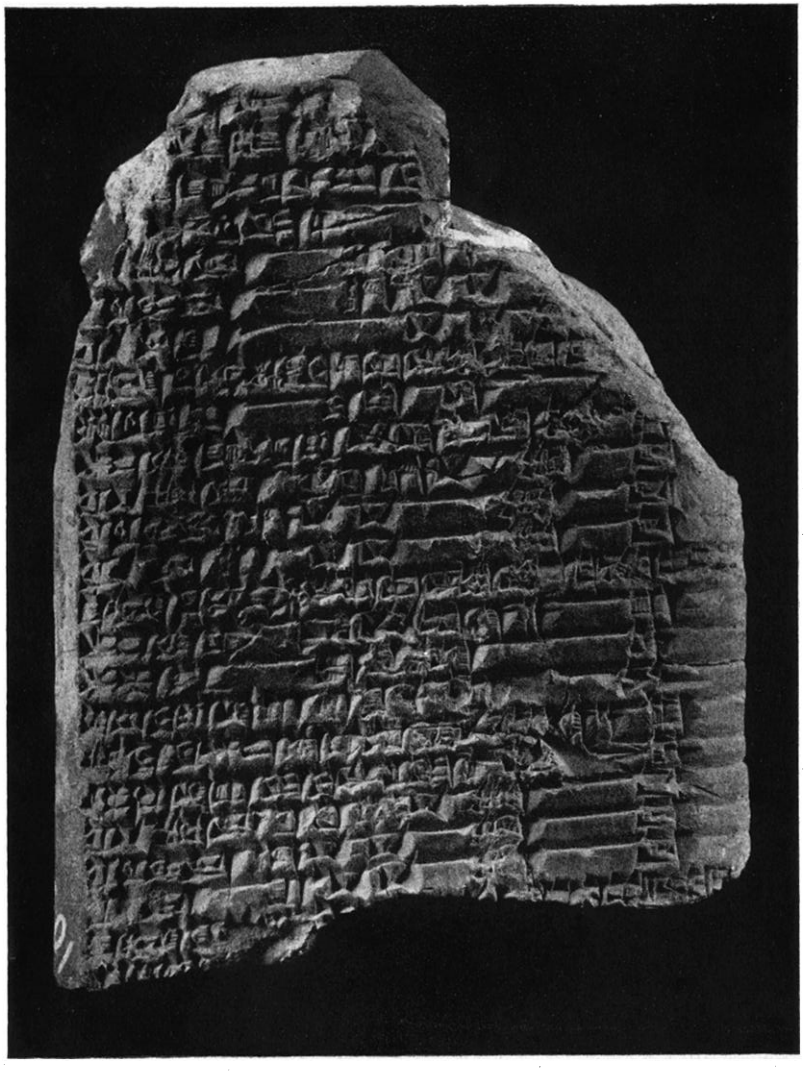
Birḫurturri states in this speech that his master is not "the lord" (i.e. Gilgamesh), although he is so impressive of appearance (and valour) that it might as well have been "the lord" at whom Agga was looking. For the meaning "though," cf. *GSG* ¶439; for the third sign in line 71 read *huš*(!?); for the second sign in line 72 read *alim*(!?).

Turning now to the parallel passage in lines 84 ff., I suggest that line 90 (cf. line 66) is to be rendered: "Agga saw him (Gilgamesh)"; that line 91 (cf. line 68) is to be rendered "Slave, is thy master the 'grain-giver'?" and contains a question directed by Agga to Enkidu; that lines 92–93 contain Enkidu's answer and may be rendered in strict literalness, "It is like what you said that my master is the 'grain-giver.'" Grammatically this rendering of lines 91–92 is to be justified as follows: "It is" is for the final *-am* of *gim-nam* (*gim(i)n-am*); "like" is for *gim(i)n;* "what" is for the final *-a* of *bí-in-dug*$_4$*-ga;* "you said" assumes that *bi-in-dug*$_4$ is for *bí-e-dug*$_4$*;* "that" is for the final *-a* of *ì-me-a;* the rest of the sentence offers no grammatical difficulties.

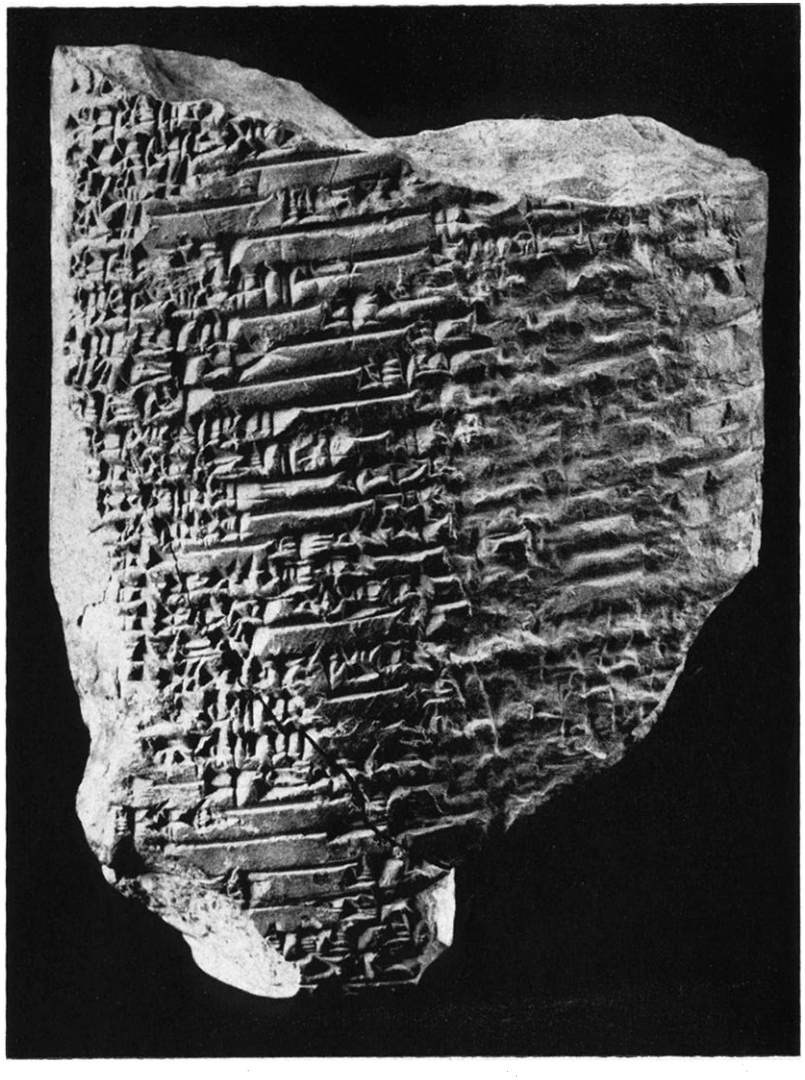
As for the remainder of the story I am not able to give a substantiated account of my interpretation and rendering without further study, and so I have nothing constructive to offer. I still believe that Gilgamesh rather than Agga was victorious. But I can see why you feel obliged to take the opposite view.

Samuel Noah Kramer

University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

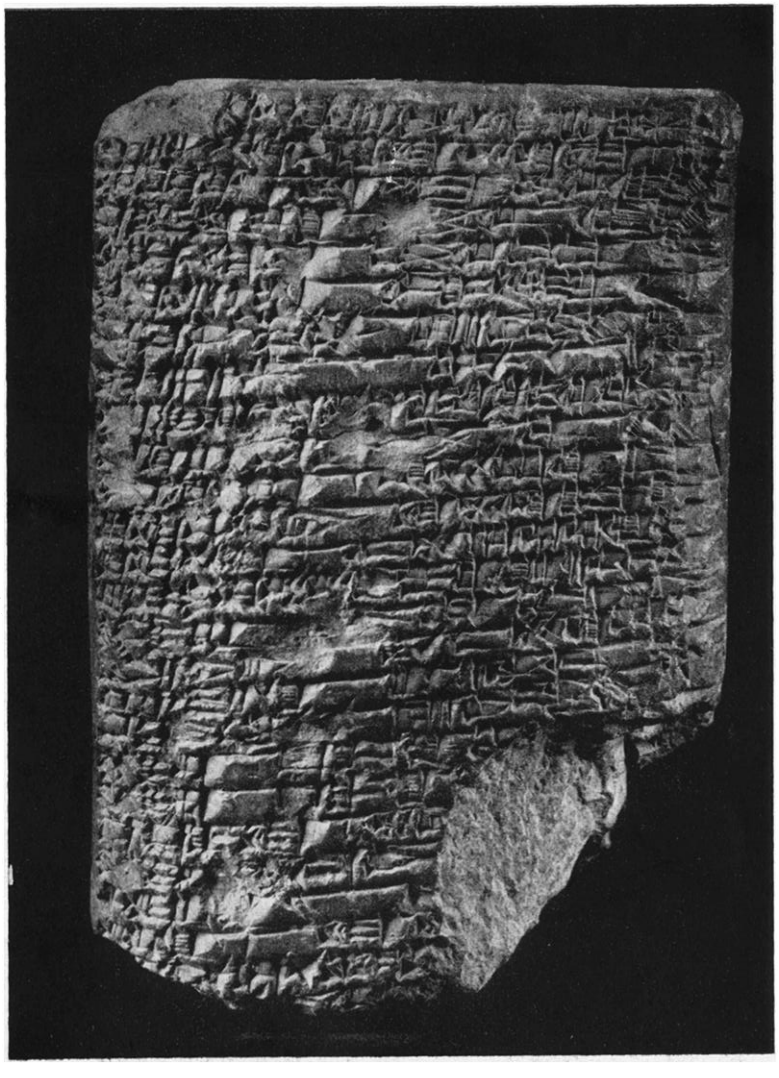


TABLET B. CBS 10355, OBVERSE

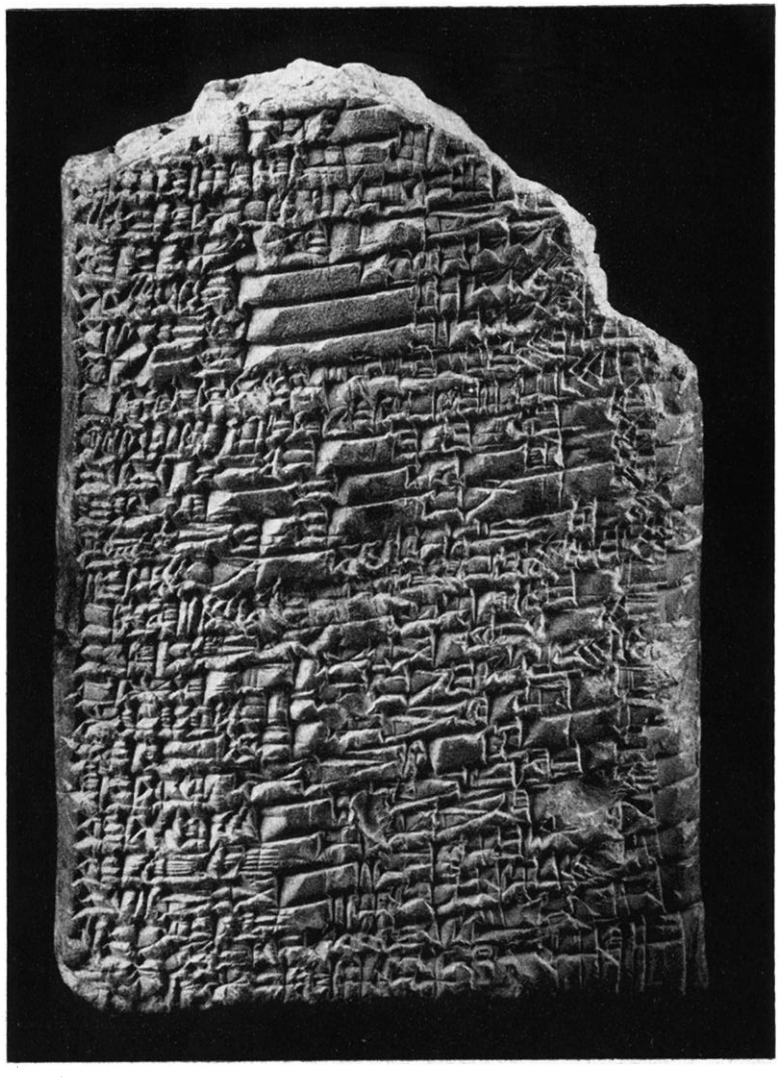


TABLET B. CBS 10355, REVERSE

[Kramer]



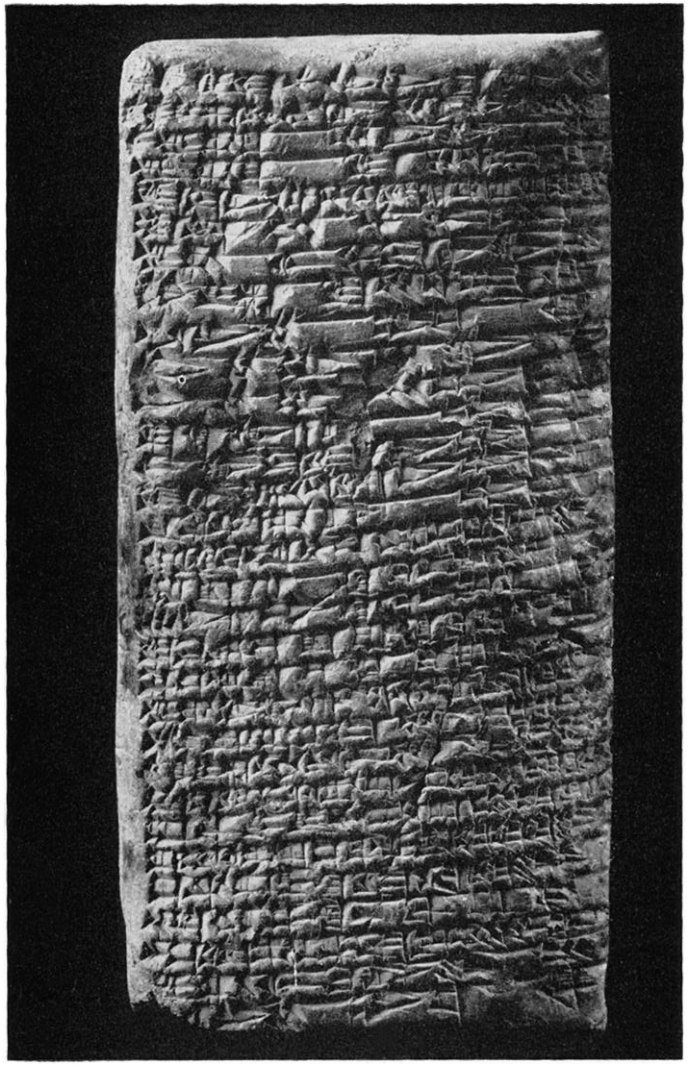
TABLET G. CBS 4564, OBVERSE



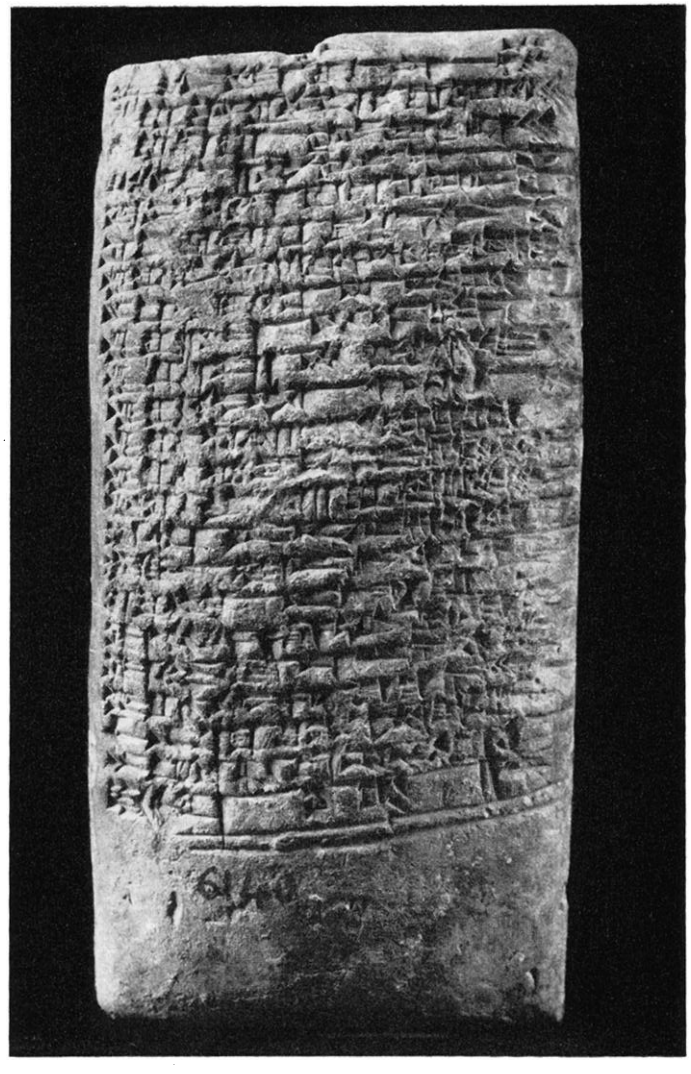
TABLET G. CBS 4564, REVERSE

[Kramer]

PLATE II



TABLET J. CBS 6140, OBVERSE



TABLET J. CBS 6140, REVERSE

[Kramer]

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# SCHOOLDAYS: A SUMERIAN COMPOSITION RELATING TO THE EDUCATION OF A SCRIBE

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

UNTIL RECENTLY very little about education in ancient Sumer had been uncovered. Near Eastern scholars generally realized that the learning of the three 'R's' was not universal in the land, but was probably confined to those boys and young men who aimed to become professional scribes, or as the Sumerians themselves called them *dub-sar* 'tablet-writers.' They knew, too, that the Sumerian word for school was *é-dub-ba* 'tablet-house,' and that the pupil was known as *dumu-é-dub-ba* 'son of the tablet-house.' But we had practically no details of the activities carried on in these ancient Sumerian schools, which with their Egyptian counterparts may not inaptly be described as the oldest educational centers known to man. It is therefore a real privilege to present the contents of a Sumerian literary document describing in considerable detail the experiences and reactions of an ancient Sumerian schoolboy, and, to a lesser extent, the behavior and attitude of his teachers and parents.

This brief composition, which may have been first created as early as 2000 B. C., is one of the most 'human' documents excavated in the Near East; its relatively simple, straightforward words reveal how little human nature has really changed throughout the millennia. Thus we find our ancient schoolboy, not unlike his modern counterpart, terribly afraid of coming late to school 'lest his teacher cane him.' When he awakes he hurries his mother to prepare his lunch. In school he seems to misbehave and is caned more than once by the teacher and his rather sadistic assistants. As for the teacher or schoolmaster, his pay seems as meager then as it is now; at least he seems to be only too happy to make a 'little extra' from the parents in order to eke out his earnings.

The original author of the composition must have been one of the teachers comprising the faculty of the 'tablet-house,' although it is difficult to determine at present the specific purposes that motivated him. In any case it proved to be a highly popular work; it was copied again and again, and its title has been found listed in one of the two ancient Sumerian literary catalogues which have been uncovered (cf. BASOR 88. 16, note 50). In the main the composition is written in prose, but some of the speeches are poetic in form (cf. lines 13-16, and lines 59-end). Its contents may be divided into two main sections. In the first (lines 1- probably 46), the pupil, in answer to the author's direct question, describes his activities and experiences in school in the first person; it therefore purports to be autobiographical in character. On the other hand, in the remainder of the composition, which relates of the teacher's invitation to the pupil's home, the author describes the incidents in the usual narrative form, and speaks of the pupil in the third person. Briefly summarized the contents of the composition may be sketched as follows:

In answer to the author's question about his school activities the lad gives what seems to be a rather generalized description of the day's work; he read(?) his tablet, ate lunch, prepared and wrote a (new) tablet, and was then assigned oral (?) and written (?) work. He then volunteers a description of some of his after-school experiences. Upon the school's dismissal he went home, read(?) his tablet to his delighted father, ate supper, went to bed, arose early in the morning, and departed for school with two 'rolls' which his mother had given him. He arrived late and, though the monitor (?) seems to let him pass with a mere rebuke, he entered before his teacher with a pounding heart. He then describes in considerable detail some of the school activities, but unfortunately the passage is broken at several points and contains a number of unintelligible phrases so that its contents are at present largely obscure. One fact stands out: it was a bad day for our ancient pupil. He was caned by the various members of the school staff for his indiscretions, and three times by the teacher himself—once with the reprimand that his 'hand' was unsatisfactory. Following a passage which is not too clear, the pupil turns to his father and seems to suggest that it might be a good thing to invite the teacher

to his home and offer him some presents. The father agrees, and the teacher is brought to the schoolboy's house. There he is seated in the place of honor, thanked heartily by the father for educating his son in the intricacies of the scribal art, and following a banquet in his honor, is presented with various gifts. Warmed and moved by this unexpected generosity, the teacher waxes poetic and blesses the aspiring scribe in highly reassuring words.

The text of our 'schooldays' composition can be restored from twenty-one tablets and fragments, all actually written some time during the first half of the second millennium B. C.; for complete details see the last paragraph of this introduction and note 220. Of these twenty-one pieces, thirteen are in the University Museum of the University of of Pennsylvania, seven are in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul, and one is in the Louvre. The twenty tablets and fragments in the University Museum and in the Museum of the Ancient Orient were excavated by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur some fifty years ago; the tablet in the Louvre was brought from a dealer and its provenience is uncertain. The history of the gradual piecing together of its contents is as follows: In 1909, exactly forty years ago, Hugo Radau published a small tablet in the University Museum containing an extract from the middle of the text; he made no comment on the nature of its contents, however. Five years later, Stephen Langdon published a small tablet in the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient which contained another extract from the middle of the composition; he described its contents as legendary. In 1924, Edward Chiera published a small fragment in the Museum of the Ancient Orient; at that time he considered it part of a legendary series dealing with the origin of Babylonian civilization. In 1939, De Genouillac published a small tablet in the Louvre inscribed with the first twenty-six lines of our composition; he described its contents as a poem by a young scribe exalting his parents and his school. Four years later appeared Edward Chiera's posthumous volume Sumerian Epics and Myths containing three fragments in the University Museum; in the introduction, prepared by the present writer, to that volume, all he could say was that they were part of a most important group of *é-dub-ba* documents whose interpretation was still in its earliest stages. Some five years later the writer copied five pieces in the Museum of the Ancient Orient, one of which was a fairly well preserved four-column tablet on which had been inscribed the entire text of our composition. As stated in volume 60 of this JOURNAL (1940), pp. 247-8, it was now possible for the first time to realize its full length and to recognize the real nature of its contents. Since then nine more pieces belonging to the University Museum have been identified by the writer, ranging from a well preserved four-column tablet to small fragments containing no more than a few broken lines.

So much for the original text of the composition. As for translations, the first significant attempt to translate the first part of the tablet was made by Thorkild Jacobsen and his student Ronald Williams; the manuscript which I had the opportunity of examining is still unpublished. In 1944, Maurus Witzel attempted to translate parts of the text, cf. Orientalia N. S. 44. 288 ff. Just last year, Adam Falkenstein published in Die Welt des Orients, an excellent translation of the first twenty-six lines of our composition as inscribed on the Louvre tablet published by De Genouillac, as well as a fair rendering of seventeen lines from the middle of the composition reconstructed from five of the published fragments (throughout this study Falkenstein's paper will be abbreviated as *Falk.*). The present study attempts for the first time to reconstruct and translate the entire text of the document. As expected, not a few of the Sumerian lines offer considerable difficulty in translation and interpretation. The completed manuscript was therefore given to Landsberger for further study, and his suggestions and comments are incorporated at the end of this publication.

The twenty-one extant tablets and fragments belonging to our 'schooldays' composition are as follows: *SLTN* 118 = A; *TRS* 49 = B; CBS 6094 (cf. plates I-II) = C; *SLTN* 120 = D; *SEM* 69 = E; CBS 19826 (cf. plate III; only side b; side a belongs to a different composition, cf. note 187) = F; *SLTN* 123 = G; N 3565 (cf. plate III) = H; *SEM* 66 = I; N 3239 (cf. plate IV) = J; *BE* XXXI 37 = K; N 4174 (cf. plate IV) = L; N 3622 (cf. plate III) = M; N 4189 (cf. plate IV) = N; *HAV* 18 = O; *SRT* 29 = P; *SEM* 68 = Q; N 3029 (cf. plate IV) = R; *SLTN* 119 = S; *SLTN* 125 = T; CBS 15003 (cf. plate III) = U. The tablets listed as CBS or

N are the newly identified pieces in the University Museum; they are adequately photographed on plates (I-IV) and the writer did not deem it necessary to copy them by hand.

Line by line, the text of our composition is reconstructed as follows: 1-20 = A obv. i; 1-26 = B; 10-31 = C obv. i; 15-23 = D obv.; 22-23 = E obv. i; 23-29 (and 36) = F side b; 26-72 = A obv. ii and rev. iii; 29-36 = G; 29-39(?) = H obv.; 32-39 = I obv.; 34-39 = J obv.; 34-42 = K obv.; 39-81 = C obv. ii and rev. iii; 40-53 = E obv. ii and rev. iii; 41-47 = L obv.; 42-59 = M obv. and rev.; 43-59 = N obv. and rev.; 50-64 = K rev.; 51-58 = N rev.; 52-62 = O obv.; 59-63(?) = P obv.; 62-64 = J rev.; 67-74 = I rev.; 67-74 = O rev.; 67-78 = Q obv.; 67-70 = R obv.; 69-76 = H rev.; 69-74 = P rev.; 69-85 = S obv. and rev.; 74-81 = R rev.; 80-end = A rev. iv; 83-89 = D rev.; 83-88 = T; 83-end = U obv. and rev.; 89-end = C rev. iv; 90-end = Q rev.

## TRANSLITERATION

dumu-é-dub-ba-a $u_4$-ul-la-la[1]-àm me-šè[2] ì-du-dè-en
é-dub-ba-a-šè ì-du-dè-en
é-dub-ba-a a-na-àm ì-ag
dub-mu ì-šed níg-ka-gub[3]-mu ì-kú
dub-mu ì-dím[4] i-sar ì-til-ma
mu-gub-ba-mu ma-an-gub-bu-uš
kin-sig im-šu-mu ma-an-gub-bu-uš[5]
$u_4$ é-dub-ba-a $du_8$-u[6]-dè é-šè ì-du-dè[7]
é-e ì-tu-ri ad-da-mu al-tus
10. ad-da-mu im-šu-mu KA in-an-$dug_4$-ma[8]
dub-mu in-na-an-šed ad-da-mu mu-un-$sag_5$[9]
igi-ad-da-mu-šè ì-gub-bu-nam[10]
nag-e[11]-tuku a nag-mu-ub-zé-en[12]
kú-e[13]-tuku ninda sì-ma-ab[14]-zé-en
gìr-mu luḫ-ḫa-zé-en giš[15]ná gub-ba(?)-zé-en ga-ba-ná-e-še[15]
á-gú-zi[16]-ga-ta zi-mu-ub-zé-en[17]
$u_4$ na-ab-zal-e[18]-en um-mi-a-mu mu-un-túd-dè[19]
á-gú-zi-ga-ta zi-zi-da-mu-dè
ama-mu igi[20] bí[21]-in-na[22]-gar-ma
20. níg-ka-gub-mu sì-ma-ab é-dub-ba-a-šè ga-du in-na-an[23]-$dug_4$
ama-mu ninda-min ma-an-sì-ma igi-ni-ta PA mu-ni-ib-ta-ag[24]
ama-mu ninda-min ma-an-sì-ma é-dub-ba-a-šè ba(?)-du-dè-en[25]
é-dub-ba-a lú-bal-a[26]-$ke_4$ a-na-še[27]-àm $u_4$ mu-zal-e-še[28] ma-an-$dug_4$-ma[29] ní ba-te šà-mu ba-dar[30]

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[1] B omits *-la-*.
[2] *B*: *-šè(!)*.
[3] B omits *-gub-*.
[4] B: *-dù* for *-dím*.
[5] So B: A omits *-uš*.
[6] B: *-e-* for *-ù-*.
[7] B adds *-en*.
[8] So B; A: *in-na-ra- . . . -e*.
[9] So B; in both A and C the verb seems to read *mu-da-šag$_5$(?)*.
[10] C perhaps omits *-nam*.
[11] So B; C: *-a* for *-e*.
[12] B: *-en-zé-* for *zé-en*.
[13] C: *šà-gar-kú* for *kú-e*.
[14] B inserts *-en-*.
[15] So C and probably A; B reads *giš-ná-gub(!)-ba-ab-en-zé-en gìr(!?)-mu luḫ-ḫa-ab-en-zé-en gaba-ba-ná*.
[16] D: *-zi(!)*.
[17] So C; B reads *á(!)-gú-zi-ga-ta zi-mu(!)-ub-en-zé-en*.
[18] B omits *-e-*.
[19] So C; A and B add *-en*.
[20] So C; B and probably D add *-mu*.
[21] So C; B and D omit *bí-*.
[22] So C; B adds *-an-*.
[23] B omits *-an-*.
[24] So C and probably D; B reads *ama-mu ninda-min (!)-àm ?-ta ma-an-sì-ma igi-ni-ta ?-mu íb-ta-è*.
[25] So C and probably D. In B, the line is divided into two and reads *níg-ka-gub-mù si-ma-ab é-dub-ba-a-šè ì-du-dè-en*.
[26] So C; B omits *-a-*.
[27] So C; B and D: *-aš-* for *-še-*.
[28] So C; B omits *-e-še-*.
[29] So C and probably E and F; B omits *-ma*.
[30] The words *ní-ba-te šà-mu ba-dar* are from B which

igi-um-mi-a-mà[31] i-in-tu-ri-ma ki ib-za[32]
ad-da-é-dub-ba-a-mu dub-mu ma-an-šed[33]
? im-ta-kud-da[34]-aš-e-še[35] in-túd-dè-en[36]
níg-ka-gub PA ù-NE-NE[37] ?-LÍL(?) NÍG-LÍL(?) níg-ka-gub in-na-an-za(?)
um-mi-a á[38]-ag-ga-é-dub-ba én-tar-ri-da-ni
lú tag-tag-gi-da é-sila-a igi i-ni-in-bar TÚG-$DU_8$-zu[39] nu-ub-sir-ri[40]-e-še in-túd-dè-en

30. ad-da-é-dub-ba-mu[41] dub-mu-ma-an-túm[42]
lú-kisal-lá-$ke_4$ šar-ra-ab-zé-en ? bí(?)--$dug_4$(?) ki-ḫun-gá . . . .[43]
dub-mu šu ba-e[44]-ti . . . .[45]-GÁ . . . .
dub[46]-mu ab-sar-ri[47] níg-DU-mu . . . .
én-nu-tar-ra-bi[48] KA[49]-ŠÈ(?)[50] KA-mu[51] nu-zu-e
lu-. . .-$ke_4$ a-na-aš-àm[52] mà-da-nu-me-a[53] inim íb-ba-e[54]-e-še in-túd-de-en
lú-PA-mušen(?)-na-$ke_4$ a-na-aš-àm[55] mà-da-nu-me-a[56] gú-zi nu-mu-un[57]-zi-e-še in-túd-dè-en[58]
lú-giš-ḫur-ra-$ke_4$[59] a-na-aš-àm[60] mà-da-nu-me-a[61] ì-zi-gi-en[62]-e-še in-túd-dè-en[63]
lú-ká-na-$ke_4$ a-na-aš-àm[64] mà-da-nu-me-a[65] íb-ta-è[66]-e-še in-túd-dè-en
lú-?-na-$ke_4$[67] a-na-aš-àm[68] mà-da-nu[69]-me-a ? šu ba-ti[70]-e-še in-túd-dè-en

40. lú-eme-zír(?)-ra-$ke_4$ eme-zír(?) . . bí-in-$dug_4$-e-še in[71]-túd-dè-en
um-mi-a-mu šu-zu nu-$sag_5$-$sag_5$-e-še in-túd-dè-en
nam-dub-sar-ra[72] gú bí-du[73] nam-dub-sar-[ra IM-ŠUB bí-ag]
um-mi-a-mu[74] KA-ni[75] nu-mu-e-da-an-. .

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writes them as a separate line. In C the corresponding complexes are not clear; they seem to read *ní-ba šà (?)-mu(?) bí-dar(?)*

[31] So C; B and F read *-mu-šè* for *-mà*.

[32] So C; B reads *i-tu-re-en ki ma íb(!)-za*.

[33] So C; B: *mu-un* for *ma-an-*.

[34] So C; B begins the line with *im-ta-kud-aš*; F omits *-da-aš*.

[35] So C; B omits *e-še*.

[36] So C; B: *mu-un-* for *in-*.

[37] So C; F and probably A seem to have *-ni* for the second -NE.

[38] So F; A, if the copy is correct, omits *-á-*.

[39] So A and C; F: *-za* for *-zu*.

[40] So A and C; F: *nu-ub-*.

[41] So A; G and H insert *-a-* before *-mu*; C omits *-mu*.

[42] In F the last line seems to be line 36 of our text.

[43] The traces in A and H do not seem to agree; in the latter, one of the legible signs seems to be BA.

[44] So A; G and probably H omit *-e-*.

[45] In H, the only text preserved at this point, the signs may perhaps be GIŠ, HAR (or are both signs really one?), and ALIM(?).

[46] So A; H seems to have *lú* for *dub*.

[47] So A; F, H, and I add *-en*.

[48] So G, H, and I; A seems to add *-en*.

[49] So A, G, and K; I and perhaps H: KÚ-.

[50] In G and K, the sign seems to be šÈ; in I, the sign seems to be TÚG; in A and H, the sign is not clear.

[51] So H and J; K: *-mà* for *-mu*.

[52] So H, I, and probably G; A and K have *-še-* for *-aš-*.

[53] J probably omits entire complex.

[54] So J and probably A; K omits *-e*; J probably *-bi* for *-ba-e*.

[55] So in accordance with the preceding and following lines, although all the extant text (that is A, J, and K) have *-še* for *-aš*.

[56] So in accordance with the preceding and following lines, although all the extant texts omit the phrase.

[57] K: *-e-* for *-un-*.

[58] Line omitted in H and I; note that this line is found in F where, however, it follows the line corresponding to line 29 of our text.

[59] So clearly A; K probably *lú-giš(!)-ḫur(!)-ra-$ke_4$*.

[60] So H and I; A, J, and K read *-še* for *aš*.

[61] So H, I, J, K; A omits complex.

[62] So A, H, J, and K; I has -GIM for *-gi-en*.

[63] In H the position of this line varies.

[64] So H and I; A, J, and K read *-še-*.

[65] So H, I, J, and K; A omits complex.

[66] So A and probably H; I adds *-a*; K inserts *-an* after *-ta-*.

[67] So A and K; H omits *-na-*.

[68] So H and I; A, J, and K read *-še-* for *-aš-*.

[69] So H, I, J, and K; A omits complex.

[70] So A and K; H inserts *-e-* between *ba-* and *-ti*.

[71] So A; C has *an-* for *in-*.

[72] So A and C; E omits *-ra*.

[73] So A and C; K probably *-dù* for *-du*; E: *bí-in-$du_{11}$*.

[74] So L; A, C, and E omit *-mu*.

[75] So A; E seems to have BI for KA; in C the traces point to neither KA nor BI.

nam-dub-sar-ra[76] á-kal-ni ma[77]-an-. . .
zag-inim-inim-ma nam-dub-sar-ra-tur-ra
zag-nam-šeš-gal é-dub-ba-a-šè na-me na-ma-ši-in. .
ninda-ba-ni sì-ma-ab a-rá ḫa-ra-sì(?)-mu(?)[78]
šed-níg-šed-dè šu ḫé-mi-bar-ri[79]
inim-inim-ma-é-dub-ba-a-gál-la[80]

50. dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne[81] ab-šed-dè mà-e[82] ḫu-mu-un-šed-dè[83]
dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$[84] níg bi-in-dug$_4$-ga ad-da-ni[86] inim-ma ba-ni-gi$_4$[87]
um-mi-a é-dub-ba-a-ta lú im-da-ri[88]
é-a ù-mu-ni-in-tu[89] zag-gu-la[90] bí-in-tuš[91]
dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$[92] šu-kin an-díb[93] igi-ni-šè al-gub
nam-dub-sar-ra a-na bí-in-zu-na[94]
ad-da-na[95] šu-na[96] ba-ni-in-sì[97]
ad-da-ni šà-ḫúl-la-ni-ta
ad-da-é-dub-ba-a-ka-ni[98] gú-ḫúl ba-ni-dé-e[99]
lú-tur-mu šu-ni i-ni-in-bad-du[100] kù-zu i-ni-in-tu-ri-en[101]

60. nam-dub-sar-ra níg-galam-galam-ma-bi mu-ni-in-pàd-pàd-dè-en[102]
šà-dub-ba-a[103] šed-níg-šed ki-búr-búr-ra-bi[104] igi mu-un-na-si-ga-aš[105]
gu-sì-ma-ab[106] ki-dul-dul-a-bi[107] dalla mu-ni-ne[108]
kaš-sig$_5$-gim[109] ni-ir-da dé-mu-na-an-zé-en[110] $^{giš}$banšur DU-mu-un-na-ab[111]
ìa-dùg-na sig$_4$-gú[112]-šà-ga-na a-gim mi-ni-ib-bal-bal
túg ga-ni-mu$_4$ ninda ga-na-ba ḫur šu-na ga-du$_{11}$[113]
kaš-sig$_5$-gim[114] ni-ir-da mu-na-ni-dé-e banšur mu-na-DU[115]
ìa-dùg-ga sig$_4$-gú-šà-ga-na[116] a-gim mi-ni-ib-bal-bal[117]

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[76] E has TÚG for *-ra*; probably a scribal error is involved.

[77] In E, perhaps, the sign is MA written over an erasure.

[78] So A and C; M probably has *ḫa-ba-ab-* for *ba-ra-*.

[79] So C and probably A; N and probably M insert *-im-* before *-mi-*.

[80] So A, C, and E; N and probably M insert *al-* before *-gál-la*.

[81] So A and M; C omits *-a-*; N omits *-ke$_4$-*.

[82] So A, E (*mà(!)-e(!)*), and M; N seems to have *a* for *mà-e*.

[83] So M and N; E: ḫu-. . . . (the signs are illegible because of a scribal erasure).

[84] So C, E, K, and M; A adds *-ne*.

[85] So K, M, and probably E; A and C omit *-in-*.

[86] So E, K, and M; A and C: *-na* for *-ni*.

[87] So A; K and M have *-NE-* for *-ni-*; E seems to omit *ba-*; N omits the line altogether.

[88] So A; K and probably N: *im-ma-da-an-ri*.

[89] So K, M, N, and probably O; A and C: *i-ni-in-tu-ri*.

[90] So A, K, N, and probably C; M: *-gal* for *-gu*.

[91] So K; N: *ba-e-* for *bí-in-*; A (and probably C): *ga-* for *bí-in*.

[92] So K, M, and N; O omits *-a-*; A and C read *dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-e-ne*.

[93] So A, K, M, and O; N: *al-* for *an-*.

[94] So A; K, M, and O insert *-a-* after *-zu-*; O reads *-ni* for *-na*.

[95] So A, C, and K; L and O: *-ni* for *-na*.

[96] So A, C, K, M, and O; N: *-ni* for *-na*.

[97] In O, lines 55-6 are written as one.

[98] So M, N, and O; A and C: *-ke$_4$-ne* for *-ka-ni*; C also omits *-a-* after *-ba-*.

[99] So A; K omits *-e* (the scribe wrote ~~an extra *ba-*~~); O inserts *-in-* after *-ni-*, and omits *-e*.

[100] So A, C, and probably K; O omits *i-ni*.

[101] So A, K, and probably C; O and probably P: *-ra* for *-ri-en*.

[102] So A and O; K omits *-en-*.

[103] So A and C; O omits *-a*; K inserts *-é-* between *šà-* and *-dub-*.

[104] So K and probably O; A omits *-bi*; P omits *-ra-*.

[105] So A and K; O inserts *-an-* after *-na-*; P omits *-un-*.

[106] So A; K omits *-ab*.

[107] So A; P: *-la-* for *-a-*.

[108] So A; K: *mu-na-an-è*; P: *mu-na-an-è-à*[*m*].

[109] So A and C; in K the traces do not point to *-gim-*.

[110] So probably K; in J, the traces seem to indicate that *-un-* was inserted after *mu-*; in A and probably C, the verb read *mu-na-dé-e*; in P, the traces do not seem to agree with either reading.

[111] So J and K; A and C: *banšur mu-na-an-túm*; in P the last sign is probably *-ab*, not *-ke$_4$*.

[112] So A and C; J omits *-gú-*.

[113] So C; A seems to have *bí-* for *ga-*.

[114] So A; C omits *-gim*.

[115] So A and C; Q inserts *-un-*.

[116] So A; C omits *ga-*; in I, the scribe wrote erroneously *sig$_4$-šà-ga-ga-na*.

[117] So A and I; Q omits *-ib-*.

túg mu-ni-mu$_4$[118] ninda[119] mu-na-an-ba[120] ḫur šu-na[121] bí-in-dù[122]
um-mi-a šà-ḫúl-la-ni-ta eme mu-na-DU[123]

70. lú-tur inim-mu-šè[124] gú li-bí-dù-a IM-ŠUB li-bí-in-ag[125]
nam-dub-sar-ra sag-bi ús-sa[126] zag-bi-šè til-la[127]
níg-na-me la-ba-gil-ba-na-za-àm[128] šu-mu-šè[129] mu-e-sì-ma[130]
ninda-ba-á-kuš-a-mu[131]-dirig mu-ni-in-gar[132] nam-dugud mu-e-daḫ-e[133]
$^{d}$nidaba nin-$^{d}$lama-ra[134] $^{d}$lama-zu ḫé-a[135]
gi-dù-a-zu[136] šag$_5$-gi ḫu-mu-ra-an-gá-gá[137]
im-šu-gub-ba-zu ḫul ḫé-ri-in-tuku-tuku[138]
šeš-zu-ù-ne[139] igi-gub-bi ḫé-me-en
du$_{10}$-sa-zu-ù-ne[140] sag-kal-bi ḫé-me-en
an-ta-gál-dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne ḫé-me-en

80. é-lugal-ta[141]-dib-dib-bi šà-si-NI[142]
lú-tur ad-da ba-an-zu mà-e ús-sa-ni-me-en
eme i-ri-DU-a nam i-ri-tar-ra[143]
[ama(?)]-ad-da-zu inim-bi-ta[144] šu-zi ḫa-ra[145]-gá-gá-ne[146]
[níg(?)-$^{d}$]nidaba-nin-za níg-dingir-za-gim SISKUR-SISKUR-ra ù-gul mu-na-gá-gá[147]
[u]m-mi-a níg-ad-da-za-gim sub ḫa-ra-túm-túm
. . . nam-?[148]-um-mi-a-ka[149] sag-ki-šeš-gal-la-ka[150]
. . . .-ga mu-e-gar-ra-zu[151]
[gi$_4$-me-a]-aš lú-šul-a-zu[152] sag$_5$-gi ḫu-mu-ra-gá-gá-ne[152a]
[á-ág]-gá-é-dub-ba pa bi-è lú-dim$_6$ bí-ag

90. $^{d}$nidaba-nin-ki-dim$_6$-ma nam-maḫ-a-ni bí-in-dug$_4$
$^{d}$nidaba zà-sal

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[118] So C and I; R inserts *-in-* before *-mu$_4$*; A has *ga-ni-mu$_4$*.

[119] So C and I; A inserts *niida-ba* before *ninda*.

[120] So A nd C; O inserts *-un* after *mu-*; I: *-ni-in-* for *-na-an-*.

[121] So A, I, and Q; C omits *-na*.

[122] So I; Q omits *-in-*; O omits entire line. In Q the position of lines 67 and 68 is interchanged.

[123] So A; I, Q, and probably O insert *-an-* after *-na-*.

[124] So I and S; A and C have -NI for *-šè*.

[125] So C; J omits *-in-*. Instead of *gú li-bí-dù-a* IM-ŠUB *li-bí-in-ag*, I reads *ba-tuš-ù-nam šà-mu bí-dùg-ga*; P reads the same as I but has *-gi* instead of *-ga* (note that *-mu* is probably a miscopy in P for *-nam*).

[126] So A and C; P adds *-a*; O: *ús-a* for *ús-sa*; I probably: *sag bí-ús-sa-a*.

[127] So A and P; I and probably O and S: *i-til-la*; H: *e-til-la*.

[128] So A and C; S: *la-ba-an-gil-bi-na-zu*; O has same as S but inserts *-a-* before *-zu*; H: *la-ba-gil-?-bi-en* . . ; P and R: *la-ba-gi$_4$-bi-na-zu*.

[129] So H, P, and probably O; A and C insert *-un-* before *-šè*; S: *šu-mu-uš*.

[130] So H, I, O, P, and S; A and C omit *-e-*.

[131] So O; H, P, and S omit *-mu*; C omits *-a-mu*.

[132] So C and S; P adds *-ra*; O inserts *-in-* and adds *-ra*; H reads *mu-e*; I seems to omit *mu-*.

[133] So P, S, and probably H; O: *-àm* for *-e*.

[134] So C; H, O, and S add *-ke$_4$*; P adds *-ke$_4$* but omits *-ra-*.

[135] So O and P; S: *-àm* for *-a*.

[136] So C and S; H: *-za* for *-zu*.

[137] So S; Q omits *-an-*.

[138] So Q; S: *-en-* for *-in-*.

[139] So C; R and S omit *-ù-*.

[140] So C; S omits *-ù-*.

[141] So C; S: *-la-ke$_4$* for *-ta*.

[142] So Q and probably C; S: *šà-dirig-bi*.

[143] So A; S: *-ri* for *-ra*.

[144] So U; S: *-da* for *-ta*; A: *-dè* for *-ta*.

[145] So S; T: *ḫu-mu-ra-* for *ḫa-ra-*.

[146] So A; S omits *-ne*.

[147] So S and probably A; T: *mu-na(!?)-e-gá-gá*; D, perhaps, *ù-bí-gá-gá*.

[148] In D the sign is copied as PA; in U, however, it looks more like BUL.

[149] So A and U; D omits *-ka*.

[150] So A; T: *-a-* for *-la-*; D: *-ke$_4$* for *-ka*.

[151] So U; A: *-un-* for *-e-*.

[152] So A and U; D: *-zu(!)*.

[152a] So A; D: *-ni-ib-* between *-ra-* and *-ga-*.

TRANSLATION

'Schoolboy, where did you go *from earliest days?*'
'I went to school.'
'What did you do in school?'
'I *read* my tablet, ate my lunch,
prepared my tablet, wrote it, finished it; then
my *prepared lines were prepared for me*
(and in) the afternoon, *my hand copies were prepared for me.*
Upon the school's dismissal, I went home,
entered the house, (there) was my father sitting.
I *spoke* to my father of *my hand copies,* then
*read* the tablet to him, (and) my father was pleased;
truly I *found favor with* my father.
"I am thirsty, give me drink,
I am hungry, give me bread,
wash my feet, set up the bed, I want to go to sleep;
wake me early in the morning,
I must not be late, (or) my teacher will cane me."
When I awoke early in the morning,
I faced my mother, and
said to her: "Give me my lunch, I want to go to school."
My mother gave me two "rolls," I *left* her;
my mother gave me two "rolls," I went to school.
In the tablet-house, the *monitor* said to me: "Why are you late?" I was afraid, my heart beat fast.
I entered before my teacher, *took* (*my*) *place.*
My "school-father" *read* my tablet to me,
(said) "The . . *is cut off,*" caned me.
I . .d to him lunch . . . . lunch.
The teacher in supervising the school duties,
looked into *house and street in order to pounce upon* some one, (said) "Your . . is not . . ," caned me.
My "school-father" brought me my tablet.
Who was in charge of the courtyard *said* "Write," . . . . *a peaceful place.*
I took my tablet, . . . . .
I write my tablet, . . . . my . . .
*Its unexamined part* my . . . . *does not know.*
Who was in charge of . . . (said) "Why when I was not here did you talk?" caned me.
Who was in charge of the . . . (said) "Why when I was not here did you not keep your head high?" caned me.
Who was in charge of *drawing* (said) "Why when I was not here did you stand up?" caned me.
Who was in charge of the gate (said) "Why when I was not here did you *go* out?" caned me.
Who was in charge of the . . (said) "Why when I was not here did you take the . .?" caned me.
Who was in charge of the Sumerian (said) "You spoke . . ," caned me.
My teacher (said) "Your hand is not good," caned me.

*I neglected* the scribal art, [I forsook] the scribal art,
My teacher did not . . . . ,
. .d me his *skill in* the scribal art.
The . . of *words,* the art of being a young scribe,
the . . of the art of being a big brother, *let no one* . . to school.'
' Give me his gift, let him *direct* the way to you,
let him *put aside* counting and accounting;
the *current* school *affairs*

50. the schoolboys will . . , verily they will . . me.'
To that which the schoolboy said, his father gave heed.
The teacher was brought from school;
having entered the house, he was seated in the seat of honor.
The schoolboy took the . . . , sat down before him;
whatever he had learned of the scribal art,
he unfolded to his father.
His father, with joyful heart
says joyfully to his 'school-father':
' You " open the hand " of my young one, you make of him an expert,

60. show him all the fine points of the scribal art.
*You have shown him all the more obvious details of the tablet-craft,* of counting and accounting,
you have *clarified* for him all the more *recondite details* of the . . .'
' Pour out for him . . . like good wine, *bring* him a stand,
*make flow* the good oil in his . .-vessel like water,
I will dress him in a (new) garment, present him a gift, put a band about his hand.'
They pour out for him . . like good date-wine, *brought* him a stand,
*made flow* the good oil in his . .-vessel like water,
he dressed him in a (new) garment, gave him a gift, put a band about his hand.
The teacher with joyful heart gave speech to him:

70. ' Young man, because you did not *neglect* my word, did not forsake it,
May you reach the pinnacle of the scribal art, achieve it completely.
Because you gave me that which you were by no means obliged (to give),
you presented me with a gift over and above my earnings, have shown me great honor,
may Nidaba, the queen of the guardian deities, be your guardian deity,
may she show favor to your *fashioned* reed,
may she take all evil *from* your *hand copies.*
Of your brothers, may you be their leader,
of your companions, may you be their chief,
may you rank the highest of (all) the schoolboys,

80. . . . . who *come* from the royal house.
Young man, you " know " a father, I am second to him,
I will give speech to you, will decree (your) fate:
Verily your father and [*mother*] will support you *in this matter,*
as [*that*] which is Nidaba's, as that which is thy god's, *they* will present offerings and prayers to her;
the teacher, as that which is your father's verily will pay homage to you;
in the . . . of the teacher, in the . . of the big brother,

your . . . . whom you have established,
your manly [kinfolk] verily will show you favor.
You *have carried out well the school duties,* have become a man of *learning.*

90. Nidaba, the queen of the place of *learning,* you have exalted.'
O Nidaba, praise!

## COMMENTARY

Lines 1-3. The contents of these three lines represent a stylistic device utilized by the author of the composition to introduce the schoolboy's description of his school activities so that in lines 4 ff. the reader is to understand that the boy is relating to the author his school experiences.[153] The complex *dumu-é-dub-ba-a,* as is pointed out in Falk. 175, seems to represent a double genitive *dumu-é-dub-ak-a(k).*[154] The complex $u_4$*-ul-la-àm* should mean 'in former days,' that is, perhaps, in the days when the *dumu-é-dub-ba* was still a child; if so, the *dumu-é-dub-ba* of this line should not be taken to designate a schoolboy actually attending school at the moment, but (as Landsberger has pointed out to me) one who had attended the *é-dub-ba* in his youth, and is now an alumnus.[155] For the plene writing of *é-dub-ba-a* (lines 2, 3, and passim) cf. Falk. 175.[156] The verbal form *ì-du-dè-en* (line 2), on the surface seems to be a present in form, but the context certainly demands a preterit; cf. particularly line 8 where there is no $u_4$*-ul-la-àm* to complicate the issue.[157] The verbal form *ì-du-dè-en* also appears in the following passage which supplements significantly our information concerning the *é-dub-ba* activities.[158]

1. . . .-àm . . . .-ab [159]
. . .-àm al(?)-du(?)-un [160]
me-šè-àm ì-du-dè-en [161]
ki-na-me-šè nu-du-de-en
[tuku] mb-bi ki-na-ma-šè nu-du-dè-en a-na-aš-àm $u_4$ mu-e-zal
e-d[ub-ba-šè du-ù igi-ad-da-é-dub-ba]-a-zu-šè gub-ba[162]
éš-kar-[zu šed-da-ab NIGIN-zu] ig kíd-a-ab [163]
dub-zu [sar]-ra-ab
dub-[gibil-zu šeš-ga]l-zu ḫé-ri-ib-sar-ri[164]

[153] It is to be noted, however, that in the latter half of this composition (probably lines 47-end), our author ignores this stylistic device and its implications. Thus in lines 47-50, the schoolboy seems to be addressing his father, although there is no introductory line to note this change. And from lines 51 to the end of the composition the author talks of the schoolboy in the third person and describes his experiences in the usual narrative form.

[154] That *é-dub-ba* itself is a genitive is obvious from the meaning which can only be 'house of tablets,' and from the form *é-dub-ba-ka* 'in the tablet house' in *TCL* XVI 87 v 30, although it is strange indeed that the genitive *k* is omitted in all other passages where it is grammatically justified.

[155] Falkenstein, *loc. cit.* regards $u_4$*-ul-la-àm* with 'seit langen Tagen' from a more literal 'ferne Tage,' but if so, the form might have been expected to read $u_4$*-ul-la-ta*; note, too, that Falkenstein's rendering seems to be less apt in the context.

[156] Falkenstein's explanation is far from satisfactory since there is no other example to illustrate this phenomenon, but there seems to be no better solution at the moment.

[157] Falk. 175.

[158] The passage is restored from *BE* XXXI 51:3-28 (=A); *SEM* 71 obv. i (=B); ibid. 70:1-11(=C); cf. *JAOS* 60.253 and *SLTN* pp. 37-8; it consists of the first thirty-three lines of a composition of approximately two hundred lines whose contents are still largely obscure.

[159] So according to Langdon's copy; when I collated the tablet (cf. *JAOS* 60.253) the upper corner was broken, and I was thus unable to verify Langdon's copy.

[160] So according to my collation of the tablet; because of the doubtful character of the signs, however, I made no comment to the line in *JAOS* 60.253. Note, too, that the sign resembling EN at the beginning of the line was no longer there when I collated the tablet; hence I was unable to verify it.

[161] Langdon's copy seems to have IGI instead of ME; unfortunately the first two signs were no longer on the tablet when I collated it.

[162] For the restoration of this line—it is of course largely tentative in character—cf. line 22. Note too that these signs A, ZU, and ŠÈ, preceding *gubba* are probably actually on the original according to my collation sheet. As in a number of other cases I did not include them in the published collation in *JAOS* since at the time they seemed too doubtful.

[163] For the restorations cf. line 24; the final EN is probably an erasure. The reading *ig* for the sign GÁL is based on the fact that GÁL—*kíd* is a compound verb consisting of a substantive and a verbal root.

[164] For the restorations, cf. line 25; the signs between *-gal* and *-sar* are actually on the original, but in such poor condition that I considered them too doubtful to include them in the collation in *JAOS.* The sign RI is probably the last on the line, the traces that follow it are probably those of an erased EN.

10. éš-kar-[zu] ù-mu-e-ag
ugula-a-z[u-šè] ù-na-dug$_4$-ga-àm ugu-mu-mu-šè gá-nu
. . . . DU dug$_4$-ga-ab
[sila-a nam-mu-u]n-nigin-e-dè-en[165]
. . . . gur(?)-ma-ab
. .-du-un níg-a-ra-dug$_4$-ga-mu ?-zu-?[166]
e-zu ga-mu-ra-ab-. .
ga-na gi$_4$-ma-ni-ib
ga-ra-ni-ib-gi[167]
dug$_4$-dug$_4$-ma-ab[168]

20. ga-ra-ab-dug$_4$-dug$_4$
ga-na dug$_4$-ma-ab
é-dub-ba-a-šè du-ù mu-e-dug$_4$[169]
éš-kar-mu šed-da NIGIN-mu ig kíd-kíd-da[170]
dub-mu sar-ri-da
dub-gibil-mu šeš-gal-mu sar-ri-da[171]
éš-kar-mu ù-mu-e-ag kin-gi$_4$-a-mu-šè gi$_4$-gi$_4$-dè[172]
ugula-a-mu-šè ù-na-dug$_4$-ga ugu-zu du-ù mu-e-dug$_4$[173]
gin-na ì-bí-éš lú ḫé-me-en
tillá[174] nam-ba-e-gub-bu-dè-en

30. sila-a nam-mu-nigin-dè-en[175]
e-sir-ra[176] dib-bi-da-zu-dè igi nam-bar-bar-ri-en
ḫé-BÚR-dè-en ugula-a-zu ní ḫe-en-dè-te(!)[177]
ní-te-ní-te-a-zu-dè ugula-zu ki a-ra-an-ág (?) . . . .

Translated, the passage reads as follows:[178]

1. . . . .[179]
. . . .
'Whither did you go?'[180]
'I did not go anywhere.'[181]
'[I]f you did not go anywhere why are you late?'[182]
[*Go to scho*]*ol*, stand before your ["*school-father*"],[183]
*Read*[184] *your assignment*, open your *school-bag*,[185]

[165] For the restorations which are by no means certain in this case, cf. line 30; instead of *nigin* read perhaps *ninnì*.

[166] The present reading of the line is based on a re-examination of my original collation sheet; at the time of the publication of the collations in *JAOS*, however, most of these signs seemed so doubtful that I decided not to include them at the time.

[167] The sign GI is of course a scribal erasure for GI$_4$.

[168] B has *du-dug$_4$-ma-ab*.

[169] B: *é-dub-ba-šè(!)*

[170] B: *éš-kar šed-e-da* NIGIN(!) *ig kíd(!)-kíd(!)-da*; C: *éš-kàr šed-e-da(!)* NIGIN *ig kíd(!)-kíd(!)-da*.

[171] B: [*dub*] *-gibil-gibil-zu šeš-gal-zu ḫa-ri-ib-sar-ri mu-e-dug$_4$*; C: *dub-gibil(!)-gibil(!)-zu šeš-gal-zu ḫa(!)-ri-ib-sar-ri mu-e(!)-dug$_4$*.

[172] C omits the first two complexes; also the final *-šè* of the third complex.

[173] C: *ugula-mu-uš ù-na-dug$_4$-ga-*[*àm*] *ugu-zu-*[*uš*] *du-ù mu-e-dug$_4$*.

[174] C: *tillá-a*.

[175] C: *nam-ba-* for *nam-mu-*.

[176] C: *e-sir-ra(!)*.

[177] C omits *-a-* in second complex. The final complex is based on C; A seems to have only *bé*-NE; perhaps, however, a miscopy is involved, one which I failed to note when collating the tablet.

[178] The translation and interpretation of this interesting thirty-three line passage are full of uncertainties. The present attempt must of course be considered largely tentative in character. It seems to consist of a colloquy between two unidentified individuals; one of these seems to be a young man who still attends school, the other seems to be in some way his superior and mentor. For another attempt at a translation of this passage cf. Maurus Witzel, *Orientalia* N. S. 13. 294 ff.

[179] Unfortunately the first two lines, the contents of which may have been of considerable help for our understanding of what follows, are largely destroyed, and it is difficult to venture an intelligent guess at a restoration. The first complex of line 1 to judge from the final *-àm* may perhaps have been an interrogatory phrase; note, however, that if Langdon's copy is correct (cf. note 159), and the line actually ends in *-ab*, the verb would seem to be an imperative. Line 2, might perhaps have begun with an interrogative complex (cf. note 160); while *al-du-un*, if the restoration is correct might mean 'I came' or 'you came.' In any case, however, it seems impossible at present to fit the contents of the first two lines with that of the immediately following passage.

[180] To judge from the contents of lines 3-5, the young man seems to have failed to report to his mentor, if we may use that non-commital term, at the expected time, and the latter seems to be somewhat provoked.

[181] The answer seems to be the typically vague response of a scolded lad.

[182] Cf. lines 17 and 23 of the 'schooldays' text.

[183] Cf. perhaps line 12 of the 'schooldays' text; the restoration is of course doubtful.

[184] The rendering of the root *šed* (cf. *AS* 2. 7 f. for the reading of the root) as 'read' (that is, 'read aloud,' of course) is quite uncertain; a meaning such as 'recite,' 'spell out,' 'figure out,' may perhaps be more exact (cf. Falk. 178). The meaning 'read' seems to fit very well lines 4, 11, and 25 of our 'schooldays' composition. The root *šed* is also found in line 50 of the same text, but there the meaning is quite uncertain. As for the passage quoted in part in Falk. 178, the two lines, *SRT* 28 rev. 1-2 (= *HAV* 19 obv. 3-4) can now, with the help of the unpublished fragment 29-131-195,

wr[ite] your tablet,[186]
let your [big brother] write your [new] tablet for you.[187]

10. After you have done your *assignment*,[188]
(and) after you have *reported* to your overseer,[189] *come pray upon me*,[190]

be restored to read: *dub-sar-dim*$_6$*-ag* BÚR-*na-bi ugula-ni* (var. *ugula-a-ni*) *mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi*$_4$*gi*$_4$ *u*$_4$*-si*$_{14}$ *-si*$_{14}$ *-gim ab-šed-dè-en-na-a* (var. omits *-en-na-*) *ba-an-gi*$_4$*-bi a-ra-ab-ḫa-za*. The first line seems to mean 'The *learned* scribe humbly answers his overseer' (for *dim*$_6$*-ag* cf. comment to line 89; note the same phrase in *TRS* XVI 45 obv. 9; note, too, that the subject elements seem to be missing) but the meaning of the second line is quite uncertain. Uncertain too is the rendering of *šed* in the following passages in the *é-dub-ba* material (cf. *SLTN* 36 ff.): *SEM* 59 rev. 8-9 = *SLTN* 114 b 23-4 = *SRT* 27 obv. 4-5 (e-šed-da; note that in *SEM* 59 rev. 9 the scribe, according to a collation of the original, probably attempted to write ŠED over a DA which he had written by mistake); *SLTN* 116 obv. 3, 5 (*ḫé-bi-šed*); cf. also *šed-níg-šed* in lines 48 and 61 of our 'schooldays' text, *SEM* 67 obv. i 5 and perhaps in *SLTN* 116 obv. 7 ([*šed-ni*]*g -šed*). Note finally that *éš-kàr-zu šed-da-ab* might have been expected to read *dub-zu šed-da-ab* (cf. line 4 of the 'schooldays' text); *éš-kàr* and *dub* may therefore be more or less equivalent, that is the 'assignment' actually referred to the 'tablet' written perhaps on a preceding day by his 'big brother' for him to study and copy.

[185] The rendering 'schoolbag' for NIGIN is of course nothing more than a guess based on the context. According to the 'schooldays' text, the schoolboy goes to school in the morning and comes home toward evening; he carries his lunch from home with him, and probably even brings his tablet home to read to his father. It seems not unreasonable therefore to assume that he carried with him some kind of a bag or container to and from school.

[186] This line may perhaps be an abbreviated form of line 5 of our 'schooldays' text; as for the 'tablet' which the schoolboy is writing it may be a copy of the one written for him by his 'big brother' on the preceding day (cf. line 9), the contents of which he had just finished reading and studying according to line 7.

[187] There seems to be nothing in the 'schooldays' tablet corresponding to this line, unless the contents of lines 6 and 7 are in some way related to it, as, at least on the surface, there seems to be nothing in our passage corresponding to the contents of lines 6-7 in the 'schooldays' text. In addition to the big brother's writing of the schoolboy's new tablet, we read of his examining a school tablet in *PBS* X 2 No. 96 rev. 3 (note that the obv. and rev. of that text should not have been numbered consecutively as there is a large break between them) which reads *šeš-gal-e ù-ba-tuš* (*!*) *dub-bi igi bí-ib-gur*$_6$*-gur*$_6$, 'The big brother having seated himself, examined the tablet.' This reading of the line, which is based on a collation of the original, eliminates the reading *ba-ba* and the conclusion that the latter word with a meaning such as 'little father,' was another term for 'teacher,' (cf. Falk. 181 and 184); eliminated too is the difficulty noted by Falk. note 50 concerning the reading of the last two signs on the line; these are both GANATENÛ in spite of the copies in *PBS* I 2 98. Note finally that *dub-bi* is not to be rendered 'that tablet'; the complex is to be analyzed as *dub-e* 'upon the tablet,' and is the regular dimensional object of the compound verb *igi-gur*$_6$*-gur*$_6$ 'to lift the eyes repeatedly (upon something),' that is, 'to examine.'

The big brother (together with the teacher himself) canes a schoolboy according to *PBS* I 2 No. 98 rev. 16-19; cf. Falk. 177 and note that Falkenstein's reading *du*$_{11}$*-du*$_{11}$*-na* for KA-KA-*na* is far from assured, for one might then have expected the complex to be written as KA-KA-*ga-na*. The 'big brother' is also mentioned in *PBS* I 2 No. 96 line 10 (*šeš-gal-zu*(*!*); *ibid.* 17 (*šeš-gal-a-ni*); *SLTN* 121, line 2 which reads *šeš-gal-e ummi-a igi an-ʔ-gá-gá* and which may perhaps be rendered: 'the big brother eyes the teacher'; cf. also *zag-nam-šeš-gal and sag-ki-šeš-gal-la-ka* in lines 46-86 of our 'schooldays' text. On the other hand *šeš-gal* and *šeš-bàn-da* of *SEM* 62 obv. 11 and 12 probably refers to real brothers, not school assistants since they are used in the same context with *lú-tab-ba* 'partner' *ku-li* 'friend' and *du*$_{10}$*-sa* 'companion' (cf. *ibid.* obv. 6, 10).

Finally the 'big brother' seems to be involved to some extent in a composition of close to 80 lines which can now be restored in large part from the following texts (cf. *SLTN* p. 36, comment to No. 114, which should be modified accordingly): *SLTN* 114 (side *a* below the double line and side *b*), *SRT* 27-8, *SEM* 59, *HAV* 19, and the unpublished UM 29-13-733, 29-13-498, 29-13-733, and YBC 7176. Tentatively its contents may be divided into three sections; the first 28(ʔ) lines seem to consist of an address by a *ugula*, 'overseer' (cf. following note) to a *dub-sar-dim*$_6$*-ag* 'a learned(ʔ) scribe' (cf. note 184); the following 35(ʔ) lines contain the latter's reply; in the remaining lines the *ummia* blesses the scribe in terms reminiscent of the last section of the 'schooldays' text.

[188] The 'assignment' in this context, unlike that of line 7, seems to refer to his school activities in general.

[189] For the 'overseer' (*ugula*) in connection with a scribe or schoolboy, cf. lines 32-33 of our passage, as well as notes 184 and 187 (cf. also perhaps PA *dub-sar* in *WVDOG* 45. 6); he is not mentioned at all in the 'schooldays' text, unless the PA in lines 27 and 36 of that document has some significance in this respect. For *-šè* instead of the expected *-ra* after *ugula-a-zu*, cf. e. g. *AJA* 53. 14, comment to lines 59-67.

[190] Note the very dubious and inadequate rendering of this part of the line. The translation 'come' for *gá-nu* is based on the assumption that it corresponds to *du-ù* in line 27, although the former is used regularly merely as an introductory cohortative (cf. e. g. *SEM* 1 obv. iii 3, 30, etc.). In the complex *ugu-mu-šè*, the word *ugu* can hardly mean 'begetter,' since in that case it would probably be preceded by *a-a* 'father.' Cf. also *ugu* used with *gub* in *TRS* 45, lines 7 and 8.

. . . . tell [191];
[do not] wander about [*in the street*],
. . . . *return* to me,
. . . that which I said to you . . . . .
I will . . to you your . . . ,
come, answer me.'[192]
'I will answer you.'
'Tell it to me.'

20. 'I will tell it to you.'
'Come, tell it to me.'
'You told (me) to go to school,[193]
to *read* my *assignment*, to open my *school-bag*,[194]
to write my tablet,
my big brother will write my new tablet; [195]
after I have done my *assignment*, to *proceed* to my *job*,[196]
(and) after I have *reported* to my overseer, *to come upon you*, you told (me).' [197]
'Come, now indeed be a man,[198]
Do not stand about in the public square,

30. Do not wander about in the boulevard,
When walking in the street, do not look all around,
Be humble, show fear before your overseer,
When you show terror, your overseer will *like you*. . . . .'

Lines 4-12. Cf. for details, Falk. 174 ff. For lines 4-5, cf. lines 5-8 of the passage quoted on p. 207-8, and notes 184-188. In line 6, the *gub-ba* following *mu-* seems to be redundant, unless of course the *gub* in this complex has a different meaning than that of *ma-an-gub-bu-uš*; for *im-šu-gub*, cf. also line 76. In line 12, the rendering is based primarily upon the context, and is far from certain.

Lines 13-17. In this passage, which has a highly poetic ring, the persons addressed may be either the mother and father, or the servants of the household; note that strictly speaking the author might have been expected to introduce this passage with a line reading approximately: 'I then faced my father and mother (or the servants of the household) and said to them.' The rendering of the first parts of lines 13 and 14 follows a verbal suggestion by Landsberger, who first saw the implications of the variant *šà-gar-kú* (cf. note 13).[199] For the particle *-e-še*, cf. Jacobsen's comment in *AJA* 53.17; note, however, that it might have been

[191] Lines 12-16 are difficult to fit into the context because of the numerous breaks; the punctuation marks at the end of these lines are of course quite uncertain. Line 13, if the restoration is correct, is identical with line 30. Line 15 might be expected to contain an admonition to the lad to heed the speaker's words, but the breaks are difficult to restore in accordance with this suggestion. Line 16 might perhaps be expected to say that the speaker intends to examine the lad to see if he understood and remembered what he said; that is, it is assumed that line 16 is closely related to the following line, but this might turn out to be quite incorrect.

[192] Lines 17-21 contain a passage consisting of brief staccato parallel sentences, which had become more or less a stylistic cliché in this type of composition, cf. e. g. *KAR* 111 obv. 10 ff. In lines 19 and 20, note that for some reason the reduplicated form of the verb is used, while line 17, 18, and 21 have the simple form.

[193] The form *du-ù* (> *du-a*) is the regular infinitive; on the other hand, lines 23 ff. use the present-future, since the relevant acts were to be performed after his arrival in school.

[194] The forms *šed-da* and *kíd-kíd-da* (note that the reduplicated root of *kíd* is used in this line but not in line 7) are probably present-future infinitives, that is, they are to be analyzed as *šed*(*-e*)*-da* and *kíd-kíd*(*-e*)*-da*, rather than ordinary infinitives; cf. the variant *šed-e-da* in note 170, as well as perhaps the fact that this line uses the reduplicated form of *kíd* while line 7 used the simple form; note, too, the parallel forms *sar-ri-da* and $gi_4$-$gi_4$-*dè* in lines 24, 25 and 26.

[195] The shift in subject of the infinitive in this line makes its rendering awkward; note, too, that to judge from the variant (cf. note 171), the Sumerian too felt the difficulty.

[196] In the verbal form *ù-mu-e-ag*, if the rendering 'after *I* have done' is correct, the *-e-* is grammatically unjustified. The translation 'to proceed to my job,' for *kin-*$gi_4$*-a-mu-šè* $gi_4$-$gi_4$-*dè*, is of course far from assured; the compound *kin-*$gi_4$*-a* (*-aš*)—$gi_4$-$gi_4$ is found in a number of other passages in our *é-dub-ba* texts, cf. *SEM* 59 obv. 9-11 = *HAV* 19 rev. 15-17; *TRS* 45: 27 ff. = *PBS* 1 pt. 2 No. 103: 15 ff. Even if the translation of the complex proves approximately correct, it is still difficult to gather its real meaning in the context; note, too, that for some unknown reason the phrase is omitted in the corresponding line 10.

[197] For this difficult line, cf. notes 189 and 190.

[198] Lines 28-33 seem to begin another address by the mentor to the young man; they contain some practical rules of conduct on how to act 'grown-up' and how to get along with the overseer. However, because of the breaks and difficulties with the remainder of the text of this composition (cf. note 158) the particular relevancy of this passage in the context is not too clear. In line 33 the *nam-* of *nam-bar-bar-ri-en* is probably to be analyzed as *na-*(*i*)*m*(*i*)*-*; the rendering 'show terror' (line 33) is for the reduplicated *ní-te*.

[199] Still difficult is the form *e-tuku* for the expected *ì-tuku*; note, too, that *nag-mu-ub-zé-en* might have been expected to read *nag-ma-ab-zé-en*.

expected to come at the end of line 17 rather than line 16. For the reading of PA-UZU as *túd* (line 18), cf. *CT* 12, 42, 54b: PA$^{tu-du}$UZU = *na-tu-ú* and *AfO* 8. 56, 22: PA-UZU$^{tu-un-da}$LÁ = *na-du-ú* (both passages were cited to me by Landsberger); since as our text shows, the root represented by PA-UZU ended in a *d*, we may assume that its reading was *túd*, and that the forms *tudu* and *tunda* are nothing but phonetic variants.[200]

Lines 19-26. In *bí-in-na-gar-ma* (line 19), note the unjustifiable use of an infix following the thematic particle *bí-* (cf. *GSG* ¶ 588).[201] In line 21, the rendering 'leave' for PA-*ag* is of course uncertain; there seems to be nothing in the two components which would justify the translation, but the variant (cf. note 24) seems to point to some such meaning. In line 22, the variant *sì-ma-ab* (cf. note 25) is no doubt due to scribal confusion; the same may be said of the inexplicable *ma* in note 32. For conclusive proof that *ad-da-é-dub-ba-a* (line 25) is an epithet and synonym for *ummia*, cf. the passage in line 52-58. Just what tablet the *dub-mu* of line 25 refers to is not clear; it is probably one which the pupil wrote on the preceding day. In line 26 the rendering ignores the difficult *-da-aš* (cf. note 34); strange, too, is the fact that according to this same note, B has nothing preceding the first verbal form (cf. note 34).

Lines 27-34. The meaning of this entire passage is quite obscure. Line 27 has something to do with lunch (cf. line 4). According to line 29, the pupil gets his second caning from his teacher who (according to line 28) seemed to be constantly on the lookout for any breaking of the school rules, but just what wrong the pupil had committed is not clear.[202] In lines 30, 32, and 33, it is uncertain to what 'the tablet' refers. In line 31 we hear of a *lú-kisal-lá*, literally, 'man of the courtyard'; it seems not unlikely, therefore, that the courtyard was utilized for classroom purposes when the weather permitted.[203] To judge from his command 'write' (plural imperative) in the same line, it would seem that the 'man of the courtyard,' acted as a kind of proctor and saw that the pupils kept to their assigned writing tasks. In line 32, if the rendering 'I took' for *šu ba-e-ti* is correct, the *-e-* seems unjustified (cf., too, the variant in note 44). In line 33, note that *ab-sar-ri* (cf. too, the variant in note 47), is a present-future form; just why the form does not read *ì-sar-ri* (cf. the preterit *ì-sar* in line 5) is not clear, however. The meaning of line 34 is altogether uncertain and obscure.

Lines 35-41. In this passage the pupil lists seven canings which he received from the hands of seven members of the school's teaching and administrative personnel. The first, second, and fifth canings were administered by school officials, whose duties are uncertain—the relevant text is either broken or obscure—for speaking,[204] slouching(?), and taking something while they were not around. The fourth and fifth were administered by the drawing(?) instructor and the gatekeeper for standing up and walking out in their absence. The instructor in charge of Sumerian gave him his sixth caning for some wrong he committed in connection with Sumerian. And to top it all, the teacher, who was no doubt also headmaster of the school, canes him for his poor handwriting.

Lines 42-46. The meaning of this passage is uncertain and obscure; the translation attributes to the complexes their more or less superficial renderings. Moreover, it is difficult to fit its contents into the general context, and the punctuation following each line is highly tentative.[205] For the restoration and translation of line 42, cf. line 70.[206] In lines 43 and 44, the verbal roots are broken away. In lines 45 and 46, the meaning of the crucial *zag* of the first complexes is uncertain.[207]

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[200] For the problem of the accusative personal elements with the present-future, cf. *JCS* 2. 63-4, note 76.

[201] As the variant (cf. note 21) shows, however, the *bí-* may be a scribal error.

[202] The real meaning of line 29 is altogether obscure, the renderings given in the translation are those which seem to be superficially justified, but do not give any real sense in the context. For TUG-DU$_8$ 'fuller,' cf. now Oppenheim, *Catalogue of the Eames Babylonian Collection*, p. 18, note 41.

[203] Cf. already Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, 327.

[204] The verbal forms *íb-ba-e* (line 35) and *íb-bi* (cf. note 54) seem to be merely phonetic variants.

[205] There is also the possibility that the pupil's address to his father begins with line 42 instead of 47, as is assumed in the translation; cf. perhaps the *-e-da-* 'with (?) you (?)' in the verbal form of line 43.

[206] For the compound *gù-dù*, cf. also Falkenstein, *An. Or.* 28. 120, note 6. For IM-ŠUB-*ag*, cf. *AS* 12. 85, comment to line 144.

[207] In line 46, the first complex, which seems to be a genitive construction, might have been expected to read *zag-nam-šeš-gal-la*.

The *dub-sar-tur* 'young scribe' (line 45) is known from other sources, cf. *ŠL* 139:50 and Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, 329. For the *šeš-gal* 'big brother' (line 46) cf. note 187.

Lines 47-50. This passage contains a direct address by the pupil to his father, although there is no line to indicate this shift.[208] In line 47, it is of course quite uncertain whether *a-rá—sì*, if the restoration should prove correct, can be rendered by 'direct the way.' In line 48 note the grammatically justified infix *-e* at the end of the first complex which is governed by the compound *šu-bar*. It is just barely possible that line 49 should go with line 48 rather than with line 50, that is the two lines should be rendered: 'Let him set aside counting and accounting, (and) the affairs that concern school'; [209] but unfortunately the meaning of line 50 is too obscure for an intelligent decision. In line 50, if the rendering is correct, the verbs would be expected to be plurals; the first complex may therefore be an object rather than subject of the verbal forms, and *ab-šed-dè* may perhaps be better rendered as 'I (or he) will . . ,' and *ḫu-mu-un-šed-dè*, as 'verily he will . . .' Note, too, that the variants omit *mà-e* (cf. note 82).

Lines 51-56.[210] These lines offer relatively little difficulty in translation and interpretation, except that several of the variants seem to be the result of scribal confusion.[211] For the passive rendering of *lú im-da-ri*, cf. *BASOR* 79. 21. In line 54 the reading *an-díb* seems preferable to *an-tuš* since at least on the surface the latter gives no intelligible meaning.

Lines 57-62. In line 58, note the unjustified variant *-ke$_4$-ne* for *-ka-ni* (cf. note 98). In line 59 the reading of the second sign as *tur* rather than *bandà* is based on the fact that the latter is regularly written as *bàn-da* in this period. The reading and meaning of practically every complex in line 61 are uncertain; note in particular the seemingly inexplicable *mu-un-na-si-ga-aš*. In line 62, as the variants show (cf. note 108), *mu-ni-ne* is a contracted orthography for *mu-ni-in-è*.

Lines 63-65. These three lines conclude the father's words, but these are no longer directed to the teacher but to his household servants, although there is no introductory line to indicate the shift. In line 63, the reading *ni-ir-da* is uncertain. In the same line the reading of the verbal root DU may be *túm* 'bring' or *gub* 'set up'; in any case the verbal form might have been expected to have the second plural imperative ending *zé-en*.[212] In line 64 *mi-ni-ib-bal-bal* seems to be a

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[208] Cf. however note 205. Beginning with line 46 we have a duplicating fragment copied by Langdon and published in *PBS* 12, 36 which may belong to our composition, although it shows a considerably varying text; line by line it reads as follows:

[zag-nam-šeš-gal é-dub-ba-a-šè na-me n]a-ma-[ši-in-. .]
[ninda-ba-ni sì-m]u-na-ab a-rá ḫa-[ra-sì-mu]
[šed-níg-šed-d]è šu ḫu-mu-un-bar-[ri]
[inim-in] im-ma-é-dub-ba-a-a[l-gál-la]
[dumu-é]-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne ab-šed-[dè]
[a] mu-un-šed-dè
ninda-ba-ni mu-da-ab-[sì]
šed-níg-šed-dè šu mu-un-bar
á-ág-gá-nam-dub-[sar]-ra-al-gál-la
dumu-lú-ù-ke$_4$-ne ki-šà-gi-[pàd(?)-da(?)] gù ma-dé-[e-ne]
šu-mà mu-un-gá-[gá-ne]
nam-dub-sar-ra la-la-ba . . . .
. . .-NÍG nam-lu-lu$_6$ . . . .

The first six lines duplicate our lines 46-50; the only variants are *sì-mu-na-ab* for *sì-ma-ab* (line 57), *ḫu-mu-un-* for *ḫé-mi-* of *ḫé-mi-bar-ri* (line 58); *al-gál-la* for *gál-la* (line 59); the writing of *a mu-un-šed-dè* as a separate line; note, too, the omission of *ḫu-* if the restoration is correct. The introductory line corresponding to our line 51 is omitted altogether in the *PBS* fragment which continues with a passage that is quite different than our line 52 ff. and reads:

He (the father) gave him (the teacher) his gift,
he (the teacher) set aside counting and accounting;
the *current duties* of the scribal art
the 'sons of man' *tell* me . . . . ,
put (them) in my hand;
in the *success* of the scribal art,
. . . . mankind . . . .

In line 7 note the SÌ (the fourth sign) is a scribal erasure. Lines 9-11 (note the scribal omission of SAR in line 9; the restorations in lines 10-11 are highly conjectural) might have been expected to correspond to lines 4-6; perhaps the ideas expressed by these two sets of lines may prove to be similar in character; note in particular that *dumu-lú-ù-ke$_4$-ne* and *dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-ne* may refer to the same individuals. Note finally that the left edge of the fragment has traces of two lines; of the first of these only a sign BA is legible; the second reads GUD(?) . . . . GIŠ . . . . .

[209] So also line 8 of the passage quoted in the preceding note may perhaps better be taken with the line that precedes it rather than with the one that follows.

[210] For lines 52-73, cf. also Falk. 178 ff.

[211] Cf. in particular notes 87 (*-NE-* for *-ni-*), 89, 91 (*ga-* for *bí-in-*), and 92 (the plural *dumu-é-dub-ba-a-ke$_4$-e-ne* for the singular) unless we assume that the final *e-ne* is the separate word 'he.'

[212] Note that this line gave trouble to several of the

third person preterit instead of an imperative plural, as the context seems to demand;[213] perhaps therefore it should be rendered '(after) he had made flow' instead of 'make flow.' In line 65 note the erroneous and confusing variant *bí-du*$_{11}$ for *ga-du*$_{11}$ (note 113). In line 65 (also line 68), if the rendering of the last part of the line is correct, the word 'hand' is used for 'wrist.'

Lines 66-68. These lines describe the execution of the father's command (cf. comment to lines 63-65); the 'they' in line 66 refers to the servants, and the verbal forms in lines 66 and perhaps in line 67, might therefore have been expected to have plural rather than singular forms. In line 68 note the erroneous and confusing variant *ga-ni-mu*$_4$ for *mu-ni-mu*$_4$ (cf. note 118 and comment to line 65 above).

Lines 69-end. Following the introductory line 69, the passage consists of the teacher's address to his pupil in which he showers him with praises and blessings. For the rendering of line 79, cf. comment to line 42;[214] the *-a* of *li-bí-du-a* is probably for *-àm*.[215] In line 71 the variants (cf. note 126 and 127) seem to have the indicative instead of imperative forms, and the line may therefore have to be rendered 'You have reached the pinnacle of the scribal art, have achieved it completely.' In line 73, *mu-e-daḫ-e*, which on the surface seems to be a present-future, is taken in the translation to be a phonetic variant for *mu-e-daḫ-àm* (cf. note 133). For $^{d}$*lamar* (line 74), cf. Falkenstein, *OLZ* 43. 353. In line 75 (cf. also line 88) *šag*$_5$*-gi* might perhaps have been expected to read *šag*$_5$*-ga*. Since the contents of line 76 seem to parallel those of line 75, and since the latter speaks of the reed, the former might be expected to refer to the tablet; *im-šu-gub-ba*, therefore, should be synonymous to a considerable extent with *dub*. The rendering of the verbal form in line 76 as 'may she take from,' seems to be demanded by the context, but must of course remain quite uncertain. Line 80, according to the translation, goes with the lines immediately preceding it; however, the meaning and interpretation of the line is quite uncertain, and it is not altogether impossible that it introduces the passage which follows.[216] In line 81, 'you know a father,' is of course Sumerian idiom for 'you have a father.' A more literal translation of line 82 would read: 'The speech which I gave you, the fate which I have decreed you (is).' Line 84 seems to say that the parents will bring offerings and prayers to Nidaba since that is her due as the goddess of schools and scribes.[217] The implication of line 85 is not too clear; on the surface it seems to say that the teacher will pay the pupil the homage due the father.[218] In line 86 the usual meaning of *sag-ki*, such as 'forehead,' etc. does not seem to fit the context. The restoration and rendering of line 79 are uncertain. For *lú-dim*$_6$ *bí-ag* (line 89), cf. *dim*$_6$*-ag* in note 184.[219] For *ki-dim*$_6$*-ma* as an epithet of *é-dub-ba*, cf. *SRT* 27, 17; cf. also, *SEM* 73 obv. 13; rev. 2 and 3.[220]

## APPENDIX

Upon completion of the manuscript, the writer gave it for study and comment to Benno Lands-

scribal students who tended to use indicatives for the imperatives, cf. notes 110, 111.

[213] Cf., too, the preceding note.

[214] Note the strange variant -NI for *-šè* (cf. note 124).

[215] Cf. the variant cited in note 125, where the verbal form *ba-tuš-ù-nam* ends in *àm*, while the parallel *bí-dùg-ga* ends in *-a*; in accordance with this variant reading, line 70 should be rendered: 'Young man you sat (all attention) to my word, you made me happy' (literally 'made good my heart').

[216] On the basis of context, line 80 might perhaps be expected to say approximately: 'May you be the most prosperous of the royal officials'; however, it is difficult at present to get at the real meaning of the respective complexes.

[217] Note the omission of the plural ending in the verb, but cf. note 146 to the preceding line.

[218] The verbal form in line 85 is probably a present future, *ḫa-ra-tutumu*(*-e*); the transliteration *ḫa-ra-túm-túm* merely gives the accustomed readings of the signs.

[219] For *lú-dim*$_6$*-ma* with uncertain meaning, in the presargonic texts, cf. *SL* 338: 29; the reading *dim*$_6$ for DÉ is chosen here because it is the only attested value of DÉ ending in *m*; cf. also Thureau-Dangin's suggestion in *RA* 16. 170.

[220] Tablets A, B, and C have colophons following their texts. In A, the colophon consists of one line which is largely illegible; in C it consists of one line which reads *šu-na-bí-den-líl* 'the hand (copy) of Nabi-Enlil.' In B the colophon consists of three lines, and is of considerable importance since it dates that particular copy to the first year of the reign of Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi's son and successor, that is, according to the now generally accepted low chronology, to somewhere about 1700 B. C.; this colophon reads:

. . . . DÙ(?)-DÙ(?)-engar(?)
itu-NE-NE-gar u$_4$-27-kam ba-zal
mu-sa-am-su-i-lu-na-lugal
. . . . , the farmer(?),

the month of Simānu, (when) the twenty-seventh day had come to an end, the year when Samsu-iluna had become king.

berger, who was in the University Museum at the time, collating part of its lexical material for his forthcoming restoration of the *ea-nâqu* series. The results, as will soon become apparent, were highly fruitful. In not a few cases Landsberger has penetrated the meaning of the text where the writer failed to do so. And even those of Landsberger's suggestions which are problematical in character should prove highly stimulating and not unilluminating. Following is Landsberger's comment in practically his own words:

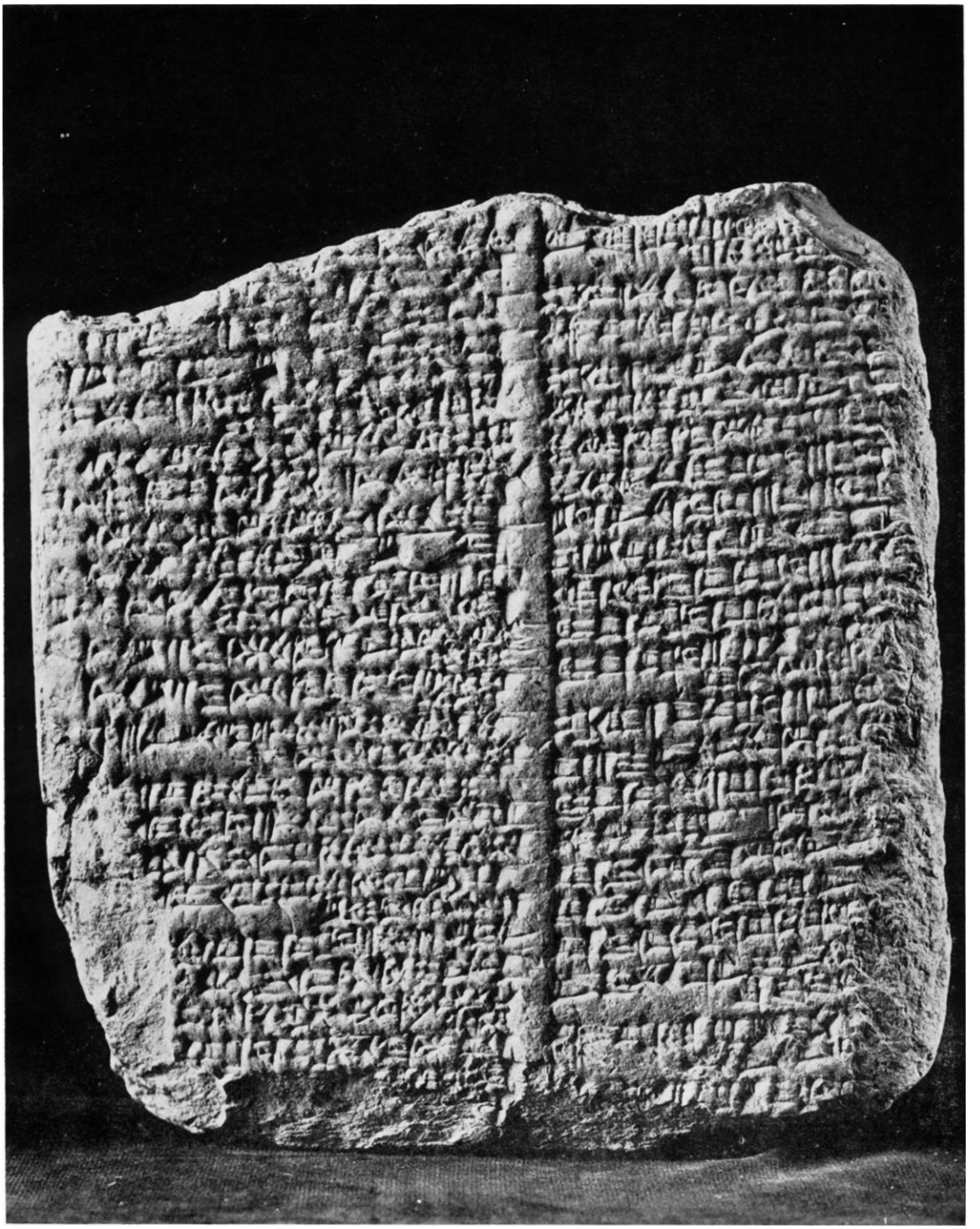
Line 1. The term *dumu-é-dub-ba* does not necessarily refer to a youngster actually attending school; *dumu* followed by the genitive does not imply youth. In this line therefore the *dumu-é-dub-ba* is an old graduate of the *é-dub-ba*, and $u_4$-*ul-la-àm* is to be rendered quite as the form demands 'in (not from) earliest days.' In line 4 the word *šed* (better *šid*) should be rendered by 'figure out,' 'calculate,' rather than 'read'; *šed* and *sar* stand for the main subjects of instruction, and a tablet or an assignment could either be 'written' or 'calculated.' In the same line *níg*-KA-DU (so rather than *nig-ka-gub*) *-mu i-kú* may mean 'I studied (literally, digested) my instructions' (that is, the instructions given by the teacher).

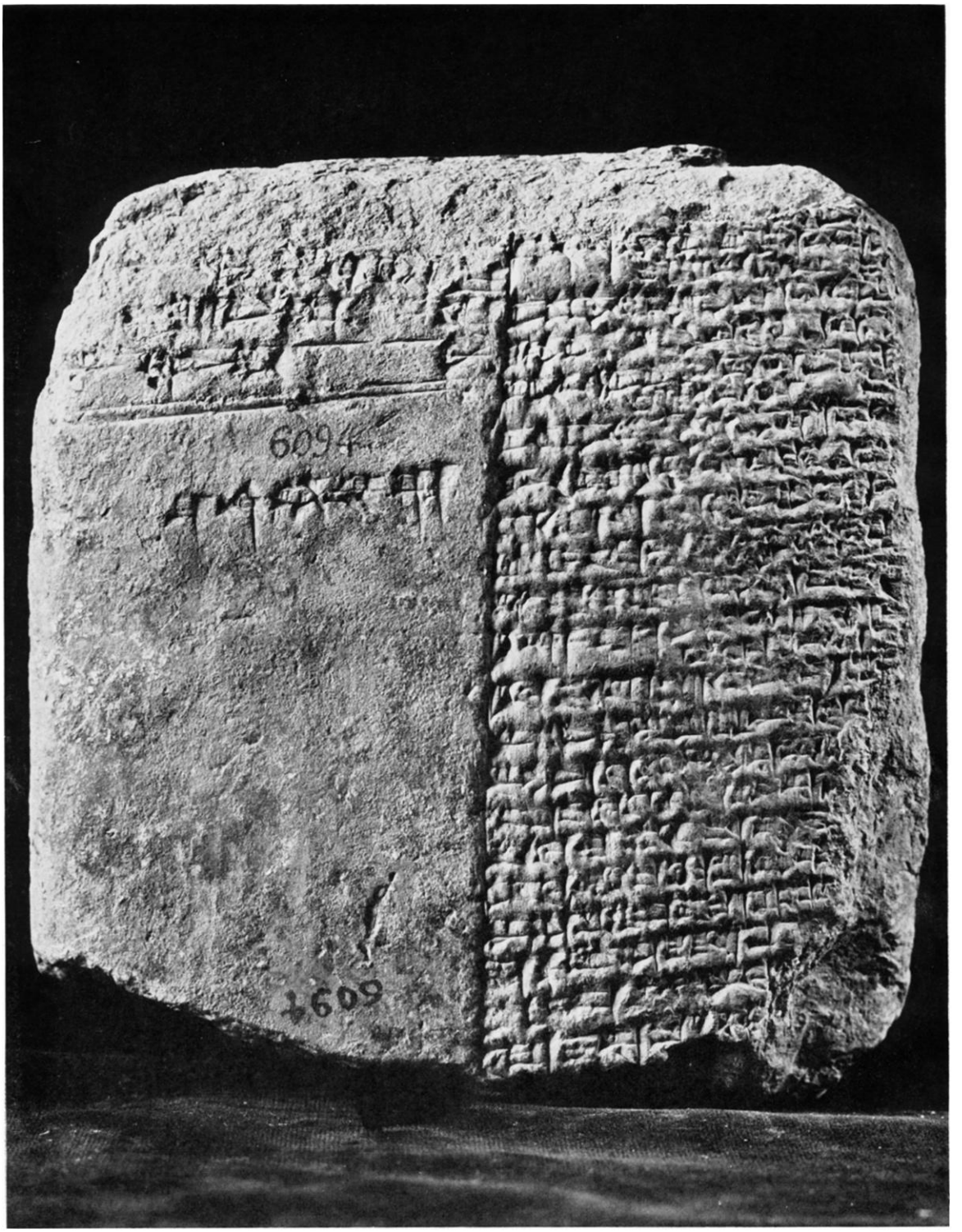
In line 6, *mu-gub-ba* may refer to the model tablets from which the pupils copied as opposed to *sar-šub-ba* (cf. Falk. 177) which may refer to a 'thrown away' tablet, that is a school exercise. In line 7 *im-šu* is to be rendered as 'section' or 'paragraph' according to Neugebauer and Sachs *MCT* 125. As for the word *gub* in lines 6 and 7 it means literally 'to let (the tablet) stand,' that is, 'to put it at the disposal of the pupil for copying.'

Lines 10 and 11 might be rendered: 'I read my list to my father. I figured up my tablet for him (and) he found it good.' Line 12 should read: 'I served (literally, stood before) my father.' According to lines 312 and 313 of the proto *ea-nâqu* series, the reading for NAG (line 13 *is enmen* (*im-me*-LI in *ŠL* I, 34 should therefore read *im-me-én*), and the reading for KÚ (line 14) is *šà-gar*. The last two complexes of the variant to line 21 (cf. note 24) probably read *šagar-mu ib-ta-è* 'I "drove out" my hunger.' In line 24 *ki ib-za* should be rendered I bowed down (in reverence); for *ki-za-za* = *šukênu*, cf. *MAOG* 4. 306; *MAOG* 13. 2. 3b. For *nig*-KA-DU in line 27, cf. comment to line 4. Lines 28-29 might perhaps be rendered: 'When the teacher asked about the school rules (that is, about the boy's behavior), the . . (said) "you looked all around the street, you do not brush your . .-cloth'"; note that I would read the first complex as *lú-tag-lag-gi-da-ke*$_4$, in spite of the fact that the last sign seems to be É rather than LÍL. In line 30 the last sign should read *gub* rather than *túm*, and the meaning of the line is 'My "school-father" assigned me my table.' In line 31 the *sar* of *sar-ra-ab-zé-en* means 'chase' rather than 'write'; cf. *PBS* 1 2 No. 135, 31 ff. Lines 32-34 probably continue the speech of the *lú-kisal-lá* of line 31, and the verbal forms of these lines are therefore to be taken as second person singular forms, that is 'you (the schoolboy) took,' 'you will write,' 'you cannot know.' In lines 35-39, *mà-da-nu-me-a* is better rendered as 'without my permission' rather than 'when I was not here.' In line 36 *mà-da-nu-me-a* is not to be restored since the verb is a negative. Moreover the *gú-zi* of this line is probably to be equated with the Akkadian *kâsu*, and the relevant complexes are to be rendered as 'you did not lift the cup' (perhaps during some common celebration). Note, too, that the first complex might perhaps be restored to read *lú*-PA-*ukkin-na-ke*$_4$. In the first complex in line 37 *giš-hur* probably means 'good conduct' rather than 'drawing.' In line 39, the first complex reads *lú-usan-na-ke*$_4$ 'the man of the whip,' the man responsible for discipline. The address of boy to the father begins with line 42, not with line 47 hence the *e-da-* of the verb in line 43. The verb *gú-du* in line 42 means 'to hate' (Akkadian *zâru*). In line 44, Á.KAL is to be read *usu* (cf. Goetze, *JAOS* 65. 225) Lines 47-50 might perhaps be rendered: 'Give him his salary (*níg-ba* not *ninda-ba*, so also line 68) that he may act friendly (literally, give the way) toward you, that he may free me of counting and accounting, that (when) in the course of the school announcements he counts his pupils, he may count me, too (among them).'

In line 53, *zag-gu-la* is actually a kind of chair. Line 54 should be rendered: 'The schoolboy served him, attended him' (literally, stood before him); note that *šu-kin* = *šitappuru* 'service.' Line 59 should be rendered: 'My young one opens his hands (and) you make wisdom enter (into them).' Line 61 is perhaps to be rendered: 'Of the mathematical tablets, of counting and accounting, you explain their solution to him.' In line 62 the first complex may approximate a meaning such as

PLATE I




609
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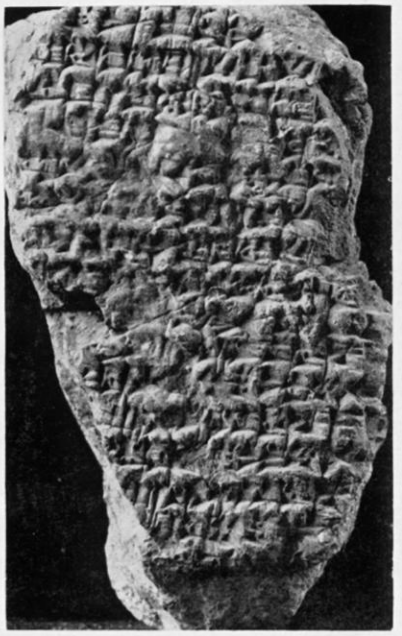
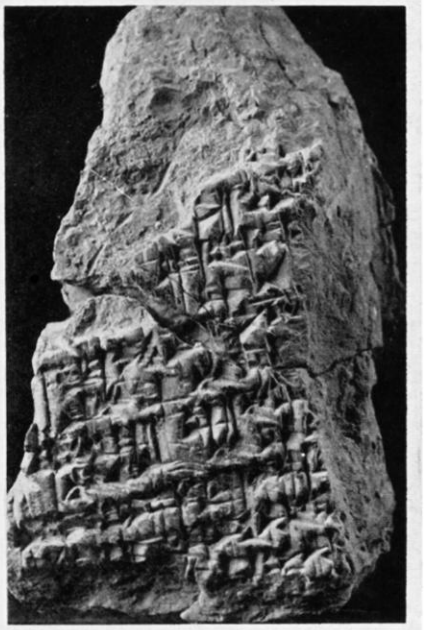
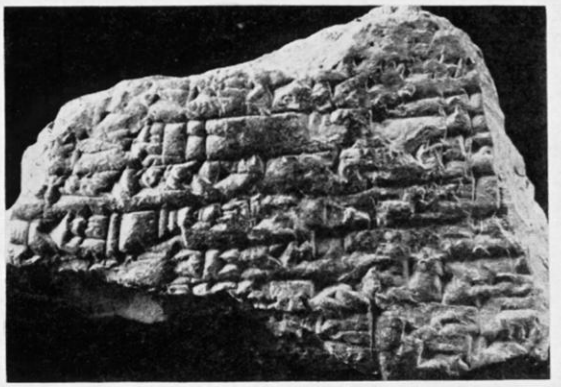


N 3565, OBVERSE

CBS 19826, SIDE B

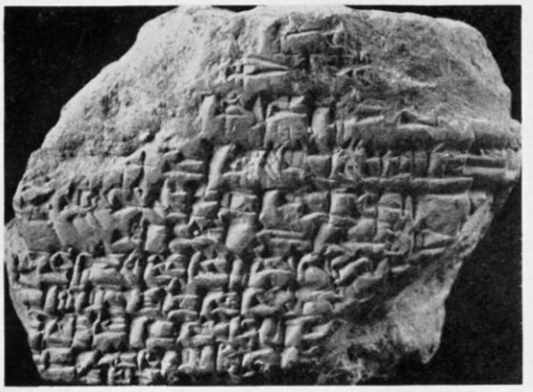


N 3565, REVERSE



CBS 15003, OBVERSE

CBS 15003, REVERSE



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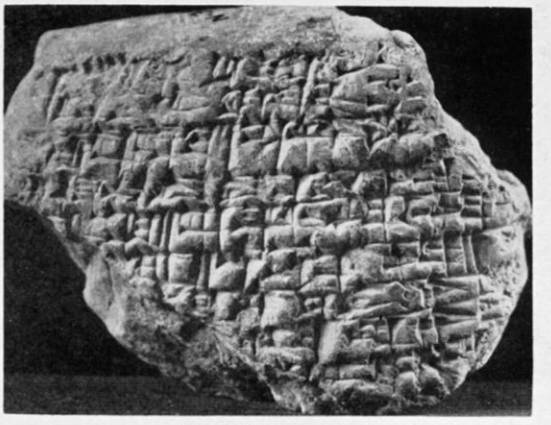


N 3622, REVERSE

N 4189, OBVERSE

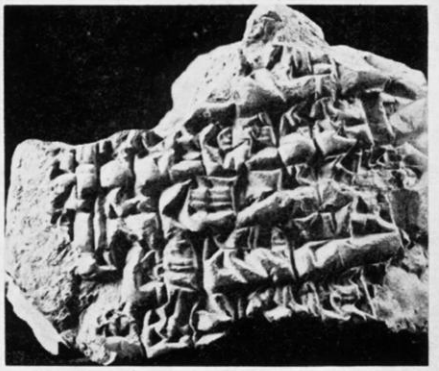
N 4189, REVERSE

N 3239, REVERSE

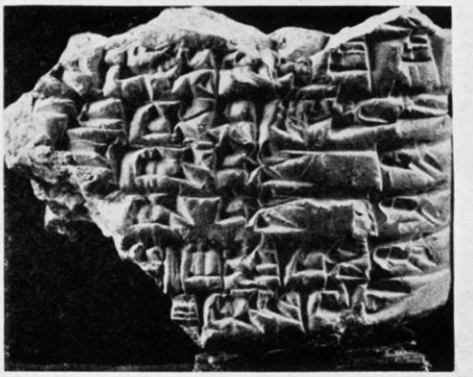
N 3239, OBVERSE

N 4174, OBVERSE

N 4174, REVERSE



N 3029, OBVERSE



N 3029, REVERSE

'science.' In lines 63 (cf. also line 66), the last sign in the verb is to be read *gub.* that is, 'he set up for him.' Line 64 (cf. also line 67) is to be rendered: 'Pour sweet-smelling oil on his back and stomach'; note particularly that in the second complex $SIG_4$-*gú* is to be read *mur-gú.* Line 71 should be rendered: 'Complete the scribal art from beginning to end'; literally, 'Of the scribal art, finish its beginning up to its end.' Line 72 should be rendered: 'You have given into my hand everything without causing me any difficulty'; note particularly that the *-en-* (*-an*) following the root *gilib* = (*parâku*) is the first person accusative element. In line 74, *nin-$^{d}$lama-ra* is probably to be rendered 'the queen, the leading angel'; note the name of a gate in Marduk temple which is written *ká-$^{d}$lama-a-râ-bi* and *ká-$^{d}$lama-ra-bi.* Lines 75-76 might be better rendered by 'May your pointed reed produce good (work) for you, may your paragraph-tablet be harmed because of you'; that is, your copy will be so good that the original will look bad in comparison with it. Line 80 may perhaps be rendered: 'The man going to and from in the palace, satisfy him,' that is, *šà-si-ni* is an imperative with the infix *-ni-.* In line 85, the word *níg* is to be restored before *un-mi-a.* Lines 89-90 may perhaps be rendered: 'He carried out the rules of the school, became a scholar; Nidaba, the lady of scholarship commanded his superiority'; note that according to this rendering; these two lines are not part of the teacher's address.

Turning now to the passage cited in Kramer's commentary to lines 1-3, I would suggest the following: Line 1 might be expected to have said approximately: 'Come hither.' Line 2 should contain the lad's answer approximating 'I am coming.' The second half of line 5 might perhaps be better rendered 'why did you pass the time (idly).' In line 6 I would read [*igi-ugula*]-*a-zu-šè* instead of [*igi-ad-da-é-dub-ba*]-*a-zu-šè*; in this tablet the *ugula* plays the role of the *ad-da-é-dub-ba.* Line 7 might perhaps be rendered: 'Calculate your assignment, solve your quadratics.' In line 11 *ugu-mu-šè* is an Akkadianism from *ana muḫḫia.* Line 15 should mean: '. . . do you know what I told you?' Line 16 should be rendered: 'I know it, I will tell it to you.'

The completed manuscript was also forwarded to Thorkild Jacobsen for comment. However, because of the unexpected demands on his time by the Joint Nippur Expedition of the Oriental Institute and the University Museum, he was unable to complete his study of the text. His relevant remarks will appear in a later issue.

## AUGUST PFIZMAIER'S TRANSLATIONS FROM THE CHINESE

RICHARD L. WALKER
YALE UNIVERSITY

EVEN THE MOST productive students and translators of Chinese are occasionally dismayed by the tremendous bulk of material yet to be made available in Western languages. Not only the quantity of this untouched material but also the unusual difficulty of translating Chinese into the languages of the West makes it necessary that duplication of effort be avoided, even though modern students with their greater specialization and better tools do more accurate translation work than some which has been turned out in the past. This is part of the rationale of a project for collecting all translations from the Chinese into French, German, and English which has been carried on for several years by the American Council of Learned Societies and is being continued at the present time at Yale University under the direction of Mrs. Martha Davidson.

The importance of the project has been forcibly brought home in the past few months in working over the translations of a relatively unknown Sinologist of the nineteenth century, Dr. August Pfizmaier. In fact, the published work of this man looms so large that it deserves to be brought to light as a unit. Had anyone bothered to work over Pfizmaier's translations in the past and tie them down with precise references to the Chinese texts, much duplication of work could already have been avoided. For example, Pfizmaier translated the biography of Li Ssŭ[a] in the Shih Chi which was

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# "INANNA'S DESCENT TO THE NETHER WORLD" CONTINUED AND REVISED

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

University Museum

University of Pennsylvania

The Sumerian myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," as is well known, is still incomplete. The published text,[1] as reconstructed to date from thirteen tablets and fragments, consists of only the approximately first 384 lines of the poem, and of these, less than 300 are well preserved. The following study should therefore prove of no little value; its first part adds a considerable amount of new text to the myth, while its second part presents a new and revised version of the extant text of the myth as a whole in the light of this new material.

## *First Part*

### *New Material*

The new material published here for the first time consists of an excellently preserved tablet in the Yale Babylonian Collection,[2] and of a fragment in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul.[3] Of these two new pieces, the Yale tablet is by far the more important; it contains 91 lines of text in well-nigh perfect condition. Of these, the last 31 lines, which are practically entirely new, restore a large part of the gap between lines 329–374 of the reconstructed text;[4] this new passage, moreover, is of very particular importance, since it contains a significant and quite unexpected bit of mythological information relating to the god Dumuzi. But even the first 60 lines of the tablet, although they duplicate text already largely known, are highly useful since they help to correct and clarify quite a number of misreadings and misinterpretations of the earlier material.[5] As for the Istanbul fragment which contains relatively few lines of text, and these badly broken, it too helps to restore quite a number of words and phrases which are missing in the reconstructed text. The following is a transliteration and translation, with commentary, of the two new pieces.

## YBC 4621:[6]

1. íd a-ba mu-na-ba-e-ne šu nu-ma-BU-dè-ne

   a-šà še-ba mu-na-ba-e-ne šu nu-ma-BU-dè-ne

   uzu-níg-sìg-ga-$^{giš}$kak-ta-lá sì-me-eb in-na-ne-eš

   a-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$

1. They present them a river as a water-gift' they accept it not.
   They present them a field as a grain-gift, they accept it not;
   "Give us the *corpse* hung from the *stake*," they said to her.
   She answers them:

1. Cf. the last edition of the extant text of the myth in PAPS 85: 295 ff. for full details.

2. Copied by Ferris J. Stephens and reproduced on pp. 212 f; its provenience is unknown.

3. Copied by the writer in Istanbul in 1946, cf. BASOR No. 105, 7.

4. It is to be borne in mind that beginning with line 229 of the reconstructed text, the line enumeration is approximate only.

5. Cf. e. g. notes 7, 14, 15, 16, 19 etc. etc.

6. For the system of transliteration cf. AS No. 12, 6–8; note, however, that in case of those signs which represent syllables consisting of a consonant and the ambiguous *e/i* vowel, the reading *e* will be preferred in those instances where it represents the combination of a final consonant with the vowel *e* of an immediately following grammatical element, since this usage is now gradually becoming standard.

uzu-níg-sìg-ga níg-ga-ša-an-zu-ne-ne-ka
níg-sìg-ga níg-nin-me ḫé-a sì-me-eb in-na-an-ne-eš
níg-sìg-ga-$^{giš}$kak-ta-lá ba-an-sì-ne

gíš-àm ú-nam-ti-la gíš-àm a-nam-ti-la ugu-na ba-an-šub $^{d}$inanna gub-ba

$^{d}$inanna kur-ta $e_{11}$(!)-da-ni
$^{d}$a-nun-na-$ke_4$-e-ne ba-ab-ḫa-ḫa-a-aš
a-ba-àm lú-kur-ta-$e_{11}$-dè kur-ta silim-ma-ni um-ta-$e_{11}$(!)

$u_4$-da $^{d}$inanna kur-ta $e_{11}$(!)-dè
sag-aš(!) sag-gá-na-gim ḫa-ba-ab-sì-mu
lú-igi-na sukkal nu-me-a gišdar šu bí-in-$du_8$

bar-ra-na ra-gaba nu-me(!)-a $^{giš}$tukul úr-ra i-ni-in-lá
galla-tur-tur gi-šukur-ra-gim
galla-gal-gal gi-dub-ba-an-na-gim zag-ga-na ba-ab-⟨díb⟩-bé-eš
lú-ù-ne-lú-mu-un-dè-SÚG-re-eš-àm
lú-$^{d}$inanna-mu-e-ši-SÚG-re-eš-àm
ú nu-zu-me-eš a nu-zu-me-eš

zì-dub-dub-ba nu-kú-me-eš
a-bal-bal-a nu-$na_8$-$na_8$-me-eš
níg-šà-a-níg-dùg-ga šu nu-BU-me-eš
úr-dam níg-dùg-ge-éš nu-si-ge-me-eš
dumu-níg-$ku_7$-$ku_7$-da ne nu-su-ub-ba-me-eš
dam úr-lú-ka ba-ra-an-si-il-si-il-le-eš
dumu-lú $du_{10}$-ub-ta ba-ra-an-zi-ge-eš
é-$gi_4$-a é-$ur_7$-ra-ka im-ta-an-è-eš-àm

$^{d}$inanna kur-ta $e_{11}$(!)-da-ni

$^{d}$nin-šubur-ra-$ke_4$ gìr-ni-šè ba-šub
saḫar-a im-da-an-tuš $^{túg\,(!)}$mu-BU-ra ba-an-$mu_4$(!)
galla-e-ne kug-$^{d}$inanna-$ke_4$ gù mu-na-dé-e
$^{d}$inanna uru-zu-šè gub-ba én ba-ab-túm-dè-en

kug-$^{d}$inanna-$ke_4$ galla-e-ne mu-un-ne-ni-$gi_4$-$gi_4$
ír $du_6$-$du_6$-dam ma-ni-gar-gar-re-en
šém gú-en-na ma-ni-in-tuku-àm

é-dingir-re-e-ne ma-ni-in-nigin-dè

"The *corpse*, it is your queen's."
"The *corpse*, *though* it is our queen's, give to us," they said to her.
They give them the *corpse* hung from the *stake*.
Sixty times the food of life, sixty times the water of life, they sprinkled upon it; Inanna arose.
Upon Inanna's ascent from the nether world,
The Anunnaki were seized,
(*And*) who*ever might have* brought up from the nether world the *news* of those ascending from the nether world.
When Inanna ascends from the nether world,
Verily she places the . . . on her head.
Who (was) in front of her, (though) he was not a messenger, held a scepter in the hand,
(Who was) at her side, (though) he was not a courier, fastened a weapon about the loin,
The small demons, like *šukur*-reeds,
The large demons, like *dubban*-reeds, walked at her side.
They who accompanied her,
Who accompanied Inanna,
(Were beings who) know not food, know not water,
Eat not sprinkled flour,
Drink not libated water,
Accept not the offering, the good,
Sate not *pleasurably* the lap of the wife,
Kiss not the children (*raised on*) *delicacies*;
They tore away the child from the man's lap,
They lifted the man's son from (his) knee,
They carried off the bride from the house of the father-in-law.
(Upon) Inanna's ascent from the nether world,
Ninšubur threw himself at her feet,
Sat in the dust, dressed in a filthy garment.

The demons say to the pure Inanna:
"O Inanna, *step up to* your city, (and as for) him, let us carry him off."
The pure Inanna answers the demons:
"He set up a lament for me *by the ruins*,
Played for me the *double*-flute in the assembly shrine,
Wandered about for me in the houses of the gods,

igi-ni ma-an-HUR ka-ni ma-an-HUR

ki-lú-da-nu-du$_g$ zù-gal-ni ma-an-HUR

40. lú-nu-tuku-gim túg(!)-aš mu-un-mu$_4$
é-kur-re é-$^d$en-líl-lá-šè
urí$^{ki}$-ma é-$^d$zuen-na-šè
[uru]-zí$^{ki}$ é-$^d$am-ki-ga-šè gìr aš mu-gub

én ta-gim nam-ma-ra-ab-zé-èm-e[n-zé-en]

45. umma$^{ki}$-a še-eb-kur-šà-ba-šè ga-e-s[úG-en-dè-en]
$^d$šara uru-ni-a gìr-ni-šè ba-[šub]
saḫar-a im-da-an-tuš $^{túg\,(!)}$ mu-BU-ra ba-[an-mu$_4$]
galla-e-ne [ku]g-$^d$inanna-ke$_4$ gù mu-na-d[é-e]
$^d$inanna uru-zu-šè gu[b-b]a én ga-ba-ab-túm-mu-dè

50. kug-$^d$inanna-ke$_4$ [ga]lla-e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
LI.DU-. . . $^d$šara-m[u]
dubbin-tar-tar-mu gú-TAR-lá-mu
én ta-gim nam-ma-ra-ni-ib-zé-èm-DU

ga-e-sÚG-en-dè-en bàd-tibira$^{ki}$ é-mù[š-k]alam-ma-šè

55. bàd-tibira é-mùš-kalam-ma-šè gìr-ni-šè ba-e-sÚG-eš
$^d$latarak uru-ni-a gì[r]-ni-šè ba-šub
saḫar-a im-da-an-tuš $^{túg(!)}$[m]u-BU-ra ba-an-mu$_4$(!)
galla-e-ne kug-$^d$inanna-ke$_4$ gù mu-na-dé-e
$^d$inanna uru-zu-šè gub-ba én ga-ba-ab-túm-mu-un-dè-en

60. kug-$^d$inanna-ke$_4$ galla-e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
$^d$latarak-zag-è-a zi-da-gùb-bu-mu-ús

én ta-gim nam-ma-ra-ab-zé-èm-en-zé-en

ga-e-sÚG-dè-en $^{giš}$ḫašḫur-gul-la-edin-kul-aba$^{ki}$
$^{giš}$ḫašḫur-gul-la-edin-kul-aba$^{ki}$ gìr-ni-šè ba-e-sÚG-re-eš

65. $^d$dumu-zi túg(!)-maḫ-a i-im-mu$_4$ maḫ-a-tuš-a tuš im-ma-gar
galla-e-ne zù-a-na i-im-díb-bé-eš
kaš-banšur-imin-bi(!?) mu-un-d[é]-eš-àm
imin-àm á(?)-lú-tu-ra-gim sag mu-un-d[a]-sàg-ge-[n]e
sipad-dè gi-BU gi-di-da igi-ni šu [nu]-mu-un-tag-ge-ne

*Tore at* his eyes for me, *tore at* his mouth for me,
*Tore* for me *at* the place which no one . . .s, his large *anus*,

40. Dressed like a pauper in a single garment,
To the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
In Ur, to the house of Sin,
In Eridu to the house of Enki, all alone he directed his step—
You shall not carry him off like (*just*) *anything* (*at all*)."

45. "Let us accompany you to the Sigkuršagga in Umma."
In his city Šara threw himself at her feet,
Sat in the dust, dressed in a filthy garment.

The demons say to the pure Inanna:
"O Inanna, *step up to* your city, (*and as for*) him, let us carry him off."

50. The pure Inanna answers the demons:
"My Šara, who . . .s the hymns,
My barber, my *valet*—
You shall not carry him off like (*just*) *anything* (*at all*)."
"Let us accompany you to the Emuškalamma in Badtibira."

55. They followed her to the Emuškalamma in Badtibira.
In his city Latarak threw himself at her feet,
Sat in the dust, dressed in a filthy garment.

The demons say to the pure Inanna:
"O Inanna, *step up to* your city, (and as for) him, let us carry him off."

60. The pure Inanna answers the demons:
"Latarak, the leader, who stands at my right and left—
You shall not carry him off like (*just*) *anything* (*at all*)."
"Let us accompany you *to* the . . . *of* Kullab."
They followed her *to* the . . . *of* Kullab.

65. (There) Dumuzi dressed himself in a noble garment, seated himself loftily on (his) seat.
The demons seized him by his anus,
Poured out the seven *table-drinks*,
The seven attack him like the *strength* of the sick,
The shepherds play not the flute and the pipe before him.

70. igi mu-un-ši-in-bar igi-úš-[a]-ka

inim i-bí-ne inim-LIPIŠ-gig-ga

gù i-bí-dé gù-nam-tag-tag(!)-ga
én-šè tùm-mu-an-zé-en
kug-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ su$_8$-ba-$^{d}$dumu-zi-da šu-ne-ne-a in-na-sì
75. lú-e-ne-lú-mu-un-dè-SÚG-eš-àm
lú-$^{d}$dumu-zi-mu-un-ši-SÚG-eš-àm
ú nu-zu-me-eš a nu-zu-me-eš

zì-dub-dub-ba nu-kú-me-eš
a-bal-bal-a nu-na$_8$-na$_8$-me-eš
80. úr-dam níg-dùg-ge-éš nu-si-ge-eš
dumu-níg-ku$_7$-ku$_7$-da ne nu-su-ub-ba-me-eš
dumu-lú du$_{10}$-ub-ta ba-ra-an-zi-ge-eš
é-gi$_4$-a é-ur$_7$-ra-ka im-ma-an-è-eš

$^{d}$dumu-zi-dè ír im-ma-pàd sig$_7$-sig$_7$ ì-gá-gá
85. mà-e $^{d}$utu-ra an-šè šu-ni ba-an-na-zi
$^{d}$utu muru$_8$-mu-me-en mà-e mí-ús-sá-zu-me-en

é-ama-zu-šè ià-gùr-ru-me-en

é-$^{d}$nin-gal-šè ga-gùr-ru-me-en
šu-mu šu-muš-a ù-mu-ni-in-sì
90. gìr-mu gìr-muš-a ù-mu-ni-in-sì
galla-mu ga-ba-da-kar nam-mu-un-ḫa-ḫa-ne

70. She fastened the eye upon him, the eye of death,
Spoke the word against him, the word of wrath,
Uttered the cry against him, the cry of guilt;
"*As for him*, carry him off."
The pure Inanna gave the shepherd Dumuzi into their hands.
75. They who accompanied him,
They who accompanied Dumuzi,
(Were beings who) know not food, know not water,
Eat not sprinkled flour,
Drink not libated water,
80. Sate not *pleasurably* the lap of the wife,
Kiss not the children (*raised on*) *delicacies*;
They lifted the man's son from (his) knee,
They carried off the bride from the house of the father-in-law.
Dumuzi wept, his face turns green,
85. Toward heaven, to Utu, he lifted his hands:
"O Utu, you are my wife's brother, I am your sister's husband,
I am one who carries fat to your mother's house,
I am one who carries milk to Ningal's house,
Turn my hands into the hands of a snake,
90. Turn my feet into the feet of a snake,
Let me escape my demons, let them not seize me."

## Commentary to YBC 4621

Lines 1–3. These three lines correspond to lines 264–6 of the text as restored in PAPS 85: 301, lines 264–5 being the last two of the approximately 20-line break noted on that page. The first "they" of lines 1 and 2, to judge from the context, refers to Ereshkigal and her companions, presumably the Anunnaki of the nether world mentioned in lines 163 and 274 of the reconstructed text, or perhaps to the Anunnaki alone. In any case, as Enki had forewarned them,[7] the *kalaturru* and *kurgarrû* refused to accept the river and the field offered them as a gift and insisted instead that the suspended corpse of Inanna be given them. The *-na-* of *mu-na-ba-e-ne* in lines 1 and 2, is for the expected *-ne-*; this seems to be the accepted practice in the Yale text, cf. lines 4, 50, 60, and 74.[8] In the verbal form *nu-ma*-BU-*dè-*

7. Lines 1–3 of the Yale tablet enable us now to restore correctly the very important and largely misread lines 241–3 of the reconstructed text in which Enki forewarns the *kalaturru* and *kurgarrû* not to accept the gifts offered them in the nether world, thus:

241. íd(!) a-b[a mu-un-n]a-ba-e-ne šu na[m-ba]-BU-i-en-zé-en
242. a-šà še-ba m[u-u]n-ba-e-ne šu nam-ba-BU-i-en-zé-en
243. uzu-níg-sìg(!)-$^{giš}$kak-ta-lá-a sì-me-eb dug$_4$-ga-na-ab-zé-en
"They will present you with a river as a water-gi[ft], do n[ot] accept;
They will present you with a field as a grain-gift, do not accept;
'Give us the *corpse* hung from the *stake*' say to her."

8. Note however the expected *-ne-* in line 34. In the tablet published in *PBS* V 22 on which lines 266–323 of the reconstructed text is based and which duplicates the Yale tablet lines 3–55, the same holds true, that is, *-na-* is written for the expected *-ne-*, cf. lines 297 (note however that the corresponding line 34 of the Yale tablet here uses the expected *-ne-*), 318, and 328; note, too, that in line 267 of the reconstructed text, the *-ne-* in the transliteration was an error; the tablet actually has *-na-*, cf. note 114 of Part II of this study.

*ne*, the reading of BU seems to be *gíd*,[9] rather than *bu*, as might have been expected from a writing such as *nam-ba*-BU-*i-en-zé-en* (cf. lines 241–2 of the reconstructed text). In line 3, note the omission of the expected *-a* after *-lá* (cf. also line 7); the verb *sì-me-eb* is an imperative and as far as I know provides us with the first example of a first person plural dative infix; the verbal form *in-na-ne-eš* is to be analyzed as *i-na-n-e-eš*, the *-ne-* thus representing a combination of the subject element *-n-* with the verbal root *e* "to speak," (cf. e. g. AS No. 12, 85 and AS No. 15, 99); the *-na-* of the verbal form is rendered as a singular referring to Ereškigal, rather than as a plural corresponding to the first "they" of the two preceding lines, since according to line 4, it is Ereškigal alone who answers the *kalaturru* and the *kurgarrû*.

Lines 4–8.[10] For *a-ne* = *e-ne*, cf. Falkenstein, An. Or. 28: 49–50;[11] as the duplicate line 267 of the restored text shows, it refers to Ereškigal; for the writing *-na-* instead of *-ne-* in the verb, cf. comment to lines 1–3. In line 5, note the use of Eme-KU *níg* for the expected Emesal *ám* (cf. note 10 for the correct *ám* in the duplicate on which the reconstructed text was based); the scribe of the Yale tablet is quite inconsistent throughout in this respect;[12] the final *-ka* in this line is assumed to be for the more expected *-kam*. As for the implications of Ereškigal's statement these are not too clear; on the surface she seems to offer no more than a bit of straight information.[13] In line 7, the verb might have been expected to read *ba-an-sì-mu-ne* if the present was intended, although actually the preterit *ba-an-sì-mu-uš* seems more suitable to the context (cf. also note 11 for the strange form found in the corresponding line of the duplicate tablet). In line 8, note that the corresponding line of the reconstructed text has the more correct *bí-in-šub-bu-uš*; the final *gub-ba* is obviously a scribal error for *ba-gub* as correctly written in the corresponding line 272 of the reconstructed text.

Lines 9–17. The meaning of *ba-ab-ḫa-ḫa-aš*[14] is assured from line 91 of the Yale tablet where *nam-mu-un-ḫa-ḫa-ne* is glossed by the Akkadian *la i-ṣa-ba-tu-ni-in-ni*; what is not clear from this laconic line, however, is how and by whom the nether-world Anunnaki (cf. line 163 of the reconstructed text) were seized. Line 11 still presents many difficulties and possibilities[15]; according to the attempted rendering of the line, which

9. On the surface the form may of course be analyzed as *nam-ba-bu-(e)d-ene*, that is, as the root + the present-future element *ed*, but this seems rather unlikely since the verb is transitive.

10. These lines duplicate lines 267–72 of the reconstructed text, and the Yale tablet enables us to correct the largely misread lines 267–70, thus:

267. kug-$^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la-ke$_4$ ka[la-tur-kur-gar-ra] mu-na-ni-ib-g[i$_4$-gi$_4$]
268. uzu-ám-sìg ám-ga-ša-[an-zu-ne-ne-ka]
269. uzu-níg-sìg(!) ám-nin ḫ[é(!?)-a] sì-me-eb in-na-an-ne-eš
270. uzu-níg-sìg-$^{giš}$kak-ta-lá-a im-me-ne-s[ì-u]š

For line 267, cf. note 8; in line 268 note the inexplicable ME preceding the second ÁM, it is probably an intended erasure; in line 269 the signs between *sìg*(!) and *ám* are probably intended erasures (note, too, that the traces do not point to the expected *-me* following *ám-nin*); in line 270, the reading of the verb as *im-me-ne-sì-uš* for the expected *mu-ne-sì-mu-uš* is strange and far from assured, but that is actually what the tablet seems to have on the original, except that *im-* might perhaps be an intended erasure.

11. This of course does not resolve the problem of why *a-ne* is used for the customary *e-ne* in this particular instance.

12. Thus in the very same line he uses quite correctly *ŋašan* instead of *nin*, but in lines 35–44, which contain a speech by Inanna, the scribe uses the Eme-KU throughout except in lines 43–4. In line 45, on the other hand, he writes the name of the Umma temple in the Emesal for no justifiable reason; so too he uses the unjustified Emesal *su$_8$-ba* for *sipad* in line 74 (cf. also comment to line 73).

13. A similar difficulty meets us in the next line. Note, too, that from the contents of lines 5–6 we may conclude that Enki created these two creatures to be in the service of Inanna, although it is not actually so stated in the relevant passage (lines 214 ff.) of the reconstructed text. Cf. now also Oppenheim, *Orientalia* N. S. 19: 135, note 1.

14. In the corresponding line 274 of the reconstructed text, therefore, the verbal form should have been read as *ba-ab(!)-ḫa-ḫa-aš*.

15. Particularly uncertain is the attempted rendering of *a-ba-àm*, *silim*, and *um-ta-e$_{11}$*; as for the *-ni* of *silim-ma-ni*, it is assumed to take up the anticipatory genitive *lú-kur-ta-e$_{11}$-dè* (*-dè* presumably for *-da*). Note, too, that the sign TA between *-e$_{11}$-* and *-dè* is no doubt an intended erasure in spite of the fact that there are no traces of an attempted erasure on the tablet, cf. also comment to line 45. As for the corresponding line 275 of the reconstructed text, to judge from the Yale tablet, it should have been read as follows: *a-ba-àm lú-kur-ra-e$_{11}$(!)-dè kur-ra silim-ma-bi-e$_{11}$-dè*. If the reading is correct *kur-ra* may be for *kur-ta; silim-ma-bi* would be a variant for *silim-ma-ni* (the correct form however is *silim-bi*); the final *-e$_{11}$-dè* seems to be a participle and the line is thus left without the expected finite verbal form.

is of course quite uncertain, it seems to say that in addition to the nether-world Anunnaki there were also seized all those who might give information (to the gods?) that a general ascent from the nether-world was about to take place. In line 12 the verb might have been expected to read *ba-e*$_{11}$*-dè*, cf. the corresponding line 276 of the restored text. In line 13, the first complex *sag-aš*[16] is difficult to translate in the context since the known Akkadian equivalents do not seem to fit; note, too, that the complex *sag-gá-na-gim* is rendered as if the final *-gim* is a scribal error,[17] and that the verb *ḫa-ba-ab-sì-mu* is rendered as if *ḫa-* were an asseverative rather than a precative particle attached to the present future, an assumption which may turn out to be erroneous.[18] Lines 14–15 correspond to lines 282–3 of the reconstructed text,[19] while lines 16–17 correspond to lines 279–81; the Yale tablet thus has a variant order for the lines of this passage and omits altogether a line to correspond with line 278 of the reconstructed text. In line 16, *gi-šukur-ra-gim* is glossed by the Akkadian *qān-qupri*, the meaning of which is uncertain. In line 17, the word *dubban* in the complex *gi-dub-ba-an-na-gim* is of uncertain meaning.[20]

Lines 18–28. This passage corresponds to lines 184–90 of the restored text, but adds a number of lines which further emphasize the viciousness of the demons.[21] In line 18 *lú-ù-ne* is not the plural of *lú* but consists of the noun *lú* and the pronoun *ene* (cf. line 75 of the Yale tablet); note, too, that the following *lú* seems redundant.[22] In the verbal forms in lines 18 and 19, it is to be noted that the root represented by SÚG ended in an *-r*;[23] also that what, grammatically speaking, seem to be two identical verbal forms begin with *mu-un-dé-* in one case (line 18) and *mu-e-ši-* in the other (line 19).[24] In line 22 note the *a* which begins the line; the [*kaš*(?)] of the corresponding line 288 of the reconstructed text should therefore be changed accordingly.[25] For *níg-šà-a* in line 23, cf. e. g. *JCS* 1: 10, line 34; note, too, that this line probably corresponds to Ni 2762 (cf. *PAPS* 85, plate 8) rev. 11 which should thus be restored to read: [*níg-šà-a níg-dùg-ga šu nu-*]BU-*i-me-eš*.[26] In line 24, if the rendering is correct, the first complex might have been expected to read *úr-dam-a*(*k*) instead of *úr-dam*; the second complex might have been expected to omit the initial *níg*; the verbal form might have been expected to read *nu-si*(*g*)*-me-eš* rather than *nu-si-ge-me-eš*. In line 25, if the reading is correct,[27] *-ku*$_7$*-ku*$_7$*-da* is for grammatical *ku*(*d*)*-kud-a*(*k*). For the reading NE as *ne* in the verb *ne—sub*, cf. AO 17: 402, note 14; note that instead of *nu-su-ub-ba-me-eš* one might have expected *nu-su-ub-me-eš*. In line 26 *úr-lú-ka* seems to be for *úr-lú-ta*. For another example of the writing *du*$_{10}$*-ub* for *dùg* "knee," cf. JCS 1: 14, line 90. In line 28, the

16. In the corresponding line 277 of the reconstructed text, therefore, the first complex should have been read *sag-aš*, not *ug*$_5$*-ga*.

17. Note that the corresponding line 277 omits it.

18. Difficult, too, is the gloss in the Yale tablet which seems to read *ma-ni-ma*.

19. As the Yale tablet shows, therefore, the first part of line 282 should have been read as *lú-igi-na sukkal nu-me-a* (the sign between *-na* and *sukkal* is an intended erasure), while the first part of line 283 should have been read *bar-ra-na ra*(*!*)*-gaba*(!) *nu-me-a* (note the traces of an erased sign between *-na* and *ra-*).

20. Cf. Falkenstein, *AOF* 14: 127 where the meaning "spear-shaft" for *gi-šukur-ra-* is suggested. As for the word *dubban*, as Landsberger suggested to me in his letter (cf. note 1 of Part II), it probably has nothing to do with the word *dub* "tablet," and the doubtful rendering "tablet-styluses" in line 311 of the reconstructed text might have been better omitted altogether. Note, too, that the *-gim* at the end of the complex in the Yale tablet is of course preferable to the *-ke*$_4$ of the reconstructed text (so actually on the original of *PBS V* 22 on which the reading of the line is based).

21. Note, however, that the Yale tablet has no line corresponding to line 290 of the restored text. The description of the evil demons was of course a stock literary motif which was contracted or expanded as the poet saw fit.

22. Cf. lines 284–5 of the reconstructed text where the postposition *-ra* follows the *lú*-complexes.

23. Cf. also *ŠL* 207, 17 for other examples indicating a final *r* for this root. Note, therefore, that the *-súg-* of lines 284, 285, 312, and 322 of the reconstructed text should have been transliterated as -SÚG-.

24. In lines 284 and 285 of the reconstructed text the verb begins in both cases with *in-ši-*. Moreover in lines 75 and 76 of the Yale tablet where the grammatical construction is identical the verb reads *mu-un-ši-*SÚG-*eš-àm*.

25. So already correctly adduced by Falkenstein in *AOF* 14: 128.

26. For the difficulty in the reading of the sign BU cf. comment to lines 1–3.

27. That is, the transliteration assumes that the sign is *ŠL* 110 which can be read either *ku*(*d*) or *kuruš*(*d*); the translation treats the first complex in line 25 as a genitive, literally, "sons of delicacies," cf. perhaps *ŠL* 597, 146 (the reading of NÍG as *níg* is of course not certain).

*-ka* of *é-ur₇-ra-ka* is for the expected *-ta*, cf. comment to line 26.

Lines 29–44. This passage corresponds to lines 291–311 of the reconstructed text.[23] In lines 30–31 note the minor variants when compared with the corresponding lines of the reconstructed text; note, too, the reading *mu*-BU-*ra* (line 31) instead of *mu-sír-ra*, cf. AOF 14: 128. In line 32, the *-ke₄* of *ᵈinanna-ke₄* is for the expected *-ra*, cf. the corresponding line 295 of the reconstructed text. In line 33 note the rather unusual use of the sign LI with the reading *én* for the pronoun usually written *e-ne*;[29] the verb *ba-ab-túm-dè-en* should no doubt have begun with the precative particle *ga-*, cf. lines 49 and 59 of the Yale tablet.[30] In line 34, note the correct *-ne-* in the verbal form, and cf. note 8. In lines 35–43 Inanna lists in abbreviated form the deeds of Ninšubur in her behalf as the reason for her refusal to permit the demons to do him harm. In line 35, the Yale tablet's *ír* gives at long last the correct reading of the first word of the corresponding line 302 of the reconstructed text and thus helps clarify the meaning considerably;[31] note, however, the strange and no doubt erroneous verbal form *ma-ni-gar-gar-re-en* for the expected *ma-ni-gá-gá*. In line 36, the Yale tablet's *šém* gives us at last the correct reading of the first sign of line 303 of the reconstructed text and clarifies the meaning of the line.[32] In line 37, the first complex omits the expected *-ke₄*, cf. lines 36, 175, and 304 of the reconstructed text; note, too, that the verb in this line has a present form while the corresponding lines of the reconstructed form have the preterit. In line 38, note the Eme-KU *igi* for the expected Emesal *i-bí*, cf. note 12; for the rendering of ḪUR with "tear at," cf. the Gudea passage translated by Poebel in AS No. 14: 43 where ḪUR has a meaning such as "paw." Line 39 is still difficult; the Yale tablet now assures the reading *nu* for the fourth sign[33] as well as the reading *di* for the sign DI in lines 38, 177, and 306 of the reconstructed text (that is, the Yale tablet's *du₈* is probably a phonetic variant of *di*), but the grammatical structure and meaning of *ki-lú*[34]*-da-nu-di* (or *du₈*) remain uncertain.[35] In line 40 note again the Eme-KU writing *lú* for the expected Emesal *mu-lu*, cf. line 307 of the reconstructed text and note 12.[36] In line 41, note the *-re* for the expected *-ra* in *é-kur-re*, and the Eme-KU orthography *ᵈen-líl* for the expected *ᵈmu-ul-líl*, cf. line 308 of the reconstructed text and also see note 12. In line 42, the deity of Ur is called *zuen* instead of *nanna*, cf. line 309 of the reconstructed text. In line 43, the scribe seems to have made two errors; he omitted the *-ib* of *[uru]-zí-ib*ᵏⁱ and the *-an-* of *ᵈam-an-ki*, cf. line 310 of the reconstructed text; note, too, that

28. Note, however, that the Yale tablet omits altogether the text corresponding to line 291 as well as to lines 298–301 and 311. On the other hand the reconstructed text has no line corresponding to the very important line 44 of the Yale tablet; this is undoubtedly an oversight since it does have the corresponding line in the parallel passage (line 321).

29. We may therefore conclude that the pronoun was pronounced *en* as well as *ene*, cf. *GSG* §20 and the corresponding phenomenon where an initial vowel may be dropped, e. g. *utud* and *tud* "to give birth," *ušub* and *šub* "brickmold" (cf. now *An. Or.* 28, 41 ff.) Another way of looking at the matter is to assume that LI has the value *ene* as well as *én* and probably even *ne* (cf. the variant NE for *én* in line 321 of the reconstructed text) just as for example ŠÈ has the value *ešé* as well as *éš*, and *šè*.

30. Note that the variant writings *[ga]-ba-ab-túm-dè-en* (line 33), *ga-ba-ab-túm-mu-dè* (line 49), and *ga-ba-ab-túm-mu-un-dè-en* (line 59) all represent the same grammatical verbal form; cf. also the variant forms *ga-e-*SÚG*-en-dè-en* (line 54) and *ga-e-*SÚG*-dè-en* (line 63), and the comment in *RA* 34: 133, note 2.

31. The first word in lines 34, 173, and 302 is therefore to be corrected from *an* to *ír*, and for *ír—gar*, cf. especially Jacobsen in *AJSL* 58: 221, note 11. Note, however, that the complex *du₆-du₆-dam* is still of rather uncertain meaning (the conclusions in *BASOR* No. 79, 26, note 27 are now, as a result of the new reading *ír*, shown to be quite wrong), perhaps the complex refers to Inanna's abandoned cities listed at the beginning of the poem, which might have been turned into ruins upon Inanna's descent to the nether world.

32. Note that the sign for *šém* may perhaps correspond to *ŠL* 426 rather than 424, and may therefore perhaps be better read *šèm*. The first word in lines 35, 174, and 303 should be corrected accordingly.

33. Cf. already Falkenstein, *AOF* 14: 119; lines 38, 177, and 306 are therefore to be corrected accordingly.

34. For the Eme-KU *lú* instead of the expected Emesal *mulu* (cf. line 30 of the reconstructed text), see note 12.

35. The translation assumes that *ki-* refers to *zù-gal-ni*, that *lú-da-nu-du₈* further describes *ki-*, that *-da-* is a direct object of *-du₈*; needless to say that while this analysis seems most likely to me, it is of course only one of a number of possibilities.

36. Note that this line varies from the corresponding line 307 in omitting the *-a* following *aš-* and in using the prefix *mu-* instead of *im-ma*.

strangely enough he writes these two complexes with the Emesal orthography but in line 43 he reverts again to the Eme-KU orthography *gìr* for the Emesal *me-ri*, cf. line 40 of the reconstructed text. In line 44 the word division involving the first three signs is quite uncertain; the translation assumes that the sign LI is to be read *én* (cf. comment to line 33), that *ta* is the Emesal form of the interrogative pronoun *ana*, that the *-ra-* of the verbal form is the privative infix (cf. now ZA 45: 180 ff.), and that the *zé-èm* of the verbal form is the Emesal form of *túm*.[37]

Lines 45–53. This passage corresponds to lines 312–21 of the reconstructed text. Line 45 varies from line 312 as follows: It omits the initial verbal form altogether; it writes the name of Inanna's temple in Umma with its Emesal rather than its expected Eme-KU form (cf. note 12; note, too, that the sign ZU between *še-* and *-eb-* is no doubt an error which the scribe failed to erase, cf. note 15); it begins the verbal form with *ga-e-* instead of *ga-an-ši-*[38] (hence the new rendering "let us accompany thee" rather than "her"). Line 46 is a contracted version of lines 313–4 of the reconstructed text. For lines 47–50 cf. comment to lines 31–4. In lines 51-2 Inanna states her reason for not permitting the demons to harm Šara by describing the latter's praiseworthy activities in her behalf. Unfortunately the two lines are of uncertain meaning; line 51, to judge from the initial LI.DU,[39] seems to have something to do with the singing of Inanna's praises. For *dub-bin-tar-tar* cf. ŠL 92b, 11.[40] The rendering "valet" for *gú*-TAR-*lá* is a rough guess based on the context; the complex might be expected to refer in some way to the proper grooming of Inanna's person (for *gú*-TAR, cf. perhaps ŠL 106, 42). For line 53, cf. comment to line 44 and note the strange -DU for the expected *-enzen* of the verb (cf. line 62).[41]

Lines 54–62. This passage corresponds to lines 322–30 of the restored text.[42] Line 54 varies from the parallel line 45 in having the verb at the beginning. Line 55 has no corresponding line in the parallel passage beginning with line 45 or in the reconstructed text, but does have a corresponding line in the parallel passage beginning with line 64, where the verb is written as *ba-e-*SÚG-*re-eš*.[43] Line 56 is a contracted form of lines 323–4 of the reconstructed text.[44] For lines 57–60 cf. comment to lines 47–50.[45] In line 61[46] Inanna

37. Cf. the comment to the Emesal form of the name $^{d}$*Gatumdug* in *AS* No. 11, 75.

38. Note, however, that the grammatically identical form in line 63 reads *ga-e-*SÚG-*dè-en*, cf. note 30. In all cases, however, the form shows *-e-* following *ga-* and this *-e-* seems to have been regarded by the scribe of the Yale tablet as the second person singular *accusative* particle. The scribe of *PBS* V 22, on the other hand, writes *ga-an-ši-*SÚG-*dè-en* in the line corresponding to line 45 of the Yale tablet (cf. line 312 of the reconstructed text), while in the line corresponding to line 63 of the Yale tablet (cf. line 322 of the reconstructed text) he writes it once with an initial *ga-e* just as on the Yale tablet (so too CBS 15162, cf. pl. 10 in PAPS 85), and once with *ga-an-ši-*. Moreover in a passage where the verbal root SÚG has a meaning identical with that of lines 45 and 63, the scribe of the Yale tablet writes it once preceded by the infix *-dè-* and once (strangely enough in a grammatically identical verbal form) preceded by *-ši-* (cf. lines 75–6). Note finally, the forms in lines 58, 69, 71 and 139 in "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" (*JCS* 1: 3 ff.).

39. For the reading of LI.DU cf. now the comment in the newly revived *ZA* (1950): 85, note 3. Note that in *PBS* V 22 (cf. line 319 of the reconstructed text) the traces do not point to LI.DU as the first two signs of the line (the copy is faithful to the original except that the first sign looks like an erasure on the tablet), while the last part of the line probably does have $^{d(!)}$*šara(!)*-[*mu*] with an erased sign following $^{d}$*šara-*.

40. Line 320 of the reconstructed text (based on *PBS* V 22) seems to have a variant reading for the first half of this line.

41. Either this -DU is a scribal error or it has a reading approximating *enzen*. Note, too, the variant NE for *én*, cf. note 179 in Part II of this study.

42. Cf. however the comment to lines 55 and 56 immediately following.

43. The rendering assumes that a more literal translation of the last two complexes is "they accompanied her at her feet" ("her" in spite of the infix *-e-*). Note, too, the omission of the determinative following *bàd-tibira*.

44. CBS 15162 (cf. PAPS 85: pl. 10) actually reads *ba-an-šub-bu-uš* for the verb and the reading of line 324 of the reconstructed text should be corrected accordingly.

45. Line 59, as the copy shows, was written on the left edge, since it was accidentally omitted by the scribe who indicated by means of a short horizontal line the exact place where it belongs. This interesting scribal practice was relatively simple to figure out in the case of the Yale tablet as a result of a comparison of the passage beginning with line 54 with the parallel passages beginning with lines 30 and 45, not to mention the presence of the line in the duplicate, cf. line 327 of the restored text. There is at least one other example of this scribal device in the published Sumerian literary texts which has remained unrecognized hitherto be-

describes Latarak as one of her faithful supporters[47] who must therefore not be harmed by the demons.

Lines 63–74. Line 63 should be parallel to lines 54 (and 45); it seems to omit, however, the complex corresponding to *é-mùš-kalam-ma-šè* consisting of the name of the temple followed by the postposition *-šè*.[48] In line 65 the rendering of *maḫ-a* as an adverbial complex is of course uncertain; if the assumption is correct, *maḫ-a-tuš-a* approximates a more prosaic *tuš-maḫ-a*.[49] Line 67 might be expected to describe some contemptuous and harmful act of the demons; if the rendering should prove correct, and this is far from certain, the act consisted of pouring out the drinks which Dumuzi was enjoying when Inanna and the demons first appeared. In line 68, "the seven" are taken to refer to the demons, cf. particularly the long known but extremely difficult Dumuzi composition VS II No. 2 (and the duplicate published by Scheil in RA 8, 161–9) whose contents are pertinent to some extent to our text;[50] it not only involves Dumuzi and the seven demons, but actually contains a passage relating to the transformation of hands and feet to those of an animal (a gazelle in this case). The translation of line 69 is difficult and its implications for the context are obscure; the present rendering assumes that the subject of the verb (note that it is plural in form), *sipad-dè*, in spite of its singular form[51], does not refer to Dumuzi, but to his companion shepherds who presumably played before him in order to entertain him.[52] In lines 70–72 Dumuzi, it seems, is asleep and unmindful of what has taken place, and the demons try to arouse him with cries that his sheep have been carried off; they urge him to put on his holy crown on his head, his holy garment on his body, to take his holy scepter in his hand and put on his holy sandals on his feet (lines 28–53). But Dumuzi does not return to his stall (lines 54–5). There follows a crucial but obscure passage (lines 56–67) which seems to contain an address in the first person and mentions Inanna, who in one line (60) is called "my avenger" (*šu-gar-gar-ra-mu*). In the next passage (lines 68–70) someone (because of the obscurity of the preceding passage the individual speaking cannot be identified; it may be one of the demons) complains to Utu (cf. line 68 which reads *$^{d}$utu-a-a-ni-šè šà-ne-ša$_4$ ḫu-mu-un-?*, "He uttered(?) a lament to Utu his father") that he (that is, Utu) had turned his hands into the the hands of a gazelle and his feet into the feet of a gazelle (i.e. *šu-maš-dù-na* and *me-ri-maš-dù-na*; note therefore that the Sumerian word for gazelle was *mašdu(n)*). Lines 71–77 then describe Utu's acts as a result of this complaint, but these remain obscure in the context (according to line 75 "he makes him a hand like a kid"). Following a long and largely obscure dialogue among the demons (lines 78–93) is a passage in which Dumuzi seems to be pleading with Inanna (lines 94–98). The composition closes with Inanna pouring the *a-kur-ra*, further described as "the ship-destroying waters" in the *$^{giš}$ḫašḫur-e-gu-la-edin-é-mùš-a*, as a result of which there was famine in the land. The last line seems to state that the demons walked at Inanna's side, and it is not unlikely therefore that this was not the end of the myth.

cause of lack of duplicating material. Thus in the all-important "deluge" tablet published in PBS V 1, the signs written on the left edge are preceded by a short line just as in the case of the Yale tablet; it is therefore not a colophon (cf. PBS IV 2, p. 63 and Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels, p. 105) but a line that was accidentally omitted between lines 5(!) and 6(!) of col. vi., which might perhaps be restored to read: *an-$^{d}$en-líl-li zi-u$_4$-sud$_x$-ra mí b[í-in-dug$_4$-ge-eš]* "An and Enlil ch[erished] Ziusudra."

46. Note that line 329, the corresponding line in the reconstructed text, inserts *á-* before *-zi-da* and ends in *ús-sa* rather than *-ús*, cf. CBS 15162 in PAPS 85: pl. 10.

47. The logically difficult "who stands at my right and left" is no doubt to be taken figuratively in the sense that he stands at her side wherever and whenever there is the need. Note, too, that *zag-è-a* is glossed by the Akkadian *ašaridu*.

48. The translation assumes that *$^{giš}$ḫašḫur-gul-la-edin-kul-aba$^{ki}$* (for the reading cf. *$^{giš}$ḫašḫur-e-gu-la-edin* in VS II 2 rev. 16, and note 50) in this and the next line is a genitive construction and the postposition *-šè* has been accidentally omitted by the scribe.

49. The Akkadian gloss seems to read *i-di ku-ri-e a-ši-ib* "he seated himself by the. ."

50. The text is written largely in the Emesal dialect and non-historical orthography, so that its contents are difficult to penetrate. Tentatively they may be sketched as follows: The composition begins with an introductory and more or less stock lament of Inanna for her husband and son (lines 1–27). The actual story then begins with the statement that "in those days" the seven demons of(?) Dumuzi (cf. *galla-guruš-e-imin-bi* and *galla-$^{d}$dumu-zi-dè-imin-bi* in lines 33 and 34) enter the holy stall and find it desolate and forlorn.

51. There is of course the possibility that the complex ought to be read *sipad-ne* for the grammatical *sipad-ene* which should have been written as *sipad-dè-ne* and that the scribe omitted one of the NE signs accidentally.

52. Among other possibilities we may perhaps assume that the plural verbal form is an error for the singular and that the meaning of the line is "the shepherd (Dumuzi) plays not the flute and pipe before her (Inanna)." Or we may perhaps treat the verb as a causative "they let not play" (the subject would then be "the demons" in accordance with the immediately preceding lines) and the line might be translated "they (the demons) do not let the shepherd (Dumuzi) play the flute and pipe before her (Inanna)"; in this case

the subject of the verbs is of course Inanna;[53] note, moreover that *i-bí-ne*[54] and *i-bí-dé* present the unusual phenomenon where *-bí-* is treated as an infix (like *-mi-*) rather than as thematic particle, cf. GSG §592 for the problem involved. In line 73, the rendering of *én-šè* is of course quite uncertain;[55] if the rendering of *tùm-mu-an-zé-en*[56] is correct, *tùm* is a variant writing for the *túm* of lines 33, 49, and 59, although since it is Inanna who is speaking one might have expected the Emesal form *zé-èm* (cf. lines 44, 53, and 62). In line 74 note the unjustified Emesal form $su_8$-*ba* for *sipad* (cf. note 12); the grammatically unjustified *-da* in the complex $^{d}$*dumu-zi-da*; the use of *-na-* for *-ne-* in the verb (cf. note 8).

Lines 75–84. Cf. the comment to the parallel passage in lines 18–28, and note that this passage omits the text corresponding to lines 23 and 26, as well as the variant forms of the verb in lines 83 and 28.

Lines 84–91. This passage contains Dumuzi's plea to Utu. For line 84 cf. lines 8 and 9 of the "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" passage cited in JCS 1: 42, note 245.[57] In line 85, *mà-e* is certainly a scribal error for *e-ne* (or *a-ne*, cf. comment to line 4);[58] the verbal form *ba-an-na-zi* furnishes another of the rather infrequent examples of the thematic particle *ba-* followed by the dative infix *-na-* (cf. GSG §611 and AS No. 8: 13–14). According to line 86 Dumuzi had married Inanna some time before she had decided to descend to the nether world. Lines 87–88 confirm the well known fact that according to Sumerian mythological notions Utu was the son of Ningal, the wife of Nanna. For *ià-gùr-ru* and *ga-gùr-ru*, cf. AS No. 11: 62, lines 363–4;[59] *gùr-ru* is probably for *gúr-e(d)*, cf. GSG §686. In line 91 the expression "my demons" rather than "the demons" may have some mythological implication not apparent on the surface; the rendering of the verb in this line is fortunately supplied by the Akkadian gloss *la i-ṣa-ba-tu-ni-in-ni*.

## Ni 9685

obv.

1. [$^{na}{}_4$za-g]ìn-t[$u_{19}$-$tu_{19}$ gú-na ba-an-lá]

   [n]$^{a}{}_4$nunuz-tab-ba [gaba-na ba-ni-in-si]

   [tú]$^{g}$palà-nam-nin-a [bar-ra-na ba-an-dul]

   šim-lú-ḫé-em-DU igi-ni [ba-ni-ib-gar]

obv.

1. "Sm[all lapis lazu]li [stones she has tied about her neck],
   *Twin nunuz*-[st]ones [she has fastened to her breast],
   With the *palà*-[gar]ment of ladyship [she has covered her body],
   *Man-enticing* paint she has daubed on her eyes,

---

however, the first complex should read *sipad* rather than *sipad-dè*. Note, too, that the complex *igi-ni* of this line might have been expected to read *igi-ni-šè*.

53. The Yale tablet thus helps to restore lines 164–6 of the reconstructed text which should have been read as follows:

164. [i-b]í mu-ši-in-bar i-bí-úš-a-kam
165. [inim] i-bí-ne inim-LIPIŠ-gig-ga-àm
166. [gù i-]bí-dé gù-nam-[tag]-tag-ga-àm

Note that the Emesal forms in the first line are quite unjustified.

54. Note that while the last complex in line 70 is a genitive construction, the last complexes in the two following lines which on the surface seem to be parallel constructions actually consist of a direct object followed by an active participle (of a compound verb) and probably followed by the enclitic *-à(m)*. As for *-ne* of *i-bí-ne* (line 71), it is to be analyzed as *-n*(the subject element) and *e* "to speak," cf. comment to line 3. Note finally the glosses *i-si-ši-ma* and *ša-si-e ar-ni* for *gù i-bí-dé* and *gù-nam-tag-tag-ga*.

55. So too unfortunately is the reading and meaning of the gloss *an-na-?*. Perhaps *én-šè* should be rendered with its usual meaning "until when," that is, Inanna exclaims: "How long (am I to endure Dumuzi's acts)? Carry (him) off."

56. Note *-an-* for the expected *-un-*.

57. Note that the Yale tablet has the expected subject element missing in line 8 of the JCS passage.

58. If this line is to be taken literally we must assume that Dumuzi is on the earth and thus lifts his hands to Utu in heaven, cf. a similar passage in lines 13–16 of "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" (JCS 1: 3 ff.). It is a characteristic feature of the Sumerian mythographers to be quite vague in general in reference to the "locale" of the action of the gods or to their methods of travel and means of communication.

59. The first complexes in lines 363–366 of that composition can therefore now be rendered "who brings you fat" (literally "your fat-bringer"), "who brings you milk, the fisherman who brings you fish, the bird-hunter who brings you birds."

5. tu-di-da-lú-gá-nu-gá-nu g[aba-na ba-an-BU]

ḫar-guškin šu-na i-im-[du$_8$]
gi-diš-ninda-ešé(!)-gán(!)-za-gìn šu-na i-im-[du$_8$]
u$_4$-ba $^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la-ke$_4$ ḫáš bar-bi-šè(?) . . . KA bí-in-DU KA-šà-TÚG ba-an-. .
ì-du$_8$-gal-ni-ir gù mu-na-dé-e
10. gá(!)-nu $^{d}$NE-ti ì-du$_8$-gal-kur-ra-mu

inim-a-ra-ab-bé-en-na-mu gú-zu la-ba-an-šub-bé-en(!?)
ká-gal-kur-ra imin-bi $^{giš}$si-gar-bi ḫé-eb-?

ká-gal-ganzir aš-bi $^{giš}$ig-bi šu ḫa-ba-an-ús
[e]-ne tu-tu-da-ni-ta
15. [gam-gam-ma-ni s]U(?)-NUN-NUN-ma-ni? mu-di-ni(?) . . .

rev.

1. [ta-àm] ne-e
s[i-a $^{d}$inanna me-kur-ra-k]e$_4$ šu al-du$_7$-du$_7$

$^{d}$i[nanna] garza-kur-ra-ke$_4$ ka-zu na-an-ba-e

k[á-gal-eš-k]am-ma tu-tu-da(!)-ni-ta(!)
5. [$^{na_4}$za-gìn-t]u$_{19}$-tu$_{19}$-gú-na lú ba-da-an-NUN

[ta-à]m ne-e
[si-a $^{d}$i]nanna me-kur-ra-ke$_4$ šu al-du$_7$-du$_7$

[$^{d}$inanna garza-kur-r]a-ke$_4$ ka-zu na-an-ba-e

[ká-gal-limmu-kam-ma] tu-t[u-da-ni-ta]
10. [$^{na_4}$nunuz-tab-bal gaba-na] lú [ba-da-an-NUN]

5. *Man-luring* breastplates [she has *bound*] about her bre[ast],
A gold ring she has [put about] her hand,
The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli she has [gripped] in her hand."
Then Ereškigal *bit* the thigh . . .,

Says to her chief gatekeeper:
10. "Come, NEti, my chief gatekeeper of the nether world,
Do not neglect the word which I speak to you;
Of the seven gates of the nether world, *lift* their bolts,
Of *all* the gates, *press apart* their doors,
Upon [h]er entering,
15. [Bowed low] . . .."

rev.

1. "[What pray is] this?"
"[Be] si[lent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the nether world] are perfect,
O I[nanna], do not let your mouth deprecate the rites of the nether world."
Upon her entering the [thir]d g[ate],
5. The small [lapis lazuli stones] of her neck were removed.
"[What pray i]s this?"
"[Be silent, I]nanna, the 'decrees' of the nether world are perfect,
[O Inanna], do not let your mouth deprecate [the rites] of [the nether world]."
[Upon her en]tering [the fourth gate],
10. [The *twin nunuz*-stones of her body] were [removed].

## Commentary to Ni 9685

Obv. The text of the obverse corresponds to lines 105–19 of the reconstructed text.[60] In line 2 note the rendering "twin" (rather than "sparkling" for *tab-ba*; cf. AOF 14: 116 with which I am inclined to agree; cf. now also Oppenheim, Orientalia N.S. 19: 139, note 1). For the reading and rendering of line 3[61] cf. the excellent comment in AOF 14: 116–7, a more literal rendering of the line would read: "She *wrapped* the *palà*-garment of ladyship about her body." In line 4 "man-enticing" is an attempted rendering of *lú ḫé-em*-DU[62], literally perhaps, "may it bring men." In line 5 "man-luring" is an attempted rendering of *lú-gá-nu-gá-nu*, literally perhaps "makes men come hither," cf. AOF 14: 116.[63] For the rendering of line 6, cf. the comment in AOF 14: 116 and lines 64 and 68 of the text published in JAOS 69:

60. Note however that the order of the lines 1–7 varies from that of the reconstructed text as follows: 1–2 of the former = 106–7 of the latter, 3 = 111, 4 = 110, 5 = 109, 6 = 108, 7 = 105.

61. Line 111 should have been read accordingly, cf. also PAPS 85: 303, comment to the variants of line 24.

62. The line varies from line 100 in having *lú* before *ḫé-em*-DU and in not repeating the latter complex.

63. Note however that *gá-nu* does not have the form of an active participle. For the variant *tu-di-da* for *tu-di-tum* cf. e. g. VS II 32 i 7.

3 ff.[64] For line 7 cf. Witzel's excellent comment in Orientalia N.S. 14: 32–3. Landsberger (cf. note 1 of part II) refers to the Burney relief discussed by Frankfort in AOF 12: 29 ff. which actually seems to depict the rod and line in the hands of a female deity. While, therefore, the renderings "measuring rod" and "line" are reasonably certain, there is still some difficulty with the words "of lapis lazuli" since the rod might be expected to be of wood and the line of rope rather than of stone. Landsberger therefore suggests the possibility that "lapis-lazuli" is here used figuratively for the color blue. In line 8,[65] the context demands a meaning such as "she bit her thigh,"[66] it is difficult, however, to relate the complex *bar-bi-šè*(?) to the context particularly because of the break following.[67] Line 9 corresponds to line 113 of the reconstructed text[68] which should be corrected accordingly. Line 10 corresponds to line 114 of the reconstructed text where the final *-ke*$_4$ should be corrected to *-mu*. Line 11 gives at last the correct reading of line 115 of the restored text.[69] Lines 12 and 13 provide the correct reading of lines 116 and 117 of the reconstructed text, but unfortunately the meaning of the two lines remains uncertain; the present rendering is of course a guess based on the context.[70] Line 14 corresponds to line 118 exactly. Line 15 corresponds to line 119, but unfortunately the reading and meaning of the line remains obscure.[71]

Rev. The text of the reverse corresponds to lines 133–42 of the reconstructed text. In lines 1 and 5 note the interesting variant *ne-e* for *me-a*; the phrase is the practically exact equivalent of the English "What pray is this?".[72] For the new rendering of *si-a* (lines 2 and 7) as "be silent," cf. the excellent suggestion in AOF 14: 126.[73] In line 3 (cf. line 8) we have at last the reading of the verbal root, that is, *ba* "to lessen, to make

64. The reading *ḫar* for ḪUR "ring," was suggested by Landsberger (cf. note 1 in Part II) who will give the evidence in a future study. Note the variant *i-im-du*$_8$ for *ba-ni-in-du*$_8$ in line 108 of the reconstructed text.

65. The transliteration assumes that the line beginning with what looks like an erased KA(?), that is, the line below the one beginning with *u*$_4$*-ba*, was purposely indented (hence probably the erasure of the first sign), and that its text therefore is actually part of line 8. Note however that the corresponding line 112 of the reconstructed text (based on CBS 9800 rev. i 1) has only one line of text; presumably therefore it wrote both line 8 and 8a (the indented line) on one line.

66. For *ḫáš* "thigh" cf. SS No. 1, 30. KA *bí-in*-DU might perhaps be read *su*$_{11}$ *bí-in-túm*, "she brought the tooth upon it," "she bit it", cf. too perhaps *níg*-KA-DU discussed by Falkenstein in Die Welt des Orients 1 (1948), p. 181.

67. If the assumption that the text of line 8a (cf. preceding note) completes that of line 8 is correct, the broken text at the end of line 8 should be no more than a sign or two, probably a participle. The complex KA-*šà*-TÚG is altogether unintelligible.

68. Except that it omits the name of the chief gatekeeper.

69. Line 115 of the reconstructed text should therefore have read: *inim-a-ra-dug*$_4$*-ga-mu gú-zu la-ba-an-šub-bé-en*. For the meaning of *gú-šub*, cf. Falkenstein's excellent comment in AOF 14: 122–3. Note that the copy of Ni 9685 seems to have AŠ as the final sign rather than EN; it is not unlikely that the AŠ-like sign is actually the beginning of the EN and that the scribe omitted the remainder of the sign because of lack of space. However it is not impossible that I failed to see the rest of the sign on the tablet because of the crowded writing on the edge, and a future collation will therefore be necessary.

70. It seems impossible to make a reasonably safe guess at the reading of the crucial last sign in line 12. In line 13 note that the new text proves Falkenstein's division of the line (cf. AOF 14: 125) correct and mine erroneous, that is, the complex is not *ka-aš-bi* but *aš-bi*; cf. also Witzel in Orientalia N. S. 14: 44 (particularly for the rendering of *aš-bi*). Note finally that line 13 omits *igi-kur-ra*, the complex modifying *ganzir*; the translation assumes that *ganzir* in line 13 parallels *kur* in line 12, and that *aš-bi* in line 13 parallels *imin-bi* in line 12.

71. Line 119 of the reconstructed text is based on CBS 9800 rev. 8 (cf. PAPS 85, pl. 2) and CBS 11064+ 11088 (ibid. pl. 6) obv. last line; according to a collation of the originals, the former seems to read *gam-gam-ma-ni* SU(?) NU[N-N]UN-[*ma*]*-ni-ta*. . . . , while the latter seems to read *gam-gam-ma-ni* SU(?)-NUN-NUN-[*ma-ni-ta*] *? mu*(*?*)*-ni-*. . . . A comparison with the new text, line 15, shows that the latter omits the final *-ta* of the second complex and that it seems to have an infix *-di-* in the verb. Note finally that the verb might be expected to be an imperative and that therefore *-ib* might perhaps be the final syllable (there seems to be room for more than one sign however in CBS 11064+ 11088), and that preceding *mu-* in the new text is a sign which looks like ŠITA (in CBS 11064+11088 it looks as if it were composed of two separate signs, though the text is too poorly preserved for certainty).

72. Cf. also the *a-na-àm ne-e* of line 199 of "Enki and Ninḫursag" (SS No. 1, 3 ff.).

73. Note however that the difficulty pointed out by Witzel, Orientalia N. S. 14: 44 (that the root of the verb is *sig* and that the imperative would therefore be written *si-ga* rather than *si-a*) is still unresolved. Note also that *me-kur-kur-ra-ke*$_4$ is a locative complex; a more literal rendering of the line would read: "Be silent, Inanna, on the decrees of the nether world the hand has been . .d."

little of something".[74] In line 5 note that the text omits *-lá-* after *-tu*$_{19}$*-tu*$_{19}$*-*. As for the verb in this line (cf. also line 10), it is written with the sign NUN which is probably to be read *zil* and is perhaps no more than a phonetic variant for *-zí-ir* of the reconstructed text.[75]

## ADDENDUM

Thorkild Jacobsen, of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, had the opportunity of examining this study in galley proof, and has forwarded to the writer several pertinent comments which are particularly significant for the "ascent" episode in the myth and show it in quite a new light. For reasons of economy, however, Jacobsen's suggestions are not incorporated in the body of this study, but are given practically in his own words in the form of the following addendum:

Line 9–14 would better be rendered as follows:

> As Inanna was ascending from the nether world,
> 10. The Anunnaki seized her (saying): ". . . .
> When Inanna ascends from the nether world,
> May she give a "single head" (in return) for her head."

The rendering "(in return) for her head" assumes that the thing in return for which something is given could be construed with *-a* as well as with the more usual *-šè*. In the *sag-gá-na-ge*$_{18}$ of the Yale tablet (*ge*$_{18}$ = *GIM*), we see a half hearted attempt to improve upon the not fully understood reading *sag-a-na* (cf. PBS V 22 ob. 12 (1)) by the mechanical addition of *-ge*$_{18}$, which can also mean "in return for," "equal in value to." The force of this *-ge*$_{18}$ is, I believe, rendered by the Akkadian gloss *ma-ni-ma* "counts (for)" in the Yale tablet.

According to this interpretation the Anunnaki make Inanna's release from the nether world conditional upon her supplying a redemptory substitute to take her place there. This would find support in the Akkadian versions of the tale, for there Namtar is told that if Inanna does not give him her ransom, Namtar is to bring her back to the nether world (cf. now ANET p. 108, notes 27 & 28). The interpretation of the passage suggested above, moreover, brings in clearer focus the role of the *gallas* who accompany her in her ascent. They are, as it were, a police detail assigned to bring back the required substitute. Hence their eagerness to seize upon anybody Inanna meets, as is obvious from lines 33, 49, etc. which I would render as: "O Inanna, proceed to your city, we will carry this one off." They are anxious to get their task over with, but Inanna's replies, except in the case of Dumuzi, restrain them. She stresses the value to her of the particular deity in question, and asks the *galla* to let her keep him, that is, I would transliterate and render lines 44, 53, etc. as follows:

*én ta-ge*$_{18}$*-nam ma-ra-ab-zé-ém-en-zé-en*

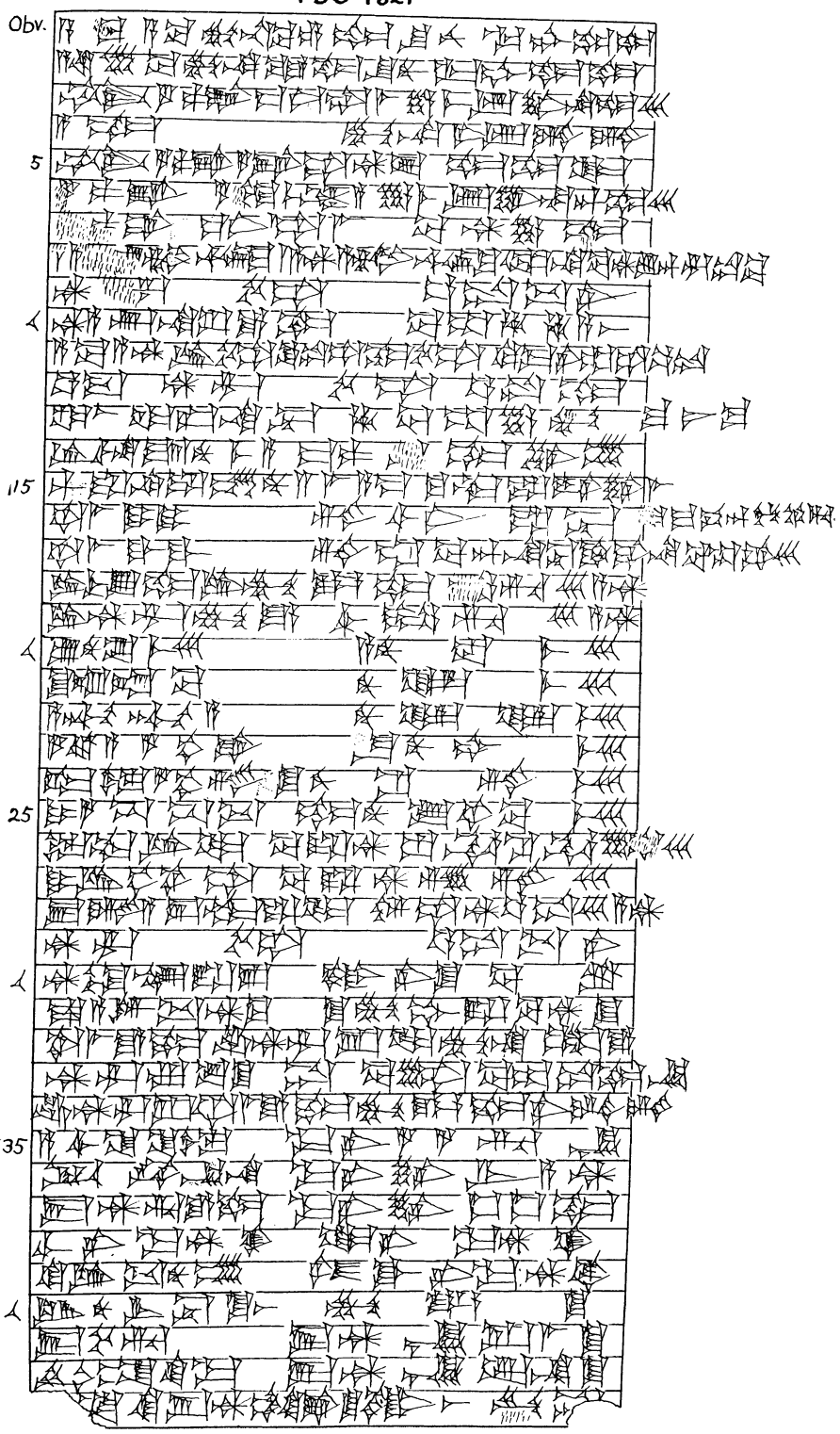
"This one at what(ever) cost you must give me."

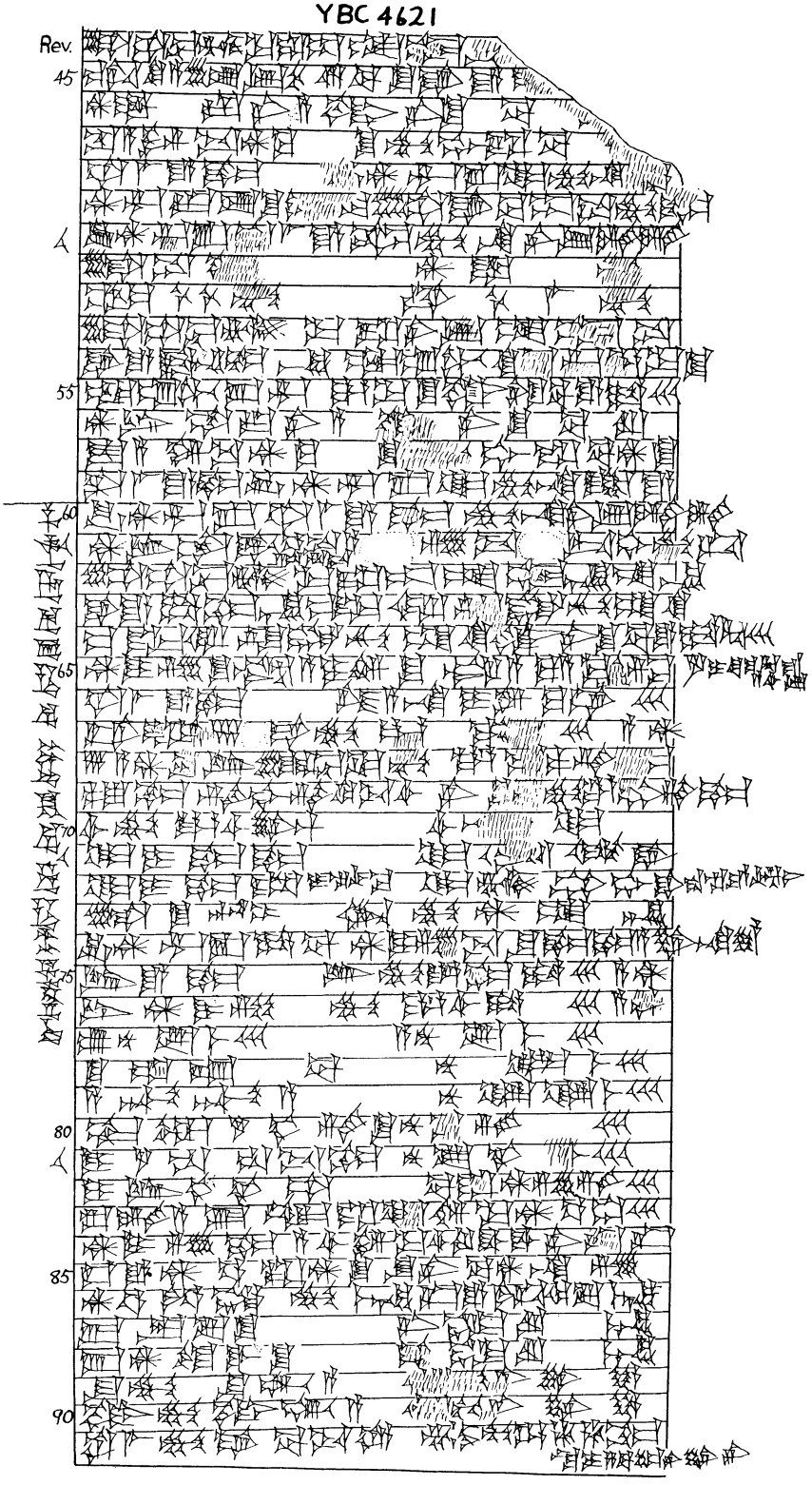
For the meaning of *ta-ge*$_{18}$*-nam*, cf. PBS VIII 2 No. 162: *munus šu-gi munus-kaš-ši-tum 5-gín-gus-kin-ge*$_{18}$*-nam*, "an old woman, a Kassite, of the value of 5 shekel gold."

74. In lines 130, 135, 140, 145, 150, 155, and 160 of the reconstructed text, therefore, the verb should read *na-an-ba-e-en*. Note that if only the reading of the line as in Ni 9685 had been preserved, that is, without the final *-en*, the translation would probably have read "let not your mouth deprecate"; it is the final *-en* of the variant which points to the rendering "do not let your mouth deprecate."

75. Cf. perhaps GSG §66, and such examples as *asal* and *asar(u)*, *zal* and *zar*$_2$, *tul*$_3$ and *dur*$_4$.

YBC 4621




YBC 4621
Rev.
45
55
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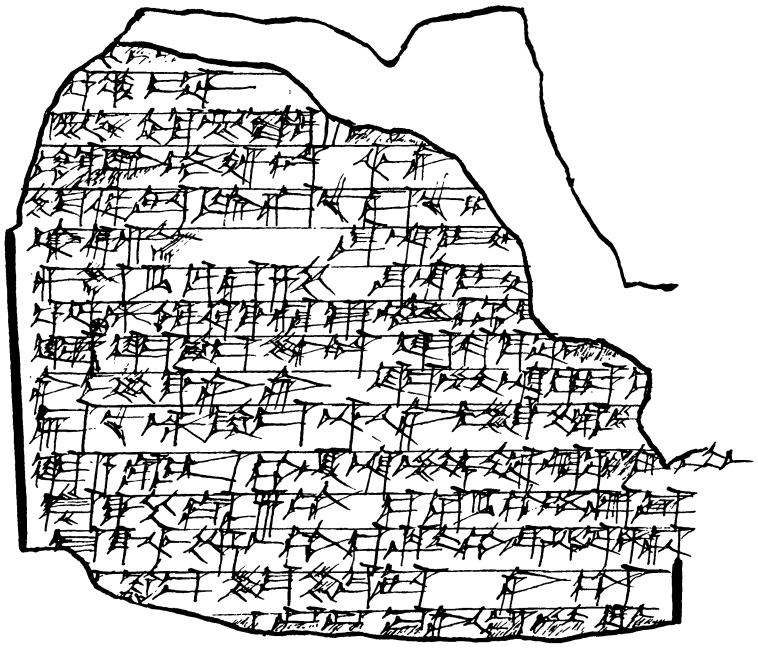
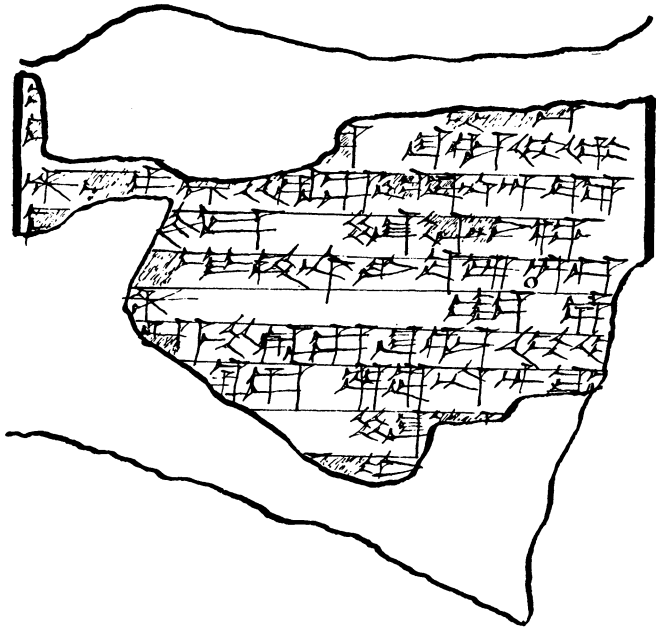
Ni 9685



Obv.



Rev.

"Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" Continued
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# "INANNA'S DESCENT TO THE NETHER WORLD" CONTINUED

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

Clark Research Professor of Assyriology, University of Pennsylvania;
Curator of the Tablet Collections, University Museum

(*Read November 5, 1949*)

FEBRUARY 1942, a little over eight years ago, it was my privilege to publish in the *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society the contents of a Sumerian myth entitled "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World." [1] The extant text of the myth had been pieced together from thirteen tablets and fragments inscribed about 1700 B.C., more than 3,500 years ago. All the pieces were excavated at the ancient Sumerian site Nippur, not far from modern Baghdad, and are now located in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul and in the University Museum in Philadelphia. As the paper pointed out, the text of the poem was still incomplete, and it expressed the hope that sooner or later some of its missing portions would be uncovered and translated. The present paper is a preliminary report of the first if, let it be stressed, partial, realization of the hope. A tablet inscribed with part of the "Inanna's Descent" myth, the contents of which were not utilized at the time, is now in the Yale Babylonian Collection in New Haven [2]; it had been bought some decades ago from a dealer, and its provenience is therefore unknown, but it may well have been Nippur. The tablet is excellently preserved and contains ninety-two lines of text. The first sixty-two lines add relatively little since they duplicate a portion of the text already known. But the last thirty lines are invaluable; they contain an entirely new passage which carries on the story from where it had broken off in the previously known texts. Moreover this new material has a rather unexpected significance; it clears up a misconception concerning the Sumerian deity Dumuzi—the Biblical Tammuz—which has misled students of Mesopotamian mythology and religion for more than half a century.

First, however, in the words of Pharaoh's cupbearer, "Let me mention my sins today." For I should have known and utilized the contents of this Yale tablet when reconstructing the text of the myth in the nineteen-thirties, since the existence of this tablet in the Yale Babylonian Collection was known and noted as early as 1924 by the late Edward Chiera who had copied many Sumerian literary texts in Istanbul and Philadelphia. But unfortunately his very brief notation of its existence in the introduction to his volume entitled *Sumerian Religious Texts* [3] escaped my attention at the time. But some years ago I had the opportunity of visiting the Yale Babylonian Collection, and, with the cooperation of its curator Ferris Stephens and his colleague Albrecht Goetze, helped to catalogue its over one hundred Sumerian literary tablets and fragments. It was in the course of this work that the contents of the "Inanna's Descent" tablet and its significance for the myth were recognized. Ferris Stephens has since made a faithful and careful copy of the tablet which he forwarded to me, and I have now prepared a tentative transliteration and translation. The final scientific publication of the tablet, which is to appear in the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* will be a cooperative study under the joint authorship of Ferris Stephens and myself.

Before proceeding with the sketch of the contents of the new passage, it will be advisable to review ever so briefly the plot of the myth as it was available eight years ago. For some unknown reason Inanna, queen of heaven, the Sumerian goddess of love and war, has set her heart upon visiting the nether world. She therefore collects all the appropriate divine decrees, adorns herself with her queenly robes and jewels, and is ready to enter the "land of no return." Queen of the nether world is her older sister, and seemingly bitter enemy, Ereshkigal, the Sumerian goddess of death and gloom. Fearing lest her sister put her to death in the nether world, Inanna instructs

[1] *Cf.* the writer's Sumerian literature: a preliminary survey of the oldest literature in the world, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* **85** (3): 293–323, 1942.

[2] The tablet is catalogued as YBC 4621.

[3] *Cf.* p. 38 of the introduction.

her messenger Ninshubur, who is always at her beck and call, that if after three days she shall have failed to return, he is to set up a hue and cry for her in heaven, in the assembly hall of the gods. He is then to go to Nippur, the city of Enlil, the leading god of the Sumerian pantheon, and plead with the latter to save Inanna and not let her be put to death in the nether world. If Enlil refuses he is to go to Ur, the city of the moon-god Nanna, and repeat his plea. If Nanna, too, refuses, he is to go to Eridu, the city of Enki, the god of wisdom, and the latter who "knows the food of life," who "knows the water of life," will surely come to her rescue.

Inanna then descends to the nether world and approaches Ereshkigal's temple of lapis lazuli. At the gate she is met by the chief gatekeeper who demands to know who she is and why she has come. Inanna concocts a false excuse for her visit, and the gatekeeper, upon instructions from his mistress, leads her through the seven gates of the nether world. As she passes through each of the gates her garments and jewels are removed piece by piece in spite of her protests. Finally after entering the last gate, she is brought stark naked and on bended knees before Ereshkigal and the Anunnaki, the seven dreaded judges of the nether world. These fasten upon her their eye of death and she is turned into a corpse which was then hung from a stake. So pass three days and three nights. On the fourth day Ninshubur, seeing that his mistress has not returned, proceeds to make the rounds of the gods in accordance with his instructions. As Inanna has predicted, both Enlil and Nanna refuse all help. Enki, however, devises a plan to restore her to life. He fashions the *kurgarrû* and the *kalaturru*, two sexless creatures, and entrusts to them the "food of life" and the "water of life," with instructions to proceed to the nether world and sprinkle this "food" and "water" sixty times upon Inanna's impaled corpse.[4] This they do, and Inanna revives. As she leaves the nether world, however, and reascends to the earth, the resurrected goddess is accompanied by the harpies and bogies who make their home in the lower regions. Surrounded by this ghastly demoniac company Inanna first proceeds to visit the two Sumerian cities Umma and Badtibira.[5] The tutelary deities of these cities, Shara and Latarak by name, are terrified at the sight of these unearthly arrivals; they clothe themselves in sackcloth and grovel in the dust before Inanna. Inanna seems to be gratified by their humility, and when the demons threaten to carry off these deities to the nether world she restrains them, and thus saves their lives.

Here is where the text of the myth broke off eight years ago, and it is the Yale tablet which now enables us to continue the story, as follows: After her visit to the first two cities, Inanna and the demons continue their journey and arrive at a Sumerian city with the partly illegible name . . . . —Kullab. The tutelary deity of this city is the shepherd-god Dumuzi or, as the name is usually pronounced, Tammuz.[6] This god Dumuzi, according to Sumerian mythology is actually Inanna's husband, and it is perhaps not surprising therefore to find him refusing to wear sackcloth and grovel in the dust before his spouse. In any case upon the arrival of Inanna and the demons he dresses up instead in festive array and sits loftily upon his throne. Enraged, Inanna looks down upon him with "the eye of death" and hands him over to the eager and unmerciful demons to carry him off to the nether world. Whereupon Dumuzi turns pale and weeps. He lifts his hands to the sky and pleads with the Sumerian sun-god Utu, who again, according to the Sumerian mythological notion, is his wife Inanna's brother, and therefore his own brother-in-law. He begs Utu to help him escape the clutches of the demons by changing his hand into the hand of a snake, and his foot into the foot of a snake. And here unfortunately, right in the middle of Dumuzi's prayer to Utu, our Yale tablet comes to an end, and we do not even know whether or not Utu heard Dumuzi's plea or whether the latter was actually carried off to the nether world. And once again we are compelled to express the hope of eight years ago that some day the clay tablet on which the end of the story is inscribed will be uncovered.[7]

[4] There were a number of additional instructions which the *kurgarrû* and *kalaturru* had to follow, but they are of uncertain character since the text is badly broken at this point.

[5] Immediately upon Inanna's ascent from the nether world and before she proceeds to visit the various Sumerian cities she is met by her faithful messenger Ninshubur garbed in sackcloth and groveling in the dust. In spite of his efforts which helped to save Inanna's life, he is threatened by the demons, but is saved by Inanna.

[6] This pronunciation follows the Biblical transliteration of the name; *cf.* Ezekiel 8, 14.

[7] A joint expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, is now conducting excavations at Nippur, the place where most of our Sumerian literary material comes from. And so, while it is never wise to predict, there is some possibility that the hope expressed in this paper may be realized at least to some extent in the not too distant future.

Now as already noted, brief as the new material added by the Yale tablet actually is, it has a rather surprising significance; it helps to straighten out a mythological misconception which has been current among Orientalists for many a decade, almost ever since the Semitic version of our myth, known as "Ishtar's Descent to the Nether World," was first published,[8] and long before its Sumerian counterpart came to be known to any significant extent. For all along it has been generally supposed that the god Dumuzi had been carried off to the nether world for some unknown reason some time before Inanna's descent to the nether world. Indeed it was this assumption which seemed to provide the motivation for Inanna's descent; that is, it was generally supposed that Inanna descended to the nether world in order to free her husband Dumuzi and bring him back alive. The new Yale text, however, shows that these assumptions were quite groundless. Not only did not Inanna save her husband Dumuzi from the nether world, it was she who, angered by his contemptuous attitude, actually handed him over to the nether world demons to carry him off to the land of no return.

We conclude with a tentative line by line translation of the new material on the Yale tablet. The first line contains the speech of the demons who together with Inanna are now in the City Badtibira where Inanna had just forbidden them to carry off its tutelary deity Latarak who had humbled himself before Inanna by putting on sackcloth and sitting in the dust; the disappointed demons then say:

"Let us accompany thee to Kullab, the. . . ."

They accompanied her to Kullab, the . . . ;
(There) Dumuzi dressed himself in a noble garment, seated himself loftily on (his) seat.
The demons seized him by the anus,
Poured out the seven *table-drinks*,[9]
The seven (demons) attack him like the *strength* of the sick,
The *shepherds* play not the flute and the pipe before him.

She fastened the eye upon him, the eye of death,
Spoke the word against him, the word of wrath,
Uttered the cry against him, the cry of guilt:
"*As for him,* carry him off."
The pure Inanna gave the shepherd Dumuzi into their hands.

They who accompanied him,
They who accompanied Dumuzi,
(Were beings who) know not food, know not water,
Eat not sprinkled flour,
Drink not libated water,
Sate not pleasurably the lap of the wife,
Kiss not the *honey-fed* child;
They lifted the man's son from his knee,
They carried off the bride from the house of the father-in-law.

Dumuzi wept, his face turns pale,
Towards heaven, to (the sun-god) Utu, he lifted his hands:
"O Utu, thou art my wife's brother, I am thy sister's husband,
I am one who brings fat to thy mother's house,
I am one who brings milk to Ningal's house,[10]
Turn my hands into the hands of a snake,
Turn my feet into the feet of a snake,
Let me escape my demons, let them not seize me."

[8] For details *cf.* now, Alexander Heidel, *The Gilgamesh epic and Old Testament parallels,* 119 ff., Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1946.

[9] All italic words are doubtful renderings.

[10] According to Sumerian mythology, Ningal, the wife of the moon-god Nanna, is the mother of Utu, *cf.* the writer's *Sumerian Mythology, Mem. Amer. Philos. Soc.* **21**: 74, 1944.

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# "INANNA'S DESCENT TO THE NETHER WORLD" CONTINUED AND REVISED

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

*Second Part*
*Revised Edition of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World"*

The following revised edition of the entire extant text of the myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" was prepared primarily in order to incorporate the numerous additions, corrections, and clarifications resulting from the new material published in the first part of this study.[1] The tablets and fragments on which the new reconstructed text is based are:[2] Ni 368 + CBS 9800 (A), CBS 13932 (B), CBS 12368 + 12702 + 12752 (C), Ni 2279 (D), CBS 13908 (E), Ni 4034 (F), CBS 11064 + 11088 (G), Ni 9685 (H), PBS V 24 (I), CBS 15212 (J), Ni 4200 (K), Ni 2762 (L), YBC 4621 (M), CBS 13902 (N), CBS 15162 (O). Line by line the text is reconstructed as follows:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1–208 | A | i-iv | 133–142 | H | rev. |
| 1– 49 | B | obv. and rev. | 144–204 | J | obv. and rev. |
| 1– 48 | C | obv. and rev. | 207–244 | K | obv. and rev. |
| 3– 25 | D | obv. (rev. destroyed) | 225–242 | L | obv. |
| 52– 95 | E | obv. and rev. | 264–359 | M | obv. and rev. |
| 88– 94 | F | obv. (rev. destroyed) | 266–323 | N | obv. and rev. |
| 95–141 | G | obv. and rev. | 273–295 | L | rev. |
| 105–119 | H | obv. | 302–313 | O | obv. |
| 129–137 | I | | 354–364 | O | rev. |

| Transliteration | Translation |
|---|---|
| 1. [an-gal]-ta ki-gal-šè geštug-ga-ni na-an-gu[b] | From the ["great above"] she set her mind toward the "great below," |
| dingir(?) an-gal-ta ki-gal-šè geštug-ga-ni na-an-gu[b] | The *goddess* from the "great above" she set her mind toward the "great below," |
| $^{d}$inanna an-gal-ta ki-gal-šè geštug-ga-ni na-an-gu[b] | Inanna from the "great above" she set her mind toward the "great below." |
| nin-mu an mu-un-šub ki mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e$_{11}$[3] | My lady abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, to the nether world she descended, |
| 5. $^{d}$inanna an mu-un-šub ki mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e$_{11}$ | 5. Inanna abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, to the nether world she descended, |
| nam-en mu-un-šub nam-nin mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e$_{11}$ | Abandoned lordship, abandoned ladyship, to the nether world she descended. |

1. This new edition also incorporates some of the more valuable suggestions in Falkenstein's detailed study published in AOF 14: 113–38; it is to be carefully noted however that Falkenstein's study, although it appeared as late as 1942 is based on the writer's first edition of the myth in RA 34: 93–134 which appeared as early as 1937. The writer's more definitive edition of the myth (PAPS 85: 293 ff.) also appeared in 1942, that is the same year in which Falkenstein's study was published, but it goes without saying that Falkenstein and the writer had not seen each other's studies until several years after the Second World War had come to an end, that is, about five years ago. Included in the newly revised edition are also a number of suggestions made by Landsberger in a letter to me several years ago, and several suggestions made by Witzel in a study published in Orientalia N. S. 14: 24–69; cf. also Addendum.

2. For details in regard to the publication of all these pieces except YBC 4621 and Ni 9685 (both published in Part I of this study) cf. PAPS 85: 303.

3. D omits the *-e-* of *ba-e-a-e*$_{11}$.

unug$^{ki}$-ga é-an-na mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e$_{11}$[4]
bàd-tibira$^{ki}$-a é-mùš-kalam-ma mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e$_{11}$
zabalam$^{ki}$-a gi-gu$_{15}$-na[5] mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e$_{11}$
adaba$^{ki}$ é-šar-ra mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e$_{11}$
nibru$^{ki}$-a bara-dúr-gar-ra mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e$_{11}$
kiši$^{ki}$-a ḫur-sag-kalam-ma mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e$_{11}$
a-ga-dè$^{ki}$[6] é-ul-maš$^{ki}$[7] mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e$_{11}$
me-imin-bi zag mu-ni-in-kéš

me mu-un-ur$_4$-ur$_4$ šu-ni-šè mu-un-[8]gál[9]
me-DU[10] gìr-gub-ba i-im-DU[11]
$^{túg}$šu-gur-ra men-edin-na sag-gá-na mu-un-gál[12]
ḫi-li-sag-ki-na[13] šu ba-ni-in-ti
gi-diš-ninda-ešé-gán-za-gìn šu[14] mi-ni-in-[15]du$_8$

$^{na4}$za-gìn-tu$_{19}$-tu$_{19}$-lá[16] gú-na ba-an-lá
$^{na4}$nunuz-tab-ba gaba-na [ba-ni]-in-si[17]
ḫar-guškin šu-na ba-ni-in-[18]du$_8$
tu-di-tum-lú-gá-nu-gá-nu gaba-[19]na ba-an-BU
túg-palà-[20]túg-[21]nam-nin-a bar-ra-na[22] ba-an-dul

šim-ḫé-em-DU-ḫé-em-DU igi-na[23] ba-ni-in-[24]gar
$^{d}$inanna kur-šè i-im-du[25]
sukkal-a-ni $^{d}$ga-ša-an-[26]šubur-ra [zag(?)]-a-na i-im-du

In Erech she abandoned Eanna, to the nether world she descended,
In Badtibira she abandoned Emuškalamma, to the nether world she descended,
In Zabalam she abandoned Giguna, to the nether world she descended,
In Adab she abandoned Ešarra, to the nether world she descended,
In Nippur she abandoned Baradurgarra, to the nether world she descended,
In Kiš she abandoned Ḫursagkalamma, to the nether world she descended,
In Agade she abandoned Eulmaš, to the nether world she descended.
She arrayed herself with the seven "decrees,"
She gathered the "decrees," placed them in her hand,
*All* the "decrees" she *set up at (her) waiting foot.*
The *šugurra*, the crown of the plain, she put upon her head,
*Locks (of hair)* she *fixed* upon her forehead,
The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli she gripped in her hand,
Small lapis lazuli stones she tied about her neck,
*Twin nunuz*-stones she fastened to her breast,
A gold ring she put about her hand,
The breastplate "Man, come, come!" she bound about her breast,
With the *pala*-garment, the garment of ladyship, she covered her body,
The ointment "He (the man) shall come, he shall come," she daubed on her eyes,
Inanna walked toward the nether world,
Her minister Ninšubur walked at her [*side*].

4. A omits the refrain *kur-ra ba-e-a-e*$_{11}$ in lines 7–13. In B the list of the cities and temples is identical with that of A, but the order varies, thus: Erech, Zabalam, Adab, Agade, Kiš, Badtibira, Nippur (cf. RA 36: 76–7). C lists two cities and temples, the names are destroyed.

5. B: *-ga* for *-na*. This may be an error but there is also the possibility the final consonant of *gigun* was nasalized *n* of the type found in *guškin*, which when combined with the vowel *a* was written both as *na* and as *ga*, cf. GSG §32.

6. B adds *-a*. 7. B adds *-a*. 8. B: *-u$_8$-* for *-un-*.

9. C: *-gar* for *-gál*. 10. D: -DÙG for -DU.

11. D: *um-mi-in-*[DU] for *i-im-*DU.

12. The order of lines 17–25 is based on A. In B the order is 17, 18, 21, 20, 23, 24, 25, 19, 22 (the latter is destroyed). In C the order is: 17, 18, 23, 24, 22, 20, 21, 15, 19. In D the order is 17, 18, 24, 23, 22, 20, 21 (19 and 25 are destroyed).

13. B omits *-na*. 14. C adds *-na*.

15. C: *ba-an-* for *mi-ni-in-*. 16. B omits *-lá*.

17. B and C: *ba-an-* for *[ba-ni]-in-*.

18. C: *ba-an-* for *ba-ni-in-*.

19. A seems to insert a sign between *gaba-* and *-na*.

20. B adds *-a*. 21. D omits *túg*.

22. C: *-bi* for *-ra-na*. 23. C: *-ni* for *-na*.

24. D: *-ib-* for *-in-*.

25. C omits this line and the next.

26. C: *nin-* for *ga-ša-an-*.

kug-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ $^{d}$ga-ša-an-šubur-ra gù mu-na-dé-e
ge-en-ge-en-mu[27]
30. sukkal-e-ne-èm-šag$_5$-šag$_5$-ga-mu
ra-gaba-e-ne-èm-ge-en-ge-en-[28]na-mu
u$_4$-da kur-šè mu-un-e$_{11}$-dè[29]
u$_4$-da kur-šè gen-na-mu-dè[30]
ír du$_6$-du$_6$-dam gar-gar-ma-ni-ib[31]
35. šém gú-en-na tuku-a-ma-ni-ib[32]
é-dingir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$ nigin-na-ma-ni-ib[33]
i-bí-zu ḪAR-ma-ab ka-zu ḪAR-ma-ab
ki-mu-lu-da-nu-di zù-gal-zu ḪAR-ma-ab
mu-lu-nu-tuku-gim túg-aš-a mu$_4$-ma-ab

40. é-kur-re é-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl-lá-šè me-ri-zu aš gub-mu-un[34]
é-kur-re é-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl-lá-šè tu-tu-da-zu-dè
i-bí-[35$^{d}$]mu-ul-líl-lá-šè ír šéš-a[36]
a-a-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl ṭu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
kug-šag$_5$-ga-zu saḫar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-[37]šár-e

45. za-gìn-šag$_5$-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-[38]ka nam-ba-da-an-[39]si-il-le[40]
$^{giš}$taškarin-zu giš-[41]nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-da-dar-dar-re[42]
ki-sikil-$^{d}$ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
u$_4$-da $^{d}$mu-ul-líl e-ne-èm-ba nu-[43]ri-gub urí$^{ki}$-šè gen-na
urí$^{ki}$ é-mud(?)-kalam-ma-[44]ka

50. é-kiš-nu$_x$-gál-$^{d}$nanna-šè tu-tu-da-zu-dè
i-bí-$^{d}$nanna-šè ír šéš-a
a-a-$^{d}$nanna ṭu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e

The pure Inanna says to Ninšubur:
"O (you who are) my constant support,

30. My minister of favorable words,
My knight of true words,
I am now descending to the nether world.
When I shall have come to the nether world,
Set up a lament for me *by the ruins*,
35. Play for me the drum in the assembly shrine,
Wander about for me in the houses of the gods,
*Tear at* your eyes for me, *tear at* your mouth for me,
Tear for me at the place which no one . . s, your large . . ,
Dress for me like a pauper in a single garment,
40. Direct your step, all alone, to the Ekur, the house of Enlil.
Upon your entering the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
Weep before Enlil:
'O Father Enlil, let not your daughter be *put to death* in the nether world,
Let not your good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,
45. Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stone-worker,
Let not your *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the wood-worker,
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world.'
If Enlil stands not by you in this matter, go to Ur.
*In* Ur, upon your entering the house of . . . of the land,
50. The Ekišnugal, the house of Nanna,
Weep before Nanna:
'O Father Nanna, let not your daughter be *put to death* in the nether world,

27. In C the line reads: [*gá-nu sukkal*]-*zi-é-an-na-mu*. B has a variant reading for lines 29–31, as follows:
[*gá-n*]*u sukkal-zi-é-an-na-mu*
[*na*] *ga-e-ri na-ri-mu ḫé-díb*
[*inim*] *ga-ra-ab-dug*$_4$ *gizzal ḫé-*[*im-ma-ag*].
For the reading and rendering of the passage cf. JCS 1: 33, note 208.
28. C omits *-en-*. 29. C: *e*$_{11}$*-dè-en* for *mu-un-e*$_{11}$*-dè*.
30. In C the verb reads *e*$_{11}$*-dè-mu-dè*.
31. In B the verb reads *mu-un-na-gá-gá*.
32. In B the verb reads *mu-un-na-tuku-a*.
33. In B the verb reads *mu-un-na-nigin*.
34. In B the verb reads *mu-un-*[*gub*]; C has a verbal form ending in *-na*.
35. B: *igi-* for *i-bí-*. 36. B: *àm* for *-a*.
37. B: *-da-ab-* for *-an-da-*. 38. B omits *-ma-*.
39. C: *-ab-* for *-an-*. 40. B: *-si-il-si-il* for *-si-il-li*.
41. A inserts *-nam-* before *-nagar-*.
42. B and probably C: *nam-ba-an-dar-dar-e*.
43. C inserts *mu-e-* before *-ri-*.
44. B: *-kur-ra-* for *-kalam-ma-*.

kug-šag$_5$-ga-zu saḫar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-re
za-gìn-šag$_5$-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-ka nam-ba-da-an-si-il-le[45]
55. $^{giš}$taškarin-zu giš-[46]nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-da-dar-dar-re
ki-sikil-$^{d}$ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
u$_4$-da $^{d}$nanna e-ne-èm-ba nu-ri-gub uru-zí-ib$^{ki}$-šè gen-na
uru-zí-ib$^{ki}$ é-$^{d}$am-an-ki-ga-šè tu-tu-da-zu-dè
i-bí-$^{d}$am-an-ki-ga-šè ír šéš-a[47]

60. a-a-$^{d}$am-an-ki ṭu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
kug-šag$_5$-ga-zu saḫar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-re
za-gìn-[48]šag$_5$-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-ka nam-ba-an-da-si-il-le[49]
$^{giš}$taškarin-zu giš-[50]nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-da-[51]dar-dar-re
ki-sikil-$^{d}$ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
65. a-a-$^{d}$am-an-ki-ù-mu-un-mu-uš-$^{giš}$túg-[da(?)]-ma-al-la-ke$_4$
ú-nam-ti-la mu-un-zu a-nam-ti-la mu-un-zu
e-ne ma-[52]ra ḫu-[53]mu-un-ti-le[54]
$^{d}$inanna kur-šè i-im-du[55]
sukkal-a-ni-$^{d}$ga-ša-an-šubur-ra gù mu-na-dé-e
70. gen-na $^{d}$ga-ša-an-šubur-ra
e-ne-[èm]-[56]a-ra-dug$_4$-ga-mu gú-zu la-ba-ši-šub-[bé-en]
$^{d}$inanna é-gal-kur-za-gìn-šè um-ma-te
$^{giš}$ig-kur-ra-ka níg-ḫul ba-an-ús
é-gal-kur-ra-ka gù-ḫul ba-an-dé[57]

75. é gál-ù ì-du$_8$ é gál-ù[58]
é gál-ù $^{d}$NE-ti é gál-ù aš-mu-šè ga-tu
$^{d}$NE-ti-ì-du$_8$-gal-kur-ra-ke$_4$

45. E: *-si-il-si-il* for *-si-il-le*.
46. A inserts *-nam-* between *giš-* and *-nagar-*.
47. E: *-àm* for *-a*. 48. A adds determinative.
49. E: *-si-il-si-il* for *si-il-le*.
50. A inserts *-nam-* before *-nagar-*.
51. A inserts *-an-* before *-dar-*.
52. E inserts *-a-* before *-ra*.
53. E probably omits *ḫu-*. 54. A adds *-en* after *-le*.
55. Between lines 68 and 69 E inserts the line: *sukkal-a-ni-$^{d}$nin-šubur-ra [zag?]-a-na i-im-*DU, cf. line 27.

Let not your good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,
Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stone-worker,
55. Let not your *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the wood-worker,
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world.'
If Nanna stands not by you in this matter, go to Eridu.
*In* Eridu, upon your entering the house of Enki,
Weep before Enki:
60. 'O Father Enki, let not your daughter be *put to death* in the nether world,
Let not your good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,
Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stone-worker,
Let not your *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the wood-worker,
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world.'
65. Father Enki, the lord of *wisdom*,
Who knows the food of life, who knows the water of life,
*He will surely bring me to life.*"
Inanna walked toward the nether world,
Says to her minister Ninšubur:

70. "Go, Ninšubur,
Do not neglect the word which I have commanded you."
When Inanna arrived at the palace, the lapis lazuli mountain,
She acted evilly at the door of the nether world,
Spoke evilly in the palace of the nether world:
75. "Open the house, gatekeeper, open the house,
Open the house NEti, open the house, all alone I would enter."
NEti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,

56. The *-èm* is assumed to have been omitted accidentally by the scribe, cf. also *AOF* 14: 122 f.
57. Line omitted in E.
58. In E lines 75–6 are written as three lines, thus:
*é-gál-lu ì-du$_8$ é-gál-lu*
*ì-du$_8$ é-gál-lu $^{d}$*NE*-ti é-gál-lu*
*ì-du$_8$ é-gál-lu aš-mu-šè ga-tu.*

kug-$^{d}$inanna-ra[59] mu-un-[60]na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
a-ba-me-en-za-e

80. me-e $^{d}$ga-ša-an-na[61] ki-$^{d}$utu-è-a-aš[62]
tukum-bi za-e $^{d}$inanna[63] ki-$^{d}$utu-è-a-aš
a-na-àm[64] ba-du-un kur-nu-gi$_4$-šè
ḫar-ra-an lú-du-[65]bi nu-gi$_4$-gi$_4$-dè šà-zu a-gim túm-mu-un
kug-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$

85. nín-gal-mu-$^{d}$ga-ša-an-ki-gal-la[66]
mu dam-a-ni-ù-mu-un-gu$_4$-gal-an-na ba-an-ug$_5$-ga
ki-sì-ga-na i-bí du$_8$-ù-dè
kaš-sì-ga-na gu-ul ba-ni-in-dé ḫur-šè ḫé-me-a[67]
$^{d}$NE-ti-ì-du$_8$-gal-kur-ra-ke$_4$

90. kug-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ mu-[68]na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
túm-túm-ma-ab $^{d}$inanna nin-mà ga-an-na-ab-dug$_4$
nin-mu-$^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la-ra ga-an-na-dug$_4$ . . . ga-an-na-ab-dug$_4$
$^{d}$NE-ti-ì-du$_8$-gal-kur-ra-ke$_4$
nin-a-ni-$^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la-ra[69] é-[a-ni-šè ba-a]n-ši-in-tu gù mu-na-dé-e

95. nin-mu ki-sikil-diš-àm
dingir-gim sukud(?) . . . .
$^{giš}$ig . . . .
. . . .
é-an-na-ka . . . .

100. me imin-bi zag mu-ni-in-kéš[70]
me mu-un-ur$_4$-ur$_4$ šu-ni-šè mu-un-gál
me-DU gìr-gub-ba i-im-DU
$^{túg}$šu-gur-ra-men-edin-na sag-gá-na mu-un-gál
ḫi-li sag-ki-na šu ba-ni-in-ti

105. gi-diš-ninda-ešé-gán-za-gìn šu[71] mi-ni-in-du$_8$[72]
$^{na4}$za-gìn-tu$_{19}$-tu$_{19}$-lá gú-na ba-an-lá

Answers the pure Inanna:
"Who, pray, are you?"

80. "I am Inanna of the place where the sun rises."
"If you are Inanna of the place where the sun rises,
Why, pray, have you come to the land of no return,
On the road whose traveller returns not, how has your heart led you?"
The pure Inanna answers him:

85. "My elder sister Ereškigal,
*Because* her husband, the lord Gugalanna, had been killed,
To witness his funeral rites,
Has *poured . . on his . .*, verily 'tis so."
NEti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,

90. Answers the pure Inanna:
"*Stay*, Inanna, to my queen let me speak,
To my queen Ereškigal let me speak, . . . let me speak."
NEti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,
Enters the house of [his] queen Ereškigal, says to her:

95. "O my queen, a maid,
Like a god . . . . ,
The door . . . .
. . . .
In Eanna . . . . ,

100. She has arrayed herself with the seven 'decrees,'
She has gathered the 'decrees,' has placed them in her hand,
*All* the 'decrees' she has *set up at* (*her*) *waiting foot.*
The *šugurra*, the crown of the plain, she has put upon her head,
*Locks* (*of hair*) she has *fixed* upon her forehead,

105. The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli she has gripped in her hand,

59. E: *-ke$_4$* for *-ra*. 60. E omits *-un-*.
61. E: *ga-ša-an-an-na*. 62. B: *-šè* for *aš*.
63. E: *an-na* for *$^{d}$inanna*, probably a scribal error.
64. E omits *-àm*. 65. E inserts *-ù-* before *-bi*.
66. The last sign is a badly squeezed *-la* (not *-šè*) on the original.
67. So, not *ḫé-a* as copied in SEM 48.
68. F inserts *-un-* before *-na-*. 69. F: *-šè* for *-ra*.

70. For the restoration of lines 100–111 cf. lines 14–25. Note that A is inconsistent in the order of arrangement of the lines 24–5 and the corresponding lines 110–111. In G the order of the lines varied from that of A but the text is too badly damaged for a detailed account. In H lines 105–11 have the following order: 106, 107, 111, 110, 109, 108, 105.
71. H adds *-na*. 72. H: *i-im-*[*du$_8$*].

$^{na4}$nunuz-tab-ba gaba-na ba-ni-in-si
ḫar-guškin šu-na ba-ni-in-du$_8$[73]
tu-di-tum-[74]lú-gá-nu-gá-nu gaba-na ba-an-BU

Small lapis lazuli stones she has tied about her neck,
*Twin nunuz*-stones she has fastened to her breast,
A gold ring she has put about her hand,
The breastplate "Man, come, come!" she has bound about her breast,

110. šim-[75]ḫé-em-DU-ḫé-em-DU[76] igi-na[77] ba-ni-in-gar
túg-palà-túg-[78]nam-nin-a bar-ra-na ba-an-dul
u$_4$-ba $^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la-ke$_4$ ḫáš bar-bi-šè(?) . . .
KA bí-in-DU KA-šà-TÚG ba-an- . . .[79]
$^{d}$NE-ti-[80]ì-du$_8$-gal-ni-ir gù mu-na-dé-e
gá-nu $^{d}$NE-ti-ì-du$_8$-gal-kur-ra-mu

110. The ointment "He (the man) shall come, he shall come," she daubed on her eyes,
With the *pala*-garment, the garment of ladyship, she has covered her body."
Then Ereškigal *bit* the thigh . . . . ,
Says to NEti, her chief gatekeeper:
"Come, NEti, my chief gatekeeper of the nether world,

115. inim-a-ra-dug$_4$-ga-mu[81] gú-zu la-ba-an-šub-be-en(?)
ká-gal-kur-ra imin-bi $^{giš}$si-gar-bi ḫé-eb-?
é-gal-ganzir [igi-kur-ra-ka][82] aš-bi $^{giš}$ig-bi šu ḫa-ba-an-ús
e-ne tu-tu-da-ni-ta
gam-gam-ma-ni SU(?)-NUN-NUN-ma-ni-ta mu-di-ni- . . .[83]

115. Do not neglect the word which I speak to you.
Of the seven gates of the nether world, *lift* their bolts,
Of the one palace, Ganzir, [the face of the nether world], *press apart* their doors.
Upon her entering,
*Bowed low* . . . ."

120. $^{d}$NE-ti-ì-du$_8$-gal-kur-ra-[ke$_4$]
inim-nin-a-na-šè sag-kéš ba-ši-[in-ag]
ká-gal-kur-ra imin-bi $^{giš}$si-gar-bi [bí-ib-?]
é-gal-ganzir-igi-kur-ra-ka aš-bi [$^{giš}$ig-bi šu ba-an-ús]
kug-$^{d}$inanna-ra gù mu-na-dé-e

120. NEti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,
[He]eded the word of his queen.
Of the seven gates of the nether world, [he *lifted*] their bolts,
Of the one palace Ganzir, the face of the nether world, [he *pressed apart* its door].
He says to the pure Inanna:

125. gá-nu $^{d}$inanna tu-um-ma-ni
e-ne[84] tu-tu-da-ni-ta[85]
túg-šu-gur-ra-men-edin-na-sag-gá-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir[86]
ta-àm-me-a[87]
si-a $^{d}$inanna me-kur-ra-ke$_4$ šu al-du$_7$-du$_7$

125. "Come, Inanna, enter."
Upon her entering,
The *šugurra*, the crown of the plain of her head, was removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the nether world are perfect,

130. $^{d}$inanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en[88]

130. O Inanna, do not let your mouth deprecate the rites of the nether world."

73. H: *i-im-du*$_8$. 74. H: *-da* for *-tum*.
75. H inserts *lú-* before *-ḫé-*.
76. H omits one *ḫé-em-*DU. 77. H: *-ni* for *-na*.
78. H omits *túg*.
79. Cf. note 65 of Part I of this study.
80. H omits $^{d}$NE-*ti-*.
81. In H the first complex reads: *a-ra-ab-bé-en-na-mu*.
82. For the restore *igi-kur-ra* cf. line 123; H omits the complex.
83. Cf. note 71 of Part I of this study.
84. G: $^{d}$*inanna* for *e-ne*.
85. Between lines 126 and 127 G inserts a line corresponding to line 132.
86. According to H the verb in this line (cf. also lines 132, 137, 142, 147, 152, and 157) reads *ba-da-an-*NUN, cf. comment to line 5 of the reverse of H in Part I of this study.
87. According to H *ta-àm-me-a* (lines 128, 133, etc.) has a variant reading *ta-àm-ne-e*.
88. According to H this verb (cf. also lines 135, 140 etc.) omits the final *-en*.

ká-gal-min-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta
gi-diš-ninda-ešé-gán-za-gìn lú ba-da-an-zí-ir[89]

ta-àm-me-a
si-a dinanna me-kur-ra-ke$_4$ šu al-du$_7$-du$_7$

135. dinanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en
ká-gal-eš-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta
$^{na4}$za-gìn-tu$_{19}$-tu$_{19}$-lá-gú-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir[90] ta-àm-me-a
si-a dinanna me-kur-ra-ke$_4$ šu al-du$_7$-du$_7$

140. dinanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en
ká-gal-limmu-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta
$^{na4}$nunuz-tab-ba-gaba-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir[91]
ta-àm-me-a
si-a dinanna me-kur-ra-ke$_4$ šu al-du$_7$-du$_7$

145. dinanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en
ká-gal-ià-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta
ḫar-guškin-šu-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir
ta-àm-me-a
si-a dinanna me-kur-ra-ke$_4$ šu al-du$_7$-du$_7$

150. dinanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en
ká-gal-àš-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta
tu-di-tum-lú-gá-nu-gá-nu-gaba-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir
ta-àm-me-a
si-a dinanna me-kur-ra-ke$_4$ šu al-du$_7$-du$_7$

155. dinanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en
ká-gal-imin-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta
túg-palà-a-túg-nam-nin-a-bar-ra-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir[92]
ta-àm-me-a
si-a dinanna me-kur-ra-ke$_4$ šu al-du$_7$-du$_7$

160. dinanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en
[gam-gam-ma]-ni SU(?)-N[U]N-NUN-[ma]-ni-ta
lú [mu-di-ni- . . .]

Upon her entering the second gate,
The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli was removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the nether world are perfect,
135. O Inanna, do not let your mouth deprecate the rites of the nether world."
Upon her entering the third gate,
The small lapis lazuli stones of her neck were removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the nether world are perfect,
140. O Inanna, do not let your mouth deprecate the rites of the nether world."
Upon her entering the fourth gate,
The *twin nunuz*-stones of her breast were removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the nether world are perfect,
145. O Inanna, do not let your mouth deprecate the rites of the nether world."
Upon her entering the fifth gate,
The gold ring of her hand was removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the nether world are perfect,
150. O Inanna, let not your mouth deprecate the rites of the nether world."
Upon her entering the sixth gate,
The breastplate "Man, come, come!" of her breast was removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the nether world are perfect,
155. O Inanna, do not let your mouth deprecate the rites of the nether world."
Upon her entering the seventh gate,
The *pala*-garment, the garment of ladyship of her body was removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the nether world are perfect,
160. O Inanna, let not your mouth deprecate the rites of the nether world."
Bowed low . . . .

89. G substitutes a line reading: *ḫi-li-sag-ki-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir.*

90. G substitutes a line corresponding to line 142, except that it reads *gaba-na* for *zag-ga-na.*

91. J substitutes line 157.

92. J substitutes line 132.

[kug-$^{d}$ereš]-ki-gal-la-[k]e$_4$ $^{giš}$gu-za-na i-ni-in-[tuš]
$^{d}$a-nun-na-di-kud-imin-bi igi-ni-šè di mu-un-[ši-in-kud]
[i]-bí mu-ši-in-bar i-bí-úš-a-kam

165. [inim] i-bí-ne inim-LIPIŠ-gig-ga-àm
[gù] i-bi-dé gù-nam-tag-tag-ga-àm[93]
[munus]-tu-ra uzu-níg-sìg-šè ba-an-tu
uzu-níg-sìg-ga[94] $^{giš}$kak-ta lú ba-da-an-[95]lá
u$_4$-eš gi$_6$-eš um-ta-[96]zal-la-ta

170. sukkal-a-ni-$^{d}$nin-šubur-ra-ke$_4$
sukkal-inim-[97]šag$_5$-šag$_5$-ga-ni[98]
ra-gaba-inim-[99]ge-en-ge-en-[100] na-ni[101]
ír du$_6$-du$_6$-dam mu-un-na-gá-gá
šém gú-en-na mu-un-na-tuku-a

175. é-dingir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$ mu-un-na-nigin
i-bí-ni mu-un-na-ḫur ka-ni mu-un-na-ḫur
ki-lú-da-nu-di zù-gal-ni mu-na-an-ḫur
mu-lu-nu-tuku-gim túg-aš-[a im-ma]-an-[102] mu$_4$
é-kur-é-$^{d}$en-líl-[103]lá-šè gìr-ni aš mu-un-gub

180. é-kur-é-$^{d}$en-líl-[104]lá-šè tu-tu-da-ni-ta[105]
igi-$^{d}$en-líl-lá-šè ír im-ma-še$_3$-še$_8$
a-a-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl ṭu-mu-zu mu-lu-kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
kug-šag$_5$-ga-zu saḫar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-re[106]
za-gìn-šag$_5$-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-[107]ka nam-ba-da-an-si-il-le[108]

185. $^{giš}$taškarin-zu giš-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-dar-dar-re[109]
ki-sikil-$^{d}$ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e

[The pure Ereš]kigal [seat]ed herself upon her throne,
The Anunnaki, the seven judges, [pronounc]ed judgment before her.
She fastened the eye upon her, the eye of death,
165. Spoke the word against her, the word of wrath,
Uttered the cry against her, the cry of guilt,
The sick [*woman*] was turned into a *corpse*,
The *corpse* was hung from a nail.
After three days (and) three nights had passed,
170. Her minister Ninšubur,
Her minister of favorable words,
Her knight of true words,
Sets up a lament for her *by the ruins*,
Played for her the drum in the assembly shrine,
175. Wandered about for her in the houses of the gods,
*Tore at* his eyes for her, *tore at* his mouth for her,
*Tore* for her *at* the place where no one . . s, his large . . ,
Dressed for her like a pauper in a single garment.
Directed his step, all alone, to the Ekur, the house of Enlil.
180. Upon his entering the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
Before Enlil he weeps:
'O Father Enlil, let not your daughter be *put to death* in the nether world,
Let not your good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,
Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stone-worker,
185. Let not your *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the wood-worker,
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world."

93. J omits line.
94. J omits *-ga*. 95. J: *-an-ta-* for *-da-an-*.
96. J: *àm-* for *um-ta-*. 97. A: *e-ne-èm* for KA.
98. J: *-mu* for *-ni*. 99. A: *e-ne-èm* for KA.
100. J omits *-en-*.
101. J: *-mu* for *-ni*. Between lines 172 and 173 J inserts two lines which read:
[*na*]-*ri-ga-ni šu nu-bar-ri*
[*inim*]-*dug*$_4$-*ga-ni gú-ni la-ba-ši-šub*.

For the reading of the second line, cf. comment to line 11 of the reverse of Ni 9685 in Part I of this study.
102. A probably has *-ab-* for *-an-*.
103. J: *-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl-* for *-$^{d}$en-líl-*.
104. J: *-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl-* for *-$^{d}$en-líl-*.
105. For *tu-tu-da-ni-ta* A seems to have a variant which is illegible.
106. A: *-e* for *-re*. 107. J omits *-ma-*.
108. J: *-si-il-si-il* for *-si-il-le*. 109. J: *-e* for *-re*.

a-a-$^{d}$en-líl-le $^{d}$nin-šubur-ra mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
dumu-mu an-[gal-la] al bí-in-dug$_4$ ki-gal-la al bí-in-dug$_4$
$^{d}$inanna an-[gal-la] al bí-in-dug$_4$ ki-gal-la al bí-in-dug$_4$
me-kur-ra me-al-me-al ki-bi-šè sá bí-in-dug$_4$
a-ba-àm ki-bi-[š]è(?) ? in-na-an-dug$_4$ al mu (?)-ni-ib-dug$_4$
a-a-$^{d}$en-líl inim-ba [nu-na-gub] urí$^{ki}$-[šè ba]-du-un
urí$^{ki}$ é-mud(?)-kur-ra-ka
é-kiš-nu$_x$-gál-$^{d}$nanna-šè tu-tu-da-ni-ta

igi-$^{d}$nanna-šè ír im-ma-še$_8$-še$_8$
a-a-$^{d}$nanna ṭu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
kug-šag$_5$-ga-zu saḫar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-re
za-gìn-šag$_5$-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-ka nam-ba-da-an-si-il-le
$^{giš}$taškarin-zu giš-nam-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-dar-dar-re
ki-sikil-$^{d}$ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
a-a-$^{d}$nanna $^{d}$nin-šubur-ra mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
dumu-mu an-[gal-la] al bí-in-dug$_4$ ki-gal-la al bí-in-dug$_4$
$^{d}$inanna an-[gal-la] al bí-in-dug$_4$ ki-gal-la al bí-in-dug$_4$
me-kur-ra me-al-me-al ki-bi-šè sá bí-in-dug$_4$
a-ba-àm ki-bi-[š]è(?) ? in-na-an-dug$_4$ al mu (?)-ni-ib-dug$_4$
a-a-$^{d}$nanna inim-ba [nu-na-gub uru-zí-ib$^{ki}$-šè ba-du-un]
uru-zí-ib$^{ki}$ é-$^{d}$en-ki-ga-šè tu-tu-da-ni-ta
igi-$^{d}$en-ki-ga-šè ír im-ma-še$_8$-še$_8$
a-a-$^{d}$am-an-ki ṭu-mu-[110]zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
kug-šag$_5$-ga-zu saḫar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-re
za-gìn-šag$_5$-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-[111]ka nam-ba-da-an-si-il-le
$^{giš}$taškarin-zu giš-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-dar-dar-e

Father Enlil answers Ninšubur:
My daughter *has demanded* the '[great] above,' *has demanded* the 'great below,'
Inanna *has demanded* the '[great] above,' *has demanded* the 'great below,'
The 'decrees' of the nether world, the . . 'decrees,' the . . 'decrees,' she has *arrived* at their place,
Who is it *that* . . . .?"
Father Enlil [stood not by him] in this matter, he went [to] Ur.
*In* Ur, upon his entering the house of . . of the land,
The Ekišnugal, the house of Nanna,
Before Nanna he weeps:
"O Father Nanna, let not your daughter be *put to death* in the nether world.
Let not your good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,
Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stone-worker,
Let not your *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the wood-worker,
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world."
Father Nanna answers Ninšubur:
My daughter *has demanded* the '[great] above,' *has demanded* the 'great below,'
Inanna *has demanded* the '[great] above,' *has demanded* the 'great below,'
The 'decrees' of the nether world, the . . 'decrees,' the . . 'decrees,' she has *arrived* at their place,
Who is it *that* . . . .?"
Father Nanna stood not by him in this matter, he went to Eridu.
*In* Eridu upon his entering the house of Enki,
Before Enki he weeps:
"O Father Enki, let not your daughter be *put to death* in the nether world,
Let not your good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,
Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stone-worker,
Let not your *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the wood-worker,

110. In K the traces of the sign preceding *-zu* do not point to its restoration as *-mu* (of the expected *ṭu-mu-zu*); perhaps therefore the scribe wrote the Eme-KU *dumu*.

111. K omits *-ma-*.

ki-sikil-$^{d}$ga-ša-an-$^{112}$na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
a-a-$^{d}$en-ki $^{d}$nin-šubur-ra-ke$_4$ mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
dumu-mu a-na bí-in-ag mà-e mu-un-kúš-ù
$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ a-na bí-in-ag mà-e mu-un-kúš-ù
nin-kur-kur-r[a-ke$_4$] a-na bí-in-ag mà-e mu-un-kúš-ù
nu-u$_8$-gig-an-na-ke$_4$ a-na bí-in-ag mà-e mu-un-kúš-ù
dubbin-?-ni mu-sír ba-ra-an-túm kur-gar-ra ba-an-dím
dubbin-su$_4$-še-gín(!)-na mu-sír ba-ra-an-túm ga[la-tur ba-an]-dím
kur-gar-ra ú-nam-ti-la ba-an-[sì(?)]
kala-tur-ra a-nam-ti-la ba-an-[sì(?)]
[a-a]-en-ki kala-tur-kur-gar-ra gù mu-u[n-na-dé-e
. . . -an-zé-en GÌR-kur-TÚG ná-ba-an-z[é-en]
. . . . -a . . . . -[d]è-en-zé-e[n]
. . . . -[dè-e]n-zé-en
. . . . -šè
. . . . -ra-àm
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . -ni
. . . . -na- . . . eš
. . . . -ni
. . . . [du]g$_4$-ga-na-ab-zé-en$^{113}$
. . . . -zé-en
. . . . -mu(?)-ta(?) . . . . ba-e-dè-en-zè-en
. . . . dug$_4$(?)-ga(?) . . . . -en(?)-zé-en
. . . . -ib(?)-tar(?)-re(?)-en-zé-en
. . . . -dè-en-zé-en
. . . . -ab-zé-en
íd(!) a-b[a mu-un-n]a-ba-e-ne šu na[m-ba]-BU-i-en-zé-en
a-šà še-ba m[u-u]n-na-ba-e-ne šu nam-ba-BU-i-en-zé-en
uzu-níg-sìg(!)-$^{giš}$kak-ta-lá-a sì-me-eb dug$_4$-ga-na-ab-zé-en
diš-àm ú-nam-ti-la diš-àm a-nam-ti-la ugu-na šub-bu-dè-en-zé-en
$^{d}$inanna ḫa-ba-gub

Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world."
Father Enki answers Ninšubur:

"What has happened to my daughter! I am troubled,
What has happened to Inanna! I am troubled,
What has happened to the queen of all the lands! I am troubled,
What has happened to the hierodule of heaven! I am troubled."
From *his* finger-nail he brought forth dirt, fashioned the *kurgarrû*,
From the *red-painted* finger-nail he brought forth dirt, fashioned the *ka*[*laturru*],
To the *kurgarrû* he [gave] the food of life,
To the *kalaturru* he [gave] the water of life,
[Father] Enki says to the *kalaturru* and *kurgarrû*:

(Lines 224–240 too poorly preserved for translation)

"They will present you with a river as a water-gi[ft], do n[ot] accept it;
They will present you with a field as a grain-gift, do not accept it;
'Give us the *corpse* hung from the nail,' say to her.
One (of you) sprinkle the food of life, the other the water of life,
Surely Inanna will arise."

112. K inserts *-an-* between *-an-* and *-na*.
113. In L the corresponding line ends in *-eš*.

(Break of approximately 18 lines)

íd a-ba mu-na-ba-e-ne šu nu-ma-BU-dè-ne
a-šà še-ba mu-na-ba-e-ne šu nu-ma-BU-dè-ne
uzu-níg-sìg-ga-$^{giš}$ kak-ta-lá sì-me-eb in-na-ne-eš
kug-$^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la-ke$_4$ ka[la-tur-kur-gar-ra] mu-na-ni-ib-g[i$_4$-gi$_4$][114]
uzu-níg-sìg-ga níg-ga-ša-an-zu-ne-ne-ka[115]
níg-sìg-ga níg-nin-me ḫé-a sì-me-eb in-na-an-ne-eš

níg-sìg-ga-$^{giš}$kak-ta-lá ba-an-sì-ne
diš[116] ú-nam-ti-la diš[116] a-nam-ti-la ugu-na bí-in-šub-bu-uš[117]
$^{d}$inanna ba-gub[118]
$^{d}$inanna kur-ta ba-e$_{11}$-dè[119]
$^{d}$a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne ba-ab-ḫa-[120]a-aš

a-ba-àm lú-kur-ta-e$_{11}$-dè kur-ta silim-ma-ni um-ta-e$_{11}$[121]
u$_4$-da $^{d}$inanna kur-ta ba-[122]e$_{11}$-dè
sag-aš sag-a-na[123] ḫa-ba-ab-sì-mu
$^{d}$inanna kur-ta ba-e$_{11}$-dè[124]
galla-tur-tur gi-šukur-ra-gim[125]

galla-gal-gal gi-dub-ba-[126]na-ke$_4$[127]
zag-ga-na ba-an-díb-[128]bé-eš[129]
lú-igi-na sukkal-nu-me-a gišdar šu bí-in-du$_8$

They present them a river as a water-gift, they accept it not,
They present them a field as a grain-gift, they accept it not,
"Give us the *corpse* hung from the nail," they said to her.
The pure Ereškigal answers the *ka*[*laturru* and *kurgarrû*]:
"The *corpse*, it is your queen's."
"The *corpse*, *though* it is our queen's, give to us," they said to her.
They give them the *corpse* hung from the nail,
The one sprinkled upon her the food of life, the other, the water of life,
Inanna arose.
Inanna is about to ascend from the nether world,
The Anunnaki seized her (saying):
"Who of those who have descended *to* the nether world (*ever*) ascend *unharmed* from the nether world!
If Inanna would ascend from the nether world,
Let her give one substitute as her substitute."
Inanna ascends from the nether world,
The small demons like *šukur*-reeds,
The large demons like *dubban*-reeds,
Held onto her side.
Who (was) in front of her (though) he was not a minister, held a scepter in the hand,

114. The *-ne-* in the transliteration in PAPS 85 is an error. In M the line reads: *a-na mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$*.
115. So M which is well preserved at this point; for the variants in N cf. note 10 of Part I of this study.
116. M adds *-àm*. 117. M: *ba-an-šub*.
118. M: *gub-ba* for *ba-gub*. In M lines 271-2 are written as one line.
119. M: *-e$_{11}$-da-ni* for *ba-e$_{11}$-dè*.
120. M: *-ḫa-ḫa-* for *-ḫa-*.
121. So M; for the probable reading of N cf. note 15 of Part I of this study.
122. M omits *ba-*. 123. M adds *-gim*.
124. M omits line.
125. The corresponding line in L is reverse 16 while in M it is obverse 16.
126. M inserts *-an-*. 127. L perhaps *-ka* for *-ke$_4$*.
128. M accidentally omitted *-díb-*.
129. Lines 280–1 are written as one line in L rev. 17 and M obv. 17.

bar-ra-na ra-gaba-nu-me-a $^{giš}$tukul úr-ra i-ni-in-[130]lá
lú-e-ne-ra-in-ši-sÚG-eš-àm[131]

285. lú-$^{d}$inanna-ra-in-ši-sÚG-eš-àm[132]
ú nu-zu-me-eš a nu-zu-me-eš
zì-dub-dub-ba nu-kú-[133]me-eš
a-bal-bal[134] nu-na$_8$-na$_8$-me-eš[135]
úr-lú-ka dam šu-ti-a-me-eš[136]

290. [ub]ur-umme-da-lá-ka dumu šu-ti-a-me-eš[137]
$^{d}$inanna kur-ta ba-e$_{11}$-dè[138]
$^{d}$inanna kur-ta e$_{11}$-da-ni
[sukkal-a-ni]-[139]$^{d}$nin-šubur-[140]ke$_4$ gìr-ni-šè ba-an-[141]šub
saḫar-ra[142] ba-[143]da-an-tuš túg-mu-sír-ra ba-an-mu$_4$

295. galla-e-ne kug-$^{d}$inanna-ra[144] gù mu-un-[145]na-dé-e
$^{d}$inanna uru-zu-šè DU-ba e-ne[146] ga-ba-ab-túm mu-dè[147]
kug-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ galla-e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$[148]
sukkal-e-ne-èm-šag$_5$-šag$_5$-ga-mu[149]
ra-gaba-e-ne-èm-ge-en-ge-na-mu

300. na-ri-ga-mu šu nu-mu-un-bar-re
e-ne-èm-dug$_4$-ga-mu gú-ni la-ba-ši-šub
ír du$_6$-du$_6$-da[150] ma-an-gá-gá[151]
šém gú-en-na ma-an-tuku-a[152]
é-dingir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$ ma-an-nigin[153]

305. i-bí-[154]ni ma-an-ḪUR ka-ni ma-an-ḪUR
ki-mu-lu-[155]da-nu-di[156] zù-gal-a-[157]ni ma-an-ḪUR
mu-lu-[158]nu-tuku-gim túg-aš-a[159] im-ma-an-mu$_4$[160]

130. So H; L: *bí-* and N: *mi-ni-* for *i-ni-*.

131. In M the line reads: *lú-ù-ne-lú-mu-un-dè-*SÚG*-re-eš-àm*. L omits this line and the one following.

132. In M the line reads: *lú-$^{d}$inanna-mu-e-ši-*SÚG*-re-eš-àm*.

133. L inserts *-ù-* after *-kú-*.

134. M adds *-a* after *-bal-*.

135. L and M have a line reading: *kadra-níg-dùg-ga šu-nu-*BU*-i-*(M omits *-i-*)*me-eš*.

136. Instead of this and the following line M has an expanded passage of 5 lines, (lines 24–8); cf. Part I.

137. Following this line L inserts two lines ending in *ur nu-zu*(?) and *mu-un-ur$_4$-*[*ur$_4$*]*-re-eš*.

138. Line omitted in L and M.

(Who was) at her side, (though) he was not a knight, had a weapon fastened about the loin.
They who accompanied her,
285. They who accompanied Inanna,
(Were beings who) know not food, know not water,
Eat not sprinkled flour,
Drink not libated water,
Take away the wife from the man's lap,
290. Take away the child from the nursemaid's [bre]ast.
Inanna ascends from the nether world.
Upon Inanna's ascent from the nether world,
[Her minister] Ninšubur threw himself at her feet,
Prostrated himself in the dust, dressed in a filthy garment.
295. The demons say to the pure Inanna:
"O Inanna, proceed to your city, we will carry this one off."
The pure Inanna answers the demons:
"My minister of favorable words,
My knight of true words,

300. —He fails not my instructions,
Neglected not my commanded word—
Sets up a lament for me *by the ruins*,
Played for me the drum in the assembly shrine,
Wandered about for me in the houses of the gods,
305. *Tore at* his eyes for me, *tore at* his mouth for me,
*Tore* for me *at* the place where no one . . . s, his large . . . ,
Dressed for me like a pauper in a single garment,

139. M omits this complex. 140. M inserts *-ra-*.
141. M omits *-an-*. 142. M: *-a* for *-ra*.
143. M: *im-* for *ba-*. 144. M: *-ke$_4$* for *-ra*.
145. M omits *-un-*. 146. M: *én* for *e-ne*.
147. M: *ba-ab-túm-dè-en*.
148. M: *mu-un-ne-ni-in-gi$_4$-gi$_4$*.
149. M omits lines 298–301. 150. M: *-dam* for *-da*.
151. M: *ma-an-gá-gá*. 152. M: *ma-ni-in-tuku-àm*.
153. M: *ma-ni-in-nigin-dè*. 154. M: *igi* for *i-bí*.
155. M: *-lú-* for *-mu-lu-*. 156. M: *-du$_8$* for *-di*.
157. M omits *-a-*. 158. M: *lú-* for *mu-lu-*.
159. M omits *-a*. 160. M: *mu-un-mu$_4$*.
161. M: *-re* for *-ra*. 162. M: *-en-* for *-mu-ul-*.

é-kur-ra-[161]é-[d]mu-ul-[162]líl-lá-šè
urí[ki]-ma é-[d]nanna-[163]šè

310. uru-zí-ib[ki][164] é-[d]am-an-[165]ki-šè
e-ne ma-a-ra mu-un-ti-le-en[166]
ga-an ši-SÚG-dè-en[167] umma[ki]-a sig$_4$-[168]kur-šà-ga-[169]šè ga-an-ši-[170]SÚG-dè-en
umma[ki]-a sig$_4$-kur-šà-ga-ta[171]
[d]šara[172] gìr-ni-šè ba-an-šub[173]
315. saḫar-ra[174] ba-[175]da-an-tuš túg-mu-sír-ra ba-an-mu$_4$
galla-e-ne kug-[d]inanna-ra[176] gù mu-na-dé-e
[d]inanna uru-zu-šè DU-ba e-ne[177] ga-ba-ab-túm-mu-dè
kug-[d]inanna-ke$_4$ galla-e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
LI.DU- . . . [d]šara-m[u][178]
320. dubbin-tar-tar-mu gú-TAR-lá-mu
NE[179] ta-gim nam-ma-ra-ni-ib-zé-èm-DU
ga-e-SÚG-en-dè-en[180] bàd-tibira[ki]-a[181] é-mùš-kalam-ma-šè ga-an-ši-SÚG-en-dè-en[182]
bàd-tibira[ki]-a[183] é-mùš-kalam-ma-ta[184]
[d]latarak[185] uru-ni-a[186] gì[r]-ni-šè ba-[187]šub
325. saḫar-a im-da-an-tuš túg-mu-sír-ra ba-an-mu$_4$
galla-e-ne kug-[d]inanna-ke$_4$[188] gù mu-na-dé-e
[d]inanna uru-zu-šè DU-ba e-ne[189] ga-ba-ab-túm mu-dè[190]
kug-[d]inanna-ke$_4$ galla-e-ne mu-un-[191]ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
[d]latarak-zag-è-a zi-[192]da-gùb-bu-mu-ús[193]
330. én ta-gim nam-ma-ra-ab-[194]zé-èm-en-zé-en
ga-e-SÚG-dè-en [giš]ḫašḫur-gul-la-edin-kul-aba[ki]
[giš]ḫašḫur-gul-la-edin-kul-aba[ki] gìr-ni-šè ba-e-SÚG-re-eš
[d]dumu-zi túg(!)-maḫ-a i-im-mu$_4$ maḫ-a-dúr-a dúr im-ma-gar
galla-e-ne zù-a-na im-díb-bé-eš

335. duk-ubur(!)-imin-bi(?) mu-un-d[é]-eš-àm

To the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
*In* Ur, to the house of Nanna,

310. *In* Eridu, to the house of Enki
*He brought me to life.*
"Let us accompany you, in Umma to the Sigkuršagga let us accompany you."
In Umma, from the Sigkuršagga,
Šara threw himself at her feet,
315. Prostrated himself in the dust, dressed in a filthy garment.
The demons say to the pure Inanna:
"O Innanna, proceed to your city, we will carry this one off."
The pure Inanna answers the demons:
"My Šara, who . . s the hymns,
320. My barber, my *valet*—
*Do not give* this one *away* at any price."
"Let us accompany you, in Badtibira to the Emuškalamma let us accompany you."
In Badtibira, from the Emuškalamma
Latarak threw himself at her feet,
325. Sat in the dust, dressed in a filthy garment.
The demons say to the pure Inanna:
"O Inanna, proceed to your city, we will carry this one off."
The pure Inanna answers the demons:
"Latarak, the leader who stands at my right and left—

330. *Do not give* this one *away* at any price."
"Let us accompany you *to* the . . . *ḫašḫur*-tree *of* Kullab."
They followed her to the . . . *ḫašḫur*-tree *of* Kullab.
(There) Dumuzi dressed himself in a noble garment, seated himself nobly on (his) seat.
The demons seized him by his . . ,
335. Poured out the (*contents of*) *the vessel with the seven teats*,

163. M: *-zuen-na-* for *-nanna-*. 164. M omits *-ib*.
165. M omits *-an-*.
166. M omits this line but has instead a line reading: *én ta-gim nam-ma-ra-ab-zé-èm-e[n-zé-en]*.
167. M omits complex. 168. M: *še-eb* for *sig$_4$*.
169. M: *-ba-* for *-ga-*. 170. M: *ga-e-* for *ga-an-ši-*.
171. M omits line.
172. Following *[d]šara* M inserts *uru-ni-a*.
173. M probably omits *-an-*, cf. note 17.
174. M: *-a* for *-ra*. 175. M: *im-* for *ba-*.
176. M: *-ke$_4$* for *-ra*. 177. M: *én* for *e-ne*.
178. So M: for the possible variant in N cf. note 39 in Part I of this study.
179. M: *én* for NE, cf. note 29 in Part I of this study.
180. O omits *-en*. 181. M and O omit *-a*.
182. M and O omit verb.
183. M omits determinative and *-a*.
184. The corresponding line in M reads: *bàd-tibira é-mùš-kalam-ma-šè gìr-ni-šè ba-e-SÚG-eš*.
185. O adds *-e*. 186. O omits complex.
187. O inserts *-an-*. 188. O probably *-ra* for *-ke$_4$*.
189. M: *én* for *e-ne*. 190. M: *-un-dè-en* for *-dè*.
191. M omits *-un-*. 192. In O *á* precedes *-zi-*.
193. In O *-sa* follows *-ús-*. 194. O: *-ni-ib-* for *-ra-ab-*.

imin-àm á(?)-lú-tu-ra-gim sag mu-un-d[a]-sàg-ge-[n]e
sipad-dè gi-EU gi-di-da igi-ni-šè [nu]-mu-un-tag-ge-ne
igi mu-un-ši-in-bar igi-úš-[a]-ka
inim i-bí-ne inim-LIPIŠ-gig-ga

340. gú i-bí-dé gú-nam-tag-tag(!)-ga
én-šè tùm-mu-an-zé-en
kug-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ su$_8$-ba-$^{d}$dumu-zi-da šu-ne-ne-a in-na-sì
lú-e-ne-lú-mu-un-dè-SÚG-eš-àm
lú-$^{d}$dumu-zi-mu-un-ši-SÚG-eš-àm
345. ú nu-zu-me-eš a nu-zu-me-eš
zì-dub-dub-ba nu-kú-me-eš
a-bal-bal-a nu-na$_8$-na$_8$-me-eš
úr-dam níg-dùg-ge-eš nu-si-ge-eš
dumu-níg-ku$_7$-ku$_7$-da ne nu-su-ub-ba-me-eš

350. dumu-lú du$_{10}$-ub-ta ba-ra-an-zi-ge-eš
é-gi$_4$-a é-ur$_7$-ra-ka im-ma-an-è-eš
$^{d}$dumu-zi-dè ír im-ma-pàd sig$_7$-sig$_7$ ì-gá-gá
mà-e $^{d}$utu-ra an-šè šu-ni ba-an-na-zi
$^{d}$utu muru$_5$-mu-me-en mà-e mí-ús-sá-zu-me-en

355. é-ama-zu-šè ìa-gùr-ru-me-en
é-$^{d}$nin gal-šè ga-gùr-ru-me-en
šu-mu šu-muš-a ù-mu-ni-in-sì
gìr-mu gìr-muš-a ù-mu-ni-in-sì

359. galla-mu ga-ba-da-kar nam-mu-un-ḫa-ḫa-ne
(Break of approximately 15 lines)

375. . . . . kur-kur-r[a] b[a]-a[n]- . . .
. . . . [N]E(?) ki-tuš-bi [b]a-[ni]-ib- . . .
. . . . [š]ub-[š]ub-ba mu-un-RI(?)-eš
. . . . -ni(?) i-in-sìg-ge-ne
. . . . e(?)-ne i-lu mi-ni-ib-be-ne
380. . . . . -e ?-ni bí-in-šub-bu-uš
. . . . [g]ú giš DÙG DU.DU.DU.DU-e-dè
. . . . šu-ni mi-ni-in-dù-dù
. . . . kur-kur-ra igi mi-ni-íb-il-il-i
. . . . -ne-ne . . . -ga(?)-me-eš me-? nin(?)-kal-la-mu

The seven attack him like the *strength* of the sick,
The shepherds play not the flute and the pipe before him.
She fastened the eye upon him, the eye of death,
Spoke the word against him, the word of wrath,
340. Uttered the cry against him, the cry of guilt:
"*As for him*, carry him off."
The pure Inanna gave the shepherd Dumuzi into their hands.
They who accompanied him,
They who accompanied Dumuzi,
345. (Were beings who) know not food, know not water,
Eat not sprinkled flour,
Drink not libated water,
Sate not *pleasurably* the lap of the wife,
Kiss not the children (*raised on*) *delicacies;*
350. They lifted the man's son from (his) knee,
They carried off the daughter-in-law from the house of the father-in-law.
Dumuzi wept, his face turns green,
Toward heaven to Utu he lifted his hands:
"O Utu, you are my wife's brother, I am your sister's husband,
355. I am one who carries fat to your mother's house,
I am one who carries milk to Ningal's house,
Turn my hands into the hands of a snake,
Turn my feet into the feet of a snake,
359. Let me escape my demons, let them not seize me."

375. . . . . all the lands . . . .
. . . . their dwelling place . . . .
They *carried off* . . . .
They *smite* . . . .
They utter a lament . . . .
380. They *sprinkled* . . . .
To . . . . ,
. . . . his (her?) hand
He (she?) lifts the eyes . . . . the lands
They . . . . my *precious queen*

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Commentary[195]

Lines 1–3. For the particle *na-* of *na-an-gub*, cf. now Falkenstein, ZA 47: 181ff. In line 2, two

195. The commentary is restricted primarily to the new readings and renderings.

difficulties still remain unresolved: the use of *dingir* as an epithet rather than a phrase such as *nin-mu* or *nu-gig-an-na*, and the absence of a subject element following *dingir*, the latter being the subject of a transitive verb. In line 3 the

same problem is posed by the initial *dinanna* (cf. also comment to line 5).

Lines 4–13. The *-e-a-* of *ba-e-a-e*$_{11}$ in these lines (for the prosaic *ba-e*$_{11}$) probably has no semantic significance, (cf. RA 34: 117). In line 5 *dinanna* should have been followed by a subject element (cf. preceding note). For the reading *dúr* instead of *tuš* for the sign KU in the name of Inanna's Nippur temple, cf. Falkenstein's plausible argument in AOF 14: 115. The compound *zag—kéš* (perhaps better KÉŠ) is equated with *kiṣṣuru* in *CT* 16, 25, 49 (so Landsberger in his letter, cf. note 1); *zag* is in all likelihood the direct object of *kéš*, as Falkenstein points out in AOF 14: 115.

Lines 14–25. For the difficult and elusive concept represented by the Sumerian word *me*, cf. PAPS 85: 312 and JCS 2: 47; note particularly that according to the Sumerian thinkers much of what is usually termed "civilization" was originated and controlled by over one hundred *me*'s, cf. SM 64 ff. The rendering "locks" for *ḫi-li* was suggested by Landsberger; Falkenstein, AOF 14: 115–16 suggested "wig," which at first glance makes excellent sense but which is nevertheless improbable since as both Landsberger and Witzel (Orientalia N.S. 14: 32) point out, the wig is not especially characteristic of the forehead. Note, too, the new rendering of the remainder of the line, and particularly the fact that *sag-ki-na* is not treated as a genitive governed by *ḫi-li*, but as a locative parallel with *sag-gá-na* (line 17), *gú-na* (line 20), etc. For lines 19–24 cf. comment to lines 1–7 of Ni 9685 in Part I of this study.

Lines 26–67. In line 26 (cf. also lines 27 and 68) the sign -DU of the verb is read *-du*, but in line 33 (cf. also lines 48, 57, etc.) it is read *gen* since it is followed by *-na*; for the problem involved, cf. PAPS 85: 313 and AOr 17: 402, note 16 (note, too, the *gìr-gub-ba* in that passage which may be identical with the *gìr-gub-ba* of line 16). In line 31 note the rendering "true" rather than "supporting" (cf. RA 34: 101 and AOF 14: 130). For the new reading and rendering of lines 34–38 cf. comment to lines 35–39 of YBC 4621 in Part I of this study. In lines 40 and 41 the *-re* of *é-kur-re* is grammatically unjustified, cf. lines 179 and 180 where it is omitted and line 308 where *-ra* takes its place. The problem presented by the fact that the substantive *mulu* is found in line 43 (and lines 52 and 60) but not in what seems to be the practically identical line 47 (and lines 56 and 64) is still unresolved; note, too, that the position of *mulu* seems unusual, since it might have been expected to come immediately before the verb rather than be separated from it by a locative complex. For "covered" rather than "ground up" as the rendering of *šár* in line 44 (and lines 53 and 61) cf. AOF 14: 120.[196] The reading *taškarin* (or *teškarin*) in line 46 (and lines 55 and 63) was suggested by Landsberger who refers to the writing *ti-iš-ka-ri(!)-ni* in ZA 41: 189, 33. Still obscure are the mythological implications of lines 44–46 (and lines 53–55, 61–63) and their relevance to the plea for Inanna's safety in the nether world. For the still unresolved difficulties in the rendering of line 67, cf. PAPS 85: 313 and the comment to line 311, ibid. 314.[197]

Lines 68–71. For the new reading and rendering of line 71 cf. line 115 and note 69 of Part I of this study.

Lines 72–6. In line 72 note the new rendering "at the palace, the lapis lazuli mountain" instead of "at the lapis lazuli palace of the nether world," since the text reads *é-gal-kur-za-gìn-šè* and not *é-gal-za-gìn-kur-ra-šè*, cf. now AOF 14: 310. A more literal translation of the second half of line 73 reads: "she set up alongside (of the door) that which is evil."

Lines 77–88. In line 83 *túm-mu-un* still remains grammatically difficult since it seems to lack a thematic particle, cf. the parallel passage cited by Falkenstein in AOF 14: 123 and perhaps that cited by Witzel in Orientalia N.S. 14: 42–3;[198] interestingly enough the verbal form in all these cases follows the complex *a-gim*. The mythological implications of line 86 are still obscure; note, too, that the verb can be rendered "had died" instead of "had been killed. That the contents of this line had nothing to do with Dumuzi, as argued for example in AOF 14: 124, is clear from M line 65 ff. which shows Dumuzi very much alive in his city Badtibira. The first part of the crucial line 88 remains difficult;[199] for the rendering of *ḫé-me-a*, cf. now JCS 1: 35, note 214.

196. For the rendering of SEM passage there quoted, cf. now lines 76–8 of "Gilgameš and Agga," AJA 53: 1 ff.

197. "Second person singular accusative element" in the comment there made should of course have read "first person singular accusative element."

198. The translations are highly doubtful in both cases.

199. Not only is the meaning of the individual complexes uncertain (literally it seems to say "she poured

Lines 89–92. In line 91 the rendering "stay" for *túm-túm-ma-ab* is rather unexpected, but seems to be justified by the context.[200]

Lines 112–119. Cf. comment to lines 8–15 of the obverse of H in Part I of this study. In line 115, the rendering "speak" (rather than "spoke") is demanded by the context and is based on the variant in H.

Lines 120–125. For *sag—kéš* (line 121) "to heed," cf. AOF 14: 125. For lines 122–3 cf. comment to lines 116–17.

Lines 126–161. For the discrepancies involved when this passage is compared with lines 17–25, cf. PAPS 85: 314. For the new renderings of lines 129–30 (and lines 134–5, 139–40, etc.) cf. comment to line 2–3 of the reverse of Ni 9685 in Part I of this study. For line 161 cf. comment to line 119.

Lines 162–168. For the new readings and renderings of lines 164–6, cf. note 53 of Part I of this study. In line 168 (cf. also lines 242, 266, etc.) note the new rendering "nail" instead of "stake."

Lines 169–213. For lines 170–86, cf. comment to lines 30–47. Note the new renderings in line 188–9 (and lines 202–3), these are due primarily to Landsberger's suggestion that *al—dug*$_4$ is probably identical with *al—di* = *erêšu*.[201] If the new translation is correct, Enlil's (and Nanna's) statements might give us at last the clue for Inanna's determination to descend to the nether world (cf. lines 1–3 of the myth): she may have fostered the ambition of making herself queen of the "great below" just as she seems to have succeeded in making herself queen of the "great above," that is, heaven.[202] Lines 190–1 (and lines 205–6) still remain obscure. In line 192 the translation assumes that the *-un* of *[ba]-du-un* is a scribal error. In lines 206–7 note the unjustified Emesal writing *zí-ib*$^{ki}$.

Lines 214–245. In line 214 note the omission of the expected subject element in the first complex, and the use of *-ke*$_4$ for *-ra* in the second complex. For the rendering of *a-na bí-in-ag* (lines 215–18) cf. Witzel's excellent comment in Orientalia N. S. 14: 47 and now line 27 of "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living" (JCS 1: 3 ff.). The first sign in lines 209 and 220 was read correctly by Witzel, Orientalia N. S. 14: 47, and independently by Landsberger, as *dubbin*; the difficulty is with the second sign which, if the copy is correct, can hardly be restored to the expected *-na-* or *-a-*. For line 220 Landsberger suggests that the first complex be read *dubbin-su*$_4$*-še-gín(!)-na* and that *še-gín* = *šimtu*. For the reading *mu-*BU cf. comment to line 31 of YBC 4621 in Part I of this study. Lines 224–40 are too poorly preserved for intelligible comment; they contain of course Enki's numerous instructions to the *kalaturru* and *kurgarrû* relative to their behaviour in the nether world.[203] For lines 241–3 cf. now note 7 of Part I of this study.

Lines 246–66. Lines 246–63 are still missing; they contained the carrying out by the *kalaturru* and *kurgarrû* of Enki's instructions as detailed in lines 224–240 (for the size of the break cf. RA 36: 74, note 3). For lines 264–6 cf. comment to lines 1–3 of YBC 4621.

Lines 267–72. For lines 267–70 cf. note 10 of Part I of this study.

Lines 273–90. For the new readings and renderings in these lines cf. comment to lines 9–28 of M and particularly notes 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, and 23 in Part I of this study. The new translation of line 275 is suggested as a result of the new sense of the passage following Jacobsen's rendering (cf. "Addendum" to Part I of this study). See however, note 15 of Part I for the difficulties involved and note particularly that the rendering of *silim-ma-ni* as "unharmed" (more literally perhaps "his

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the *gu-ul* on his *sì-ga* date-wine,") but its relation to the preceding line (the latter ought to be a direct object of the action described in the first part of line 88) is altogether obscure.

200. Note that lines 97 and 98 might at first glance seem to be possible repetitions of lines 73 and 74, but the traces in A, the only tablet at all preserved at this point, do not point to such a restoration.

201. For further corroboration note that e.g. in SRT 9: 50-1 *al—dug*$_4$ is used as a parallel to *šà-ge—guru*$_7$, and for the latter cf. now Falkenstein, ZA 47: 220.

202. It is to be noted, however, that the locative postposition *-a* of the *an-gal-la* and *ki-gal-la* in lines 188–9 is rather difficult since it is probable that *al—dug*$_4$ governs a complex ending with the postposition *-e* rather than *-a* (literally perhaps "to *utter* a *demand upon* (something)?"). It is not impossible therefore that the rendering of the two lines should read "My daughter has made demands in the 'great above' has made demands in the 'great below,' " etc.

203. Note that line 224 ends in the plural imperative of the verb *ná* and that line 234 ends in "say to her." Note 7 of Part I should have commented on the fact that the *-na-* of the first verbal forms of lines 241, 242, is unjustified.

state of well being") is quite doubtful. For line 290, cf. AOF 14: 134.

Lines 291–311. Cf. comment to lines 29–44 of M in Part I of this study. For lines 298–300, cf. comment to lines 30–31, and lines 71 and 115.

Lines 312–359. Cf. comment to lines 45–91 of M in Part I of this study.

Lines 375–85. Because of the breaks the meaning of this passage and its relevance to the context of the myth as a whole seems too uncertain for any reasonably safe conclusions.

## Addendum

For the new readings and renderings in lines 23, 25, 27, 30, 31, 35, 38, 69, 109, 110, 117, 123, 152, 170, 171, 172, 174, 177, 244, 271, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 281, 282, 283, 290, 294, 296, 298, 299, 303, 306, 315, 316, 320, 324, 326, 330, 333, 334, 335, 337, 351 of the myth, see Thorkild Jacobsen's remarks presented in the "Addendum" to Part I of this study and the following comments by Benno Landsberger, who studied the completed manuscript before publication:

Lines 23 and 25 (cf. lines 109 and 110): *tu-ditum* and *šim* (Akk. *rīqu*) have names: "O man, come, come!" and "The man shall come." Line 35 (cf. lines 174 and 303): *šém* is a kind of drum, not flute. Lines 37–8 (cf. lines 176–7 and 305–6): CT 21, 15–17 is a passage which has much in common with these lines, but unfortunately its meaning, too, is most uncertain; moreover, no help for the meaning of ZUM comes from the vocabularies, since, according to a collation of the pertinent text, ŠL 555, 2 is to be deleted. Line 117: The first sign is É not KÁ in H as well as G [a new collation of G actually shows that the sign É was written over an erased KÁ, Kramer]. Lines 241–2 (cf. lines 264–5): A preferable rendering for the first part of the line is "They allot to them the water of the river," "they allot to them the grain of the field"; the locative *-ba* of *a-ba* and *še-ba* for the expected accusative is inexplicable but is found in numerous cases. Line 244 (cf. line 271): The sign read twice as *gíš* in this line should be read *diš*, and the rendering is "the one," i.e., the *kurgarrû*; "the other," i.e., the *kalaturru* [an identical suggestion was made independently by Falkenstein in a recent communication to me, Kramer]; moreover, *ú* and *a* may perhaps here designate drugs used externally, since the usual rendering "food" for *ú* hardly goes with the verb *šub*. Line 277 may be rendered: "She shall give one substitute as her substitute"; for *sag* = *pûḫu, dinānu*, cf. ŠL 115, 31, and 17. Line 279: for *šukurrum* and *gubrum* as the Akkadian equivalents of *šukur*, cf. MAOG III 3, 51, 150. Line 280: For *gi-dubban* (meaning unknown), cf. [*gi*]*-dub-ba-an-lá-e* = ditto (= *maḫāṣu*) *ša dup-pa-nim* (CT 12, 42 I) and *gi-dub-ba-an* = *qa-an dup-pa-nu* (cf. BM 35503 = CT 14, 47; BM 91010 = CT 14, 13; BM 93086 = CT 14, 49). Line 281: The verb does not mean "walk" but "held" (her side); note again the inexplicable locative. Line 282: *sukkal* is not a messenger but a high official, vizier, minister, or such, and the scepter is his "badge" of office. Line 283: *ra-gab* (so rather than *ra-gaba*) is not "carrier" but an officer of high military rank, comparable perhaps to "knight"; $^{gi\check{s}}$*tukul* is to be taken in the concrete sense of "mace" (so correctly Falkenstein, AOF 14: 128); it is the *kurgarrû* and *kalaturru* who are referred to in lines 282 and 283; they play the roles of the *sukkal* and the *ragab*. Line 290: The first word to be restored is probably *ubur* (not *úr*), "breast"; note, too, the difficult *-da-* for the expected *-ga-* in the first complex. Line 294 (cf. lines 315 and 325): for *saḫar-a*—TUŠ = *napalsuḫu* "to throw oneself," "to prostrate oneself," cf. HWB 529, and Heidel, AS 13: 64. In the same line the correct reading of the third complex is *túg-mu-sír-ra* as is shown, e.g., by the Emesal form *me-zé-ir* (Delitzsch, SGl 188; the form *mudra* is simply a phonetic variant, cf. e.g. *nidaba* and *nisaba*). Line 296 (cf. lines 316, 327): read DU-*ba* (DU either *gin* or *du*), not *gub-ba*. Line 321 (cf. also line 330 and note 166): I would render the line, "This one do not give away at any cost"; *zé-èm* is hardly the Emesal form of *tùm*, particularly since in line 341 *tùm* is written in an Emesal speech. Line 333: read *dúr* instead of *tuš*, cf. e.g., *durgarû* = *kussû*; *maḫ* should be rendered as "noble" in both cases. Line 335: I would prefer to read the first complex as *duk-ubur(!)-imin- bi(?)*, "vessel with seven teats," cf. ŠL 309, 52. Line 337: the sign following *-ni* in the fourth complex is ŠÈ (not ŠU). Line cited in note 135: NÍG.ŠÀ.A has the value *kadra* in an unpublished vocabulary; the meaning is "gift," "bribe," rather than "offering."

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queer formulas have been found but this is to be expected as much of such ware was made from scrap metal of all kinds. Occasionally even large percentages of gold and silver are found in such objects. The ancient coppersmith was indeed a skilled craftsman with a surprising empirical knowledge of the various copper formulas indispensable to the multiple phases of his work.

## SUMERIAN WISDOM LITERATURE: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

The field of Sumerian literature is no " strange pasture " to William Albright. Among his earliest scholarly contributions there are several devoted to one or another of the Sumerian literary works,[1] and even his latest writings reveal a keen interest in this field of research. It is therefore a pleasure and a privilege to present on the occasion of Albright's sixtieth birthday the following preliminary survey of one of the Sumerian literary genres, that commonly known as " wisdom." Brief and summary as the sketch is, it should prove not without value to the interested student and scholar and provide them with some idea of the promise which Sumerian wisdom literature holds for their future researches.

Up until some twenty years ago, practically nothing was known about Sumerian " wisdom." But little relevant material had been copied and published, and even that little remained largely unrecognized and misinterpreted. It is only in recent years, as a result of the publication of five volumes filled with copies of Sumerian literary texts,[2] and with the help of much of the still unpublished part of the Nippur literary collection of the University Museum that a deeper insight into the character and variety of the Sumerian wisdom compositions has become possible.[3] Thus it can now be seen that Sumerian " wisdom " consists of five categories: [4] (1) proverbs; (2) miniature essays; (3) instructions and precepts; (4) essays concerned with the Mesopotamian school and scribe; (5) disputes and debates.

[1] Cf. e. g. *An Indexed Bibliography of the Writings of William Foxwell Albright* (New Haven, 1941), nos. 11, 13, and 17.

[2] TRS (H. de Genouillac, *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre*) I and II, SEM (E. Chiera, *Sumerian Epics and Myths*), STVC (Chiera, *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents*), and SLTN (Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur*).

[3] For an earlier statement, one that should be modified in light of the present survey, cf. SLTN, pp. 35-40.

[4] In the Sumerian literary catalogue CBS 29-15-155 (cf. BULLETIN 88, 10 ff.) the last 13 compositions, to judge from the titles, are all wisdom compositions; so, too, probably nos. 25, 30, 31, and 43. The Louvre catalogue (cf. BULLETIN 88, 16 ff.) adds at least one more wisdom text (no. 46). For the compositions listed in the catalogues which can now be restored wholly or in part, cf. notes 5, 16, 21, 24. Two wisdom compositions which do not seem to fall in any of these catagories are TRS 80-83 (cf. Falkenstein, *Zeitschrift für Indogermanische Forschungen* 60, 113-120), and *TRS* 39.

Sumerian proverbs,[5] like proverbs the world over, are brief pithy sayings which depend for their effect on extreme terseness of expression; on the unexpected turn of phrase; on evocation and connotation rather than straight statement of fact. As in the case of the Biblical proverbs, they may consist of the single line,[6] or the couplet. The couplet, moreover, again as in the Biblical proverbs, may be characterized either by antithetical [7] or synonymous [8] parallelism, or it may form a continuous sentence.[9] Finally, the Sumerian proverb may consist of three, four, or more lines and thus approach the form of the miniature essay.[10]

The number of Sumerian proverbs, to judge from the extant material, runs into the hundreds, and it will take the combined efforts of numerous scholars over many a year before they can be fully and definitively translated and interpreted. Moreover, from the point of view of arrangement, the ancient Sumerian proverb collections show at least two types. In the one, the order seems to be quite haphazard and devoid of any particular guiding principle, at least according to our best understanding at the moment. In the second type, the Sumerian scribes arranged their material according to subject matter, though the reason for the particular choice and order of subjects is still obscure. Thus in the extant text of our best preserved example, we find the proverbs arranged in the following order of subjects: fate, the poor, the scribe, the fox, the ass, the ox, and the *kalû*-priest.[11]

The second of the Sumerian wisdom categories, the miniature essay, is now represented by a considerable number of fairly well preserved examples,[12] but unfortunately the texts are so difficult that it will be advisable to await a better understanding of their contents before they

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[5] The major published proverb material is *STVC* 1-9 (*STVC* 1 is no. 46 of the Louvre catalogue mentioned in the preceding note), 14-15 (cf. SLTN, p. 40, comment to nos. 142-153), 123, and SLTN 142-153. Published earlier but in the main unrecognized by the copyists, are *PBS* I 2 No. 117; PBS XII, 29, 51; PBS XIII, 38, 50; (*Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*) 23, and the obverse sides of SLT 69, 189, 190, and 193. In addition there is a considerable number of unpublished tablets and fragments which the writer was in a position to utilize. As for the bilinguals published by Langdon in AJSL 28, 217 ff., and by Meek in RA 17, 121-3, 146, 148, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, it is now obvious that the Sumerian is the original, and not the Akkadian, as has been the tendency to assume hitherto. At least one of the bilingual proverbs is actually found in the Sumerian collections (Bu. 80-7-19, 130 obv. 3-6 = STVC 3, IV, 28-9), and no doubt a good many more such equations will be uncovered in the future.

[6] Cf. e. g. STVC 4 i 8; STVC 1 obv. ii 29-30.

[7] Cf. e. g. HAV 23 rev. iv 7-10.

[8] Cf. e. g. STVC 1 obv. ii 24-7.

[9] Cf. e. g. STVC 1 obv. i 15-18.

[10] Cf. e. g. STVC 9 ii 3-8.

[11] So on the ten-column tablet CBS 13980, which is still unpublished. Of the published material the following can now be seen to belong to this type of proverb collection: STVC 6, 9, 14, 15; SLTN 142, 151; SLT 69, 190; HAV 23; PBS XII, 51; all these duplicate CBS 13980. Note, too, that SLT 193 contains proberbs concerned with "house," and that STVC 7 contains proverbs concerned with the young woman and the wife.

[12] Cf. SLTN 128-34 (note comment *ibid.*, p. 39), BE XXXI, 28 (= SEM 114), 36, 42 (= TRS 6), also probably VS X, 204 and TRS 39.

can be more definitely characterized and described. They range in size from four and five lines—these may therefore also be considered as proverbs—to more than fifty lines, and a number of them end in what may possibly be ironic or sarcastic phrases, such as: "And you are a man!" or "And you are my rival!" [13]

Of the third category, instructions and precepts, we now have at least two collections.[14] The one is a group of precepts attributed to Shuruppak, the father of Ziusudra, who is purported to have uttered them as instructions to his son.[15] The second document purports to be a collection of instructions given by a farmer to his son and is attributed in the colophon to the Sumerian god Ninurta, who is there described as "the trustworthy farmer of Enlil." [16] The composition consists of 108 lines which can now be almost entirely restored with the help of a one-column tablet found last year by the joint expedition to Nippur of the Oriental Institute and the University Museum. This document which is particularly significant for the history of agriculture is now in the process of being translated by Jacobsen, Landsberger, and myself; and a scientific edition including text, transliteration, and commentary, should be available in the course of this year.

The fourth type of Sumerian wisdom composition is that devoted to the scribal school and the scholar, a rather popular theme with the Sumerian schoolmen, and for obvious reasons. At least three of these can now be restored wholly or in large part. One, containing a description of a schoolboy's day in school, has already been published under the title "Schooldays: A Sumerian Composition Relating to the Education of a Scribe" (JAOS 69, 3 ff.). The text of the remaining two is now in the process of being reconstructed and should be available in the near future.[17]

The fifth and last type of wisdom composition is that of the dispute or debate between two rivals, each of whom may personify a season, animal, plant, occupation, implement, metal, or stone.[18] The dispute genre seems to have been a high favorite with the Mesopotamian men of letters.

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[13] *ù za-e lú-lu₆ˡᵘ-me-en* (BE XXXI, 28, 33); *ù za-e gaba-ri-mu-[me-en]* (SLTN 132 obv. 7).

[14] Note that SLTN 135, a poorly preserved tablet with uncertain contents, may be a collection of instructions if the *na-ri-ᵈnin-urta* of the last line is to be taken seriously.

[15] Cf. for the present JCS 1, 33, note 208.

[16] Cf. for the present SLTN, p. 30, comment to nos. 59-60; to the list of texts there given should be added the Ur tablet copied by Gadd and discussed by Landsberger, MSL 1, 150 ff. This composition is no. 53 of the Nippur catalogue mentioned in note 4.

[17] Cf. for the present SLTN, p. 36, comment to no. 114 and to nos. 115, 117 (cf. also now JAOS 69, 11 ff.); a large fragment dug up last year by the Joint Nippur Expedition will help considerably in the restoration of this composition. For fragments of several other *é-dub-ba* compositions, cf. SLTN, p. 38 (comment to nos. 113, 116); PBS I, 2, nos. 96, 98.

[18] This category was formerly termed "fable." But as Landsberger has well pointed out (JNES 8, 295 f.), the fable frequently utilizes the "debate" or "dispute" as a literary device to obtain its effect, but is not identical with it. Cf. also Jacobsen, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, p. 165 ff.

We already have the text of seven of them [19] wholly or in part; these are: "Summer and Winter;" [20] "Cattle and Grain"; [21] "Shepherd and Farmer"; [22] "Pickaxe and Plow"; [23] "Tree and Reed"; [24] "Bird and Fish"; [25] "Silver and Bronze." [26] Stylistically they tend to show the following features: First comes a mythological introduction concerned with the creation of the two protagonists; [27] then follows the argument between the two rivals which goes back and forth several times and in which each of the rivals "talks up" his own value and importance and "talks down" those of his opponent. The dispute is finally resolved by a deity [28] whose decision is absolute, and is accepted gracefully by the loser.[29]

## ARCHAEOLOGY AND A POINT IN HEBREW SYNTAX

THEOPHILE J. MEEK

Archaeology has been put to many strange uses in its time, but never before, so far as I know, has anyone used it to elucidate a point in Hebrew syntax, and yet that is what I propose to do in this paper.

An expression that appears rather often in the Old Testament is *lᵉfî ḥereḇ*, used ordinarily with the verb *hikkāh*. All the standard versions (the King James, the English Revised, the American Revised, and the Jewish Revised) everywhere translate the phrase "to smite with the

[19] It is not impossible that SLTN 131 (a tablet containing several miniature essays, cf. note 6), obv. i contains a brief debate between the millstone and the *gul-gul*-stone.

[20] Cf. SM (Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*) 49 ff., where it is treated as a myth under the title "Emesh and Enten: Enlil chooses the Farmer God"; cf. also BULLETIN 105, 7 ff. For the change of title, cf. Landsberger's excellent detailed study in JNES 8, 248-297.

[21] Cf. SM 53-4; BULLETIN 105, 7. This composition is no. 17 of the Nippur catalogue and no. 11 of the Louvre catalogue; cf. note 4.

[22] Cf. SM 101-103, *Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, 166-68; JCS 2, 59-69; JNES 8, 295, note 151.

[23] Cf. STVC 117, 119, 128; BE XXXI, 50; SRT 26; the University Museum has a considerable number of unpublished pieces belonging to this composition.

[24] Cf. TRS 53; PBS 42. This composition is perhaps no. 30 of the Nippur catalogue and no. 54 of the Louvre catalogue; cf. note 4.

[25] Cf. VS X 204 obv. ii; TRS 31.

[26] Cf. SRT 4; *Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, 165; JNES 8, 275 ff.

[27] This is true of "Summer and Winter," "Cattle and Grain," and "Tree and Reed"; "Shepherd and Farmer" shows quite a different type of mythological introduction (cf. literature cited in note 22), while in case of the remaining three "disputes," the introduction is missing. It is because of the significant mythological contents of at least some of these "disputes" that they may in a sense be characterized as myths.

[28] Enlil makes the decision in favor of summer in "Summer and Winter"; for "Shepherd and Farmer," cf. the literature cited in note 22; in case of the remaining five "disputes," the end is missing.

[29] So in case of "Summer and Winter" and probably "Shepherd and Farmer," the only compositions in which the closing details are extant. [Further study shows that STVC 1 (cf. note 5) is not a collection of proverbs, but a lengthy essay in which the author, writing in the first person, recites his sufferings and woes.]

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# *Four Firsts in Man's Recorded History*

- **SCHOOL**
- **LAW**
- **TAXES**
- **WISDOM**

**Writing from about 3000 B.C.** A small clay tablet with an administrative record consisting of numerals and objects, inscribed not long after writing was first invented. The second space of the second column is particularly interesting; it contains the oldest known representation of the plow. This tablet is published by Adam Falkenstein in *Archäische Texte aus Uruk,* no. 357. (All dates used in this article follow the so-called short chronology which places the beginning of Hammurabi's reign about 1750 B.C. and that of Sargon the Great about 2300 B.C.)

*By Samuel Noah Kramer*

Clark Research Professor of Assyriology
University of Pennsylvania

THE SUMEROLOGIST is one of the narrowest of specialists in the highly specialized academic hall of learning, a well nigh perfect example of the man who "knows mostest about the leastest." He cuts his world down to that small part of it known as the Middle East and limits his history to what happened before the days of Alexander the Great. He confines his researches to the written documents discovered in Mesopotamia, primarily clay tablets inscribed in the cuneiform script, and restricts his contributions to texts written in the Sumerian language. Incredible as it may seem, however, this pinpoint historian has something of unusual interest to offer to the general reader. The Sumerologist, more than most scholars and specialists, is in a position to satisfy the universal quest for origins, for "firsts" in the history of civilization.

What for example, were man's first recorded ethical ideas and religious ideas? What did the earliest "histories," myths, epics, and hymns sound like? The first legal contracts—how were they worded? Who was the first social reformer, and when did the first tax-reduction take place? Who was the first law-giver? When did the first bicameral "congress" meet? What were man's first schools like? The Sumerologist can supply the answer to many of the questions revolving about cultural origins. Credit, however, goes not to the Sumerologist, but to the Sumerians, those gifted and practical

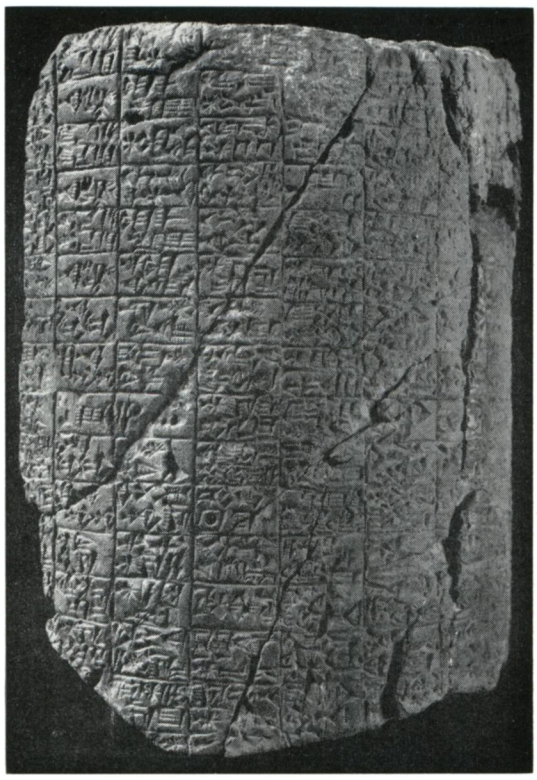
people who, as far as is known today, were the first to invent and develop a practical and effective system of writing.

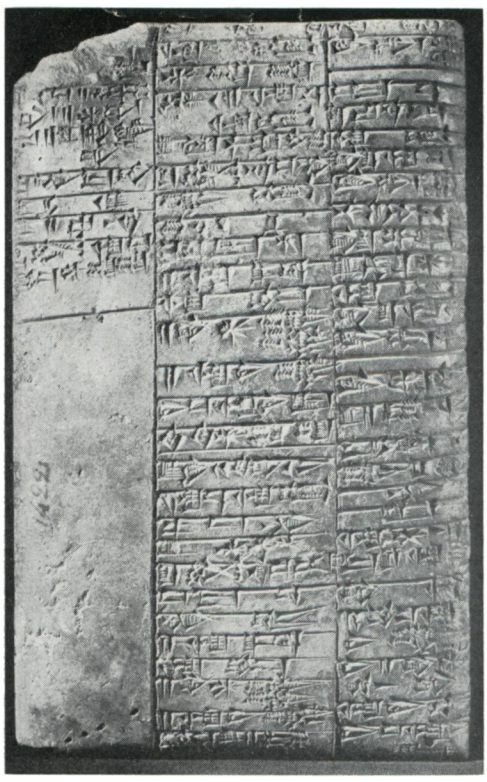
Only a century ago nothing was known even of their existence. Archaeologists who began excavating in Mesopotamia were looking, not for Sumerians, but for Assyrians and Babylonians. About these peoples they had considerable information from Greek and Hebrew sources, but of Sumer and the Sumerians they had no inkling. There was no recognizable trace either of the land or its people in the entire literature available to the modern scholar; the very name Sumer had been erased from the memory of man for over two thousand years. Yet today the Sumerians are one of the best known peoples of the ancient Near East. We know what they looked like from their statues and stelae in the more important museums. There, too, will be found an excellent cross-section of their material culture—the columns and bricks of their temples and palaces, their tools and weapons, their pots and vases, their harps and lyres, their jewels and ornaments. Moreover, Sumerian clay tablets by the tens of thousands, inscribed with their business, legal, and administrative documents, crowd the same museums; these give information about the social structure and administrative organization of the ancient Sumerians. Indeed, we can even penetrate to a certain extent into their hearts and souls. For we now have a large number of documents on which are inscribed Sumerian literary creations revealing their religion, ethics and philosophy. And all this because the Sumerians were one of the few peoples who not only invented a system of writing but also developed it into an exceedingly effective instrument of communication.

It was probably early in the third millennium B.C., almost five thousand years ago, that the Sumerians came upon the idea of writing on clay. Their first crude pictographic attempts could be used only for the simplest administrative notations. But in the course of the centuries, the scribes gradually modified their system of writing so that it lost its pictographic character and became highly conventionalized and purely phonetic. By the second half of the third millennium B.C., Sumerian writing technique had become sufficiently flexible to cope with the most complicated historical and literary compositions.

There is little doubt that some time before 2000 B.C., Sumerian men of letters actually wrote down many of their literary creations which until then had been current in oral form only. Owing to archaeological accident, however, few literary documents of this earlier period have yet been excavated, although thousands of economic and administrative tablets have been found, and hundreds of votive inscriptions. Not until we come to the first half of the second millennium B.C. do we find several thousand tablets and fragments inscribed with Sumerian literary works; the majority of these were excavated some fifty years ago at Nippur, a site not much more than a hundred miles from modern Baghdad [See ARCHAEOLOGY 5 (1952) 70-75]. The documents, now in the University Museum of Philadelphia, and in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul, range in size from large twelve-column tablets with hundreds of compactly written lines of text to tiny fragments with only a few broken lines. The literary compositions on these tablets run into the hundreds, and vary from hymns of less than fifty lines to myths of close to a thousand lines. From the point of view of form as well as content, they display a variety which is both startling and revealing. Here in Sumer, a good thousand years before the Hebrews wrote down their *Bible* and the Greeks their *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* we find a rich, mature literature consisting of myths and epic tales, hymns and lamentations, as well as proverbs, fables, and essays. It is not too much to predict that the recovery of this ancient and long forgotten literature will turn out to be one of this century's major contributions to the humanities.

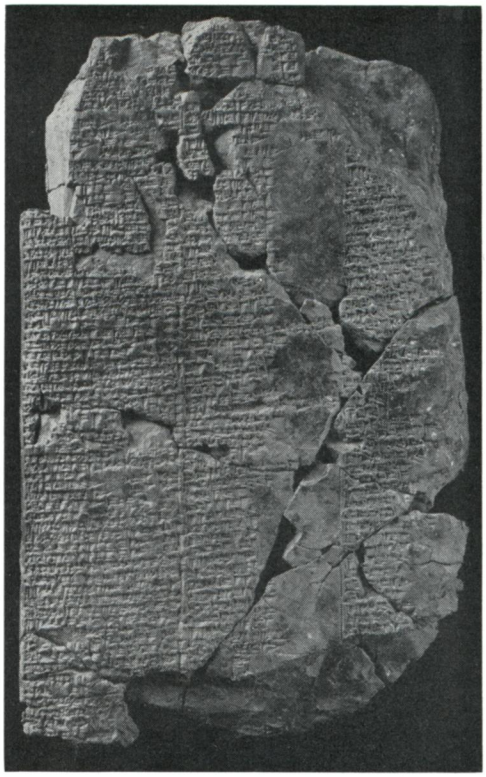
The accomplishment of this task is no simple matter and will demand the concentrated efforts of Sumerologists over a period of years. In the first place, the great majority of the sun-baked clay tablets came out of the ground broken, so that only a small part of the original contents is preserved on each piece. Offsetting this is the fact that the ancient "professors" and their students prepared numerous copies of each literary work. The lacunae of one tablet can therefore frequently be restored from duplicate pieces. To take full advantage of these duplications, however, it is essential to have the source material in published form, which frequently entails copying hundreds of tablets, a tedious, time-consuming task. But let us take those rare instances where this particular hurdle no longer blocks the way, and the complete text has been restored. All that now remains is to translate the document and get at its essential meaning. Which is easier said than done. Nevertheless, in spite of textual difficulties and lexical perplexities, a number of trustworthy translations of



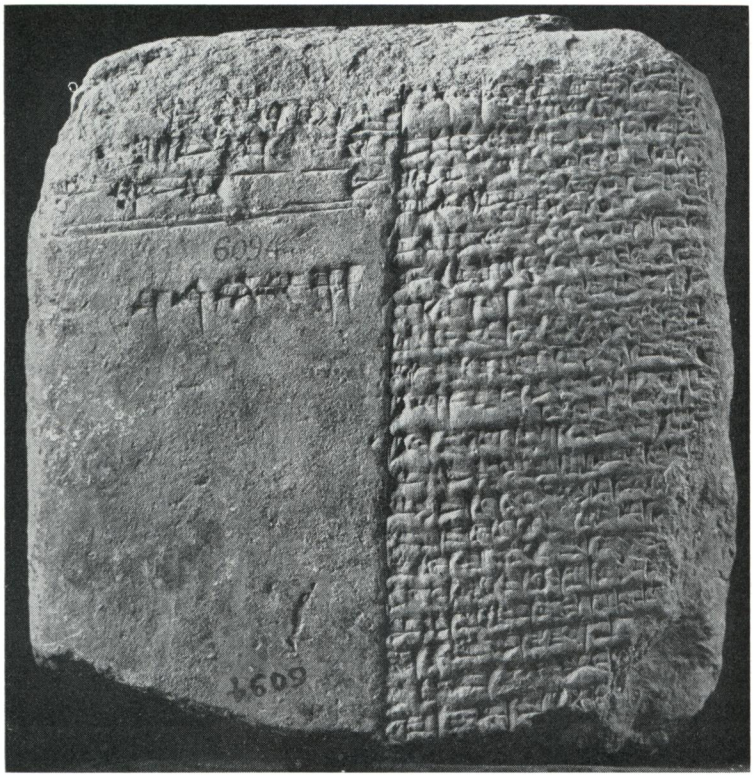


**Writing from about 2500** B.C. [above]. Clay cylinder from Nippur (5 inches in diameter, 6½ inches high) inscribed with the oldest myth on record. First published more than three decades ago by George Barton, in *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions,* no. 1, the contents of this composition in which the air-god Enlil and the mother-goddess Ninhursag play major roles, remain obscure to the present day.

**Writing from about 2100** B.C. [above, right]. Reverse of a clay tablet (3¾ by 6¼ inches) written in the still relatively large and intricate script characteristic of the latter half of the Dynasty of Akkad or the first half of the Third Dynasty of Ur. The text inscribed on the tablet contains more than a dozen medical prescriptions for the preparation of salves and filtrates, to be applied externally, and for liquids to be taken internally; unfortunately it fails to specify the diseases for which the remedies are intended. An article dealing in considerable detail with this, the oldest medical text as yet known, will appear in the *Scientific American.*



**Writing from about 1750** B.C. [right]. Obverse of a six-column tablet (6 by 10 inches) inscribed in the cuneiform script characteristic of the first half of the second millennium B.C., the period from which date most of the extant Sumerian literary works. By now the scribe had become so proficient in his craft that he could write some four hundred lines of text on a space considerably smaller than the two sides of an ordinary sheet of typewriting paper. The tablet contains a myth which may be entitled "Inanna and Enki: The Transfer of the Arts of Civilization from Eridu to Erech." A sketch of its contents will be found in the writer's *Sumerian Mythology,* pages 64-68. The composition is particularly interesting for its list of more than one hundred culture traits and complexes characteristic of Sumerian civilization, man's first recorded attempt at cultural analysis.



**Oldest Library Catalogue** [above]. Obverse and reverse of a small tablet dating from about 1750 B.C., inscribed with titles of Sumerian literary works. The tablet is only 1½ by 2½ inches in size. Small as it is, by dividing each side into two columns and using a minute script, the scribe succeeded in cataloguing the titles of sixty-two compositions. A detailed description of the contents of the tablet will be found in the writer's *Sumerian Mythology,* pages 15-18.

**Schooldays** [left]. Reverse of a four-column tablet (4½ by 5 inches) inscribed with a large part of the essay devoted to the life of a Sumerian schoolboy. The text of the ninety-one line composition was pieced together from twenty-one tablets and fragments located in the University Museum and the Museum of the Ancient Orient. The tablet shown in this photograph is of particular interest, since it bears the scribe's signature; the signs in the left-hand column below the double line which the scribe drew to indicate the end of his essay, read "the hand of Nabi-Enlil." It is extremely unlikely, however, that Nabi-Enlil was the original author; in all probability this particular copy was prepared in connection with the school curriculum.

Sumerian literary works have appeared in recent years, and almost all of them record some significant "first" in the history of man. Several of these are presented in this article. (The translations, it is to be borne constantly in mind, are tentative; further researches and discoveries will no doubt modify and improve them.)

The first of these documents might be entitled "Schooldays: The Day-to-day Life of a Sumerian Student." It describes in detail the experiences and reactions of a schoolboy, as purported to be told in large part by the boy himself. This composition is one of the most "human" documents ever excavated; its simple words reveal how little human nature has changed. We find our ancient schoolboy, like his modern counterpart, terribly afraid of coming late to school "lest his teacher cane him." When he awakes he hurries his mother to prepare his lunch. In school he misbehaves and is caned more than once by the teacher and his assistants; we are quite sure of the rendering "caning" since the Sumerian sign consists of "stick" and "flesh." As for the teacher, his pay seems to have been as meager then as it is now; at least he is happy to make a "little extra" from the parents to eke out his earnings.

The composition, no doubt the creation of one of the "professors" in the "tablet-house," begins with a direct question to the pupil:

"Schoolboy, where did you go from earliest days?" The boy answers:

"I went to school." The author then asks:

"What did you do in school?" The pupil's reply reads in part:

"I recited my tablet, ate my lunch, prepared my (new) tablet, wrote it, finished it; then they assigned me my oral work, and in the afternoon they assigned me my written work. When school was dismissed, I went home, entered the house and found my father sitting there. I told my father of my written work, then recited my tablet to him, and my father was delighted. . . . When I awoke early in the morning I faced my mother and said to her, 'Give me my lunch, I want to go to school.' My mother gave me two 'rolls' and I set out; my mother gave me two 'rolls' and I went to school. In school the monitor in charge said to me, 'Why are you late?' Afraid and with pounding heart, I entered before my teacher and made a respectful curtsy."

Curtsy or not, it seems to have been a bad day for our pupil; he had to take canings from various members of the school staff for such indiscretions as talking, standing up, and walking out of the gate. Worst of all, the headmaster himself said:

"Your hand (copy) is not satisfactory," and caned him. This seems to have been too much for the lad, and he suggests to his father that it might be a good thing to invite the headmaster home and mollify him with some presents—by all odds the first recorded case of "apple-polishing" in the history of man. The composition then continues: "To that which the schoolboy said his father gave heed. The teacher was brought from school, and after entering the house, he was seated in the seat of honor. The schoolboy attended and served him, and whatever he had learned of the art of tablet-writing he unfolded to his father." The father then wined and dined the teacher, "dressed him in a new garment, gave him a gift, put a ring on his hand." Warmed by this generosity, the teacher reassures the aspiring scribe in poetic words:

"Young man, because you did not neglect my word, did not forsake it, may you reach the pinnacle of the scribal art, may you achieve it completely. . . . Of your brothers may you be their leader, of your friends may you be their chief, may you rank the highest of the schoolboys. . . . You have carried out well the school's activities, you have become a man of learning."

Let us turn to the first law-givers. Until five years ago the most ancient law code known was that of the Babylonian king, Hammurabi, who ruled about 1750 B.C. Though written in the cuneiform script, its language is not Sumerian, but Akkadian, a Semitic dialect spoken by Arabian nomads who conquered the Sumerians and adopted their system of writing. Sandwiched in between a boastful prologue and a curse-laden epilogue, are close to three hundred laws which run the gamut of man's possible deeds and misdeeds. The diorite stele on which the code is inscribed now stands solemn and impressive in the Louvre for all to see and admire. From the point of view of fulness of legal detail and state of preservation, it is still the most impressive ancient law document yet uncovered, but not from the point of view of age and antiquity. For in 1947, there came to light a law code promulgated by King Lipit-Ishtar, who preceded Hammurabi by more than one hundred and fifty years.

The Lipit-Ishtar code is inscribed not on a stele but on sun-baked clay tablets, and is written not in Akkad-

**Ur-Nammu,** the first "Moses" on record. The scenes are part of the Ur-Nammu stele excavated by Leonard Woolley at Ur; full details are given in the *Museum Journal,* Vol. 18, pages 75 ff. In the middle panel Ur-Nammu is shown twice, making libations on the one side to the moon-god Nanna, the tutelary deity of Ur, and on the other side, to Nanna's wife Ningal. In the lower panel Ur-Nammu is depicted in the act of carrying the basket, the pick-axe, and other building implements for the construction of Nanna's temple at Ur. In the upper panel, on the lower half of his garment, is an inscription "Ur-Nammu, the king of Ur."

ian but in the older Sumerian language. The tablets were excavated some fifty years ago, but remained largely unidentified all these years. As now reconstructed and translated, the code is seen to have contained a prologue, an epilogue, and an unknown number of laws, thirty-seven of which are preserved. But Lipit-Ishtar's claim to fame as the world's first lawgiver was short-lived. For the very next year, Taha Baqir, of the Iraq Museum, and Albrecht Goetze, of Yale, announced the discovery of an Akkadian law-collection which seemed to antedate the Lipit-Ishtar code by several decades. And in 1952, while studying the tablet collection of the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient, I copied a law-code promulgated by Ur-Nammu, the Sumerian king who founded the "Third Dynasty of Ur." According to the lowest chronological estimates, Ur-Nammu reigned about 2050 B.C., some three hundred years before Hammurabi.

The tablet on which the Ur-Nammu law code is inscribed is only about eight inches by four. It is divided into eight columns, four on each side. Each column contains about forty-five small ruled spaces; less than half of these are now legible. The obverse contains a long prologue, only partially intelligible because of numerous breaks. Briefly put, it runs as follows:

After the world had been created, and after the fate of the land Sumer and of the city Ur—the Biblical Ur of the Chaldees—had been decided, An and Enlil, the two leading deities of the Sumerian pantheon, appointed the moon-god Nanna as the king of Ur. Then one day, Ur-Nammu was selected by the god Nanna to rule over Sumer and Ur as his earthly representative. The new king's first acts had to do with the political and military safety of Ur and Sumer. In particular he found it necessary to do battle with the bordering city-state of Lagash which was expanding at Ur's expense. He defeated and put to death its ruler Namhani, and then "by the power of Nanna, the king of the city" he reestablished Ur's former boundaries.

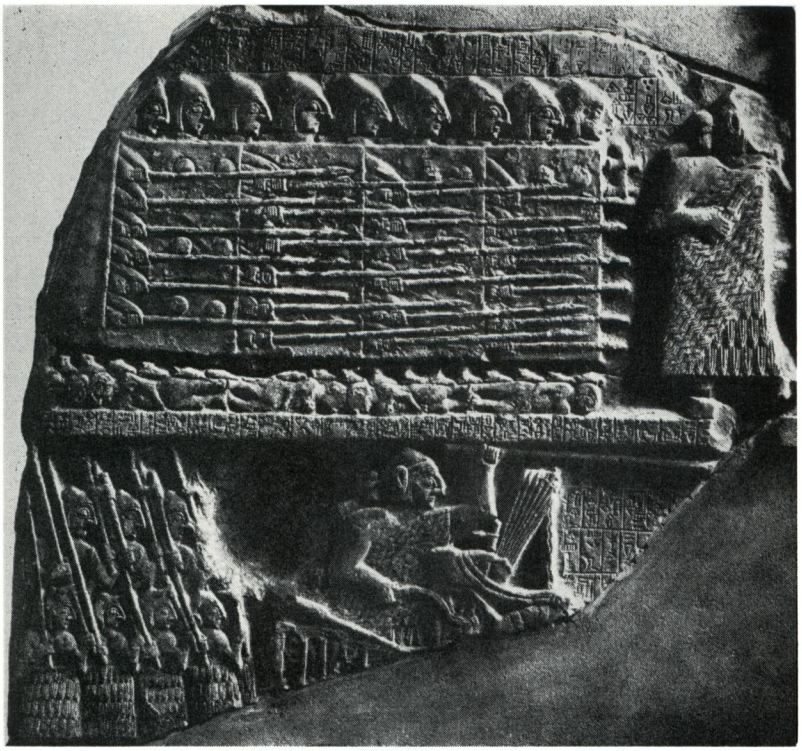
Now came the time to turn to internal affairs and to institute social and moral reforms. He removed the "chiselers" and the grafters, or as the code describes them, the "grabbers" of the citizens' oxen, sheep and donkeys. He established and regulated honest weights and measures. He saw to it that "the orphan did not fall a prey to the wealthy," "the widow did not fall a prey to the powerful," "the man of one shekel did not fall a prey to the man of one mina (sixty shekels)." The laws themselves probably began on the reverse of the tablet, but they are so badly damaged that only five can be restored with some certainty. One concerns a "witchcraft" trial settled by the water ordeal; another treats of the return of a slave to his master. But it is the other three laws which are of special importance for the history of man's social and spiritual growth. They show that even before 2000 B.C., the law of "eye for eye"

**Ur-Nanshe,** king of Lagash. This ruler, who lived some 150 years before Urukagina, founded the aggressive Lagash dynasty which in the course of time developed the first oppressive and deeply resented bureaucracy in man's recorded history. Ur-Nanshe is shown in this limestone plaque as a man of peace, surrounded by his children and courtiers; in the upper scene he is carrying an earth-filled basket for the initiation of building operations; in the lower, he is sitting and drinking at a feast celebrating their completion. (From *Découvertes en Chaldée* by Ernest de Sarzec and Leon Heuzey, plate 2 bis.)

and "tooth for tooth" had given way to the more humane approach in which a money fine was substituted as a punishment. Thus, if a man injures the foot of another man with a weapon, he pays ten shekels. If a man severs the . . . bone of another man with a weapon, he pays one silver mina. If a man cuts off the nose of another man with a *geshpu* instrument, he pays two-thirds of a mina.

How long will Ur-Nammu retain his crown as the world's first law-giver? Not for long, I fear. There are indications that there were law-givers in Sumer long before Ur-Nammu and sooner or later one of their codes will be excavated. Indeed we actually have a Sumerian document older by some three hundred years than the Ur-Nammu law tablet; though not a law code it records a sweeping social reform, including a rather enviable tax-reduction program. Inscribed on clay cones, it was excavated by the French almost seventy-five years ago in the ruins of Lagash, the very city-state which gave so much trouble to Ur-Nammu, according to the preamble of his law code. By and large, therefore, its contents have been known for many years. But as a result of recent Sumerological progress, this document can now be more adequately interpreted and evaluated.

The state of Lagash, early in the third millennium B.C., consisted of a small group of prosperous towns, each clustering about a temple. Its Sumerian-speaking citizens were largely farmers and cattle-breeders, boatmen and fishermen, merchants and craftsmen. Its economy was partly socialistic and state-controlled, partly capitalistic and free. In theory the soil belonged to the god of the city-state, and therefore to the temple which held it in divine trust for all the citizens. In practice the temple's main responsibility was to supervise the irrigation projects and water-works. Because of Lagash's hot, rainless climate, the man-made canals, irrigation ditches, and reservoirs were so essential to the life of the community that they had to be publicly administered. The temple also owned farmland which it rented out to the citizens. In practically all other respects the economy was relatively free. Riches and poverty, success and failure, were largely the result of private enterprise and individual drive. Private ownership was



**Stele of the Vultures:** War scenes depicting Eannatum, Ur-Nanshe's grandson, leading the Lagashites to battle and victory. Eannatum, who preceded Urukagina by more than a century, was the great conquering hero of the Lagash Dynasty, which came to an inglorious end when defeated by Lugalzaggisi of Umma. In between and all around the figures, wherever space permits, is inscribed the oldest historiographic document as yet known to man: an inscription recording Eannatum's victory over the Ummaites and the treaty of peace which he forced upon them. Full details of the stele and its inscription are to be found in Heuzey and Thureau-Dangin's *Restitution matérielle de la Stèle des Vautours.*

the rule, and even the poor owned property and cattle. The more enterprising artisans and craftsmen could sell their products in the free market. Traveling merchants carried on a thriving trade with the surrounding states. The citizens of Lagash were proud of their civil rights and conscious of their political obligations. They realized the value of freedom—their word for it was *amargi*—and cherished it as an essential part of their way of life.

But about 2500 B.C., new and power-hungry rulers came to the fore in Lagash. Smitten with grandiose ambitions, they resorted to imperialistic wars and bloody conquests. At first they met with success, and for a short while actually extended the sway of Lagash over Sumer as a whole, and even over several neighboring states. The initial victories proved ephemeral, however, and in less than a century Lagash was reduced to its earlier boundaries and former status. It was in the course of these useless wars and their tragic aftermath that the citizens of Lagash were deprived of their political freedom. For in order to raise armies the rulers found it necessary to infringe on the personal rights of the citizen and to tax his property to the limit. Under the impact of war, they met with little opposition. But when the emergency was over, the palace coterie was unwilling to relinquish domestic controls. These had proved highly profitable; indeed our ancient bureaucrats had devised sources of revenue and income, taxes and imposts, which in some ways might be the envy of their modern counterparts.

But let the hoary historian who lived in Lagash more than four thousand years ago tell it in his own words: The inspector of the boatmen seized the boats. The cattle inspector seized the large cattle, seized the small cattle. The fisheries inspector seized the fisheries. When a citizen of Lagash brought a sheep to the palace for shearing, he had to pay five shekels if the wool was white. If a man divorced his wife, the ruler (*ishakku,* in Sumerian) got five shekels, his vizier got one shekel. If a perfumer made an oil preparation, the *ishakku* got five shekels, the vizier one shekel, and the palace steward another shekel. As for the temple and its property, the *ishakku* took it over. To quote our narrator: "The oxen of the gods plowed the *ishakku's* onion

patches; the onion and cucumber patches of the *ishakku* were located in the gods' best fields." In addition, the more important temple officials were deprived of many donkeys and oxen, as well as of much grain.

Even death brought no relief from levies and taxes. When a man was brought to the cemetery for burial, officials and parasites were on hand to relieve the bereaved family of quantities of barley, bread, date-wine, and various furnishings. From one end of the land to the other, our reporter observes bitterly, "there were the tax collectors." No wonder that the palace waxed fat and prosperous. Its lands formed one vast, continuous and unbroken estate. In the words of our commentator, "The houses of the *ishakku* and the fields of the *ishakku,* the houses of the palace harem and the fields of the palace harem, the houses of the palace nursery and the fields of the palace nursery crowded each other side to side."

At this low point in the affairs of Lagash, our chronicler tells us, a new and god-fearing ruler came to the fore, Urukagina by name, who restored justice and freedom to the long-suffering citizens. He removed the inspector of the boatmen from the boats. He removed the cattle inspector from the cattle, large and small. He removed the fisheries inspector from the fisheries. He removed the collector of the silver which had to be paid for the shearing of the white sheep. When a man divorced his wife, neither the *ishakku* nor his vizier got anything. When a perfumer made an oil preparation, neither the *ishakku* nor the vizier nor the palace steward got anything. When a man was brought to the cemetery for burial, the officials received considerably less of the dead man's goods than formerly. Temple property was now highly respected. From one end of the land to the other, our on-the-scene reporter observes joyously, "there was no tax collector." He, Urukagina, "established the freedom of the citizens of Lagash."

How stable and enduring were these reforms? It would be pleasant to say that the Lagashites lived happily ever after. But Urukagina and his reforms were soon "gone with the wind." His reign lasted less than ten years, and he and his city were soon overwhelmed by the ruler of the neighboring state of Umma, a fellow-Sumerian by the name of Lugalzaggisi. Nor did Urukagina's cruel and seemingly unjust fate evoke complaints against Providence. According to the teaching of the Sumerian philosophers, the gods had their motives, though these were often inscrutable.

Which brings us to Sumerian wisdom, particularly the practical wisdom gleaned from their proverbs and sayings. These aphorisms and adages, though compiled and written down almost four thousand years ago, reveal character and personality basically like our own, and we have little difficulty in recognizing in them reflections of our own attitudes, weaknesses, confusions and dilemmas. (The majority of the proverbs here translated are inscribed on tablets dating from approximately the eighteenth century B.C. The remainder are on tablets dating from the first millennium B.C., but there is good reason to believe that they were first compiled a thousand years earlier.)

For example, we find the whiner complaining:

> When shares were allotted to all,
> Misfortune was allotted as my share.

There were the perpetual explainers who paraded their transparent excuses in spite of the clearest evidence to the contrary. Of them, the ancients said:

> Can one conceive without intercourse,
> Can one get fat without eating!

What the Sumerians thought of their misfits is shown in their saying:

> You are put in water, the water becomes foul,
> You are put in a garden, the fruit begins to rot.

As in our own times, confusion and hesitation in economic matters beset not a few; our ancients put it thus:

> We are doomed to die, let us spend;
> We will live long, let us save.

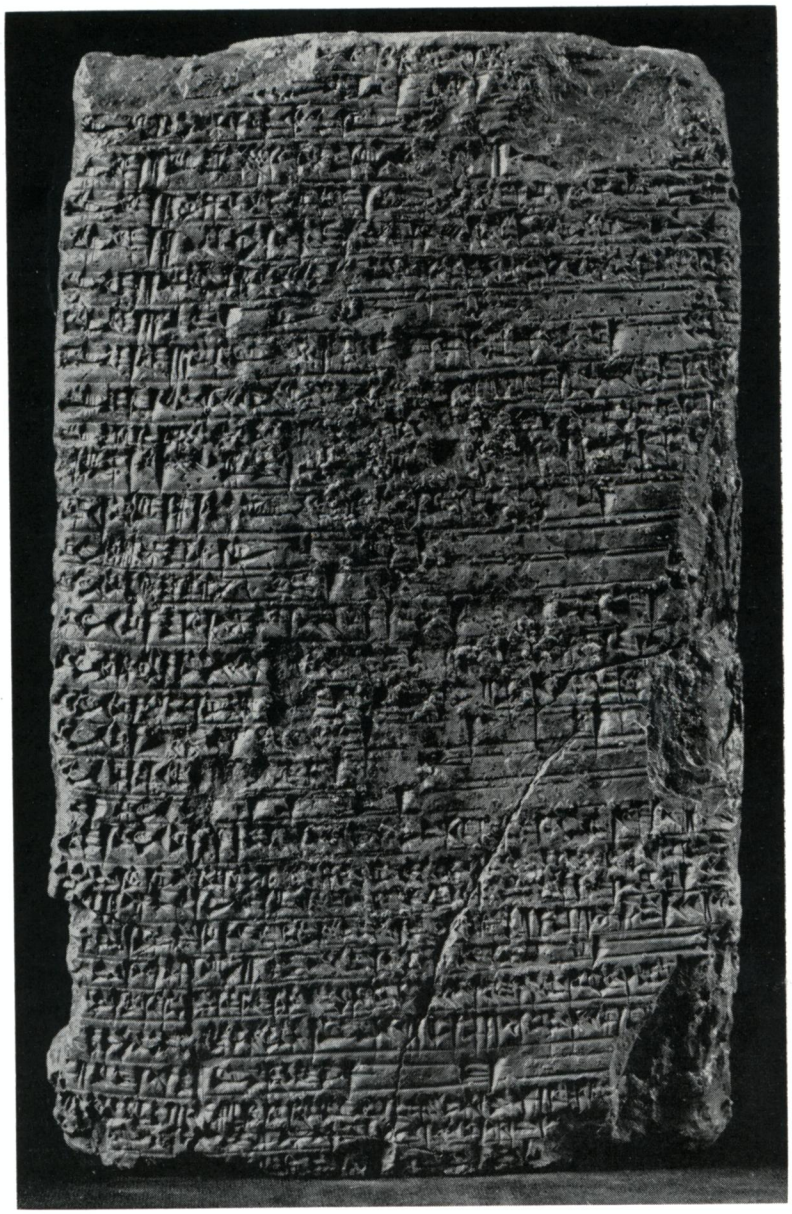
Or in another way:

> "The early barley will thrive,"—how do we know?
> "The late barley will thrive,"—how do we know?

Sumer had, of course, its perennial poor with their eternal troubles, and these are rather nicely summed up in the contrasting lines:

> The poor man is better dead than alive;
> If he has bread, he has no salt,
> If he has salt, he has no bread,
> If he has meat, he has no lamb,
> If he has a lamb, he has no meat.

Occasionally, the poor man realized he was a failure through no fault of his own but because he had tied up with the wrong associates, or, as he put it:



**A "proverb" tablet** excavated in the 1952-53 season of the excavations of the Joint Nippur Expedition, and here published for the first time. The tablet is 5 by 8 inches in size, and its obverse (shown here) contains twenty-nine proverbs; the reader can count them by noting the ruled lines which separate each proverb from the one preceding it. Sumerian men of letters tended to be quite systematic in arranging their "proverb" collections; the majority of the proverbs here photographed, for example, begins with the Sumerian word for "man" and "flesh."

I am a thoroughbred steed,
But I am hitched to a mule
And must draw a cart,
And carry reeds and stubble.

If, however, he was poor because of his own dull wits and lack of drive, he was described in these words:

The donkey drinks mud
Wheresoever it lies down.

Of the poor artisan who, ironically enough, could not afford to have the very things he made, the Sumerian said:

The valet always wears dirty clothes.

The so-called weaker sex is well represented among the Sumerian sayings, and not always to advantage. The "gold-digger" seems to have been unknown in Sumer, but it had its share of practical virgins. As one marriageable young lady, who has grown weary of waiting for the ideal match and decided to stop picking and choosing, said:

Who is well established, who is wind,
For whom shall I hold my love?

And there was, of course, the restless, discontented wife, who just did not know what was wrong with her. Even in those days, it seems, the doctor was her refuge; at least so we might gather from the saying:

A restless woman in the house
Adds ache to pain.

In spite of all this, the Sumerian preferred not to remain a bachelor, for as he put it:

Who has no wife, who has no child,
Has no joy in life.

As for the mother-in-law, she seems to have been far less difficult than her modern counterpart; at least, no Sumerian mother-in-law stories have as yet come to light. Her unenviable reputation seems to have fallen in ancient days upon the daughter-in-law. A Sumerian epigram, concerned with what is good and bad for a man, reads:

The desert canteen is a man's life,
The shoe is a man's eye,
The wife is a man's future,
The son is a man's refuge,
The daughter is a man's salvation,
The daughter-in-law is a man's devil.

Friendship was, of course, highly valued. But as with ourselves, "blood was thicker than water," or, as they put it:

Friendship lasts a day,
Kinship endures forever.

The need for diligence has, no doubt, been preached in all places and at all times. But even "Poor Richard" could hardly have put it better than the Sumerian:

Hand and hand, a man's house is built;
Stomach and stomach, a man's house is destroyed.

At least some Sumerians tried hard to "keep up with the Joneses." For them, this drastic warning was coined:

Who builds like a lord, lives like a slave;
Who builds like a slave, lives like a lord.

With respect to war and peace, our ancients found themselves in the same dilemma that confronts us. On the one hand, preparedness seems to be necessary for self-preservation, or, as they said:

The state weak in armaments—
The enemy will not be driven from its gates.

On the other hand, the futility of war and its "tit-for-tat" character were only too obvious:

You go and carry off the enemy's land;
The enemy comes and carries off your land.

But war or peace, the thing to do is to "keep your eye on the ball" and not be fooled by appearances, for as our Sumerian put it, in words not untimely:

You can have a lord, you can have a king,
But the man to fear is the tax collector!

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# SUMERIAN THEOLOGY AND ETHICS

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE SUMERIANS failed to develop a systematic philosophy in the accepted sense of the word. In particular it never occurred to them to raise any questions concerning the fundamental nature of reality and knowledge, and therefore they evolved practically nothing corresponding to the philosophical subdivisions commonly known as metaphysics and epistemology. They did, however, speculate on the nature and, more particularly, the origin of the universe, as well as on its method of operation. And there is good reason to infer that in the course of the third millennium B.C. there emerged a group of Sumerian thinkers and teachers who, in the course of their quest for satisfactory answers to some of the problems raised by their cosmic speculations, evolved a systematic cosmology and theology carrying such high intellectual conviction that they became the basic creed and dogma of much of the ancient Near East.

Unfortunately for us these cosmological ideas and theological speculations are nowhere explicitly formulated in philosophical terms and systematic statements. For our ancient Sumerian philosophers had failed to discover that all-important intellectual tool which we take more or less for granted: the scientific method of definition and generalization, without which our present day science would never have reached its acknowledged prominence. To take even so relatively simple a principle as cause and effect, while fully aware of the innumerable concrete examples of its operation, the Sumerian thinker never came upon the idea of formulating it as a general, all-pervading law. Almost all our information concerning Sumerian philosophy and theology, cosmology, and cosmogony, has to be ferreted out and pieced together from the Sumerian literary works, particularly their myths, epic tales, and hymns, and this is a complicated task which permits considerable difference of opinion.[1]

[1] Cf. especially my detailed review of Frankfort, Wilson, Jacobsen, and Irwin's

First, then, what were some of the "scientific" data at their disposal which underpinned their assumptions and led to the narrowing down of their philosophical speculations to theological certainties? In the eyes of the Sumerian teachers and sages, the major components of the universe in the more narrow sense of the word were heaven and earth; indeed their term for universe was *an-ki*,

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"Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man" (1946) in JCS (Journal of Cuneiform Studies), 2, pp. 39–70. This divergence of views results not so much from differences in translation and interpretation of the texts themselves, as from opposing psychological appraisals of the minds of the ancients. Because our primary source material for Sumerian philosophy and theology are myths rather than philosophic essays, scholars tended to confuse the metaphysician with the theologian, though by and large they are poles apart psychologically and temperamentally. The mythographers were scribes and poets whose main concern was the glorification and exaltation of the gods and their deeds. Unlike the philosophers they were not interested in discovering cosmological and theological truths; they accepted the current theological notions and practices without worrying about their origin and development. The aim of the myth makers was to compose a narrative poem in an effort to explain one or another of these notions and practices in a manner that would be appealing, inspiring, and entertaining. They were not concerned primarily with proofs and arguments directed to the intellect; their first interest was in telling a story that would appeal primarily to the emotions. Their main literary tools, therefore, were not logic and reason, but imagination and fantasy. In telling their story, these poets did not hesitate to invent motives and incidents patterned on human action which could not possibly have any basis in reasonable and speculative thought, nor did they hesitate to adopt legendary and folkloristic motifs that had nothing to do with rational cosmological inquiry and inference.

It was this failure to distinguish between the Sumerian mythographer and philosopher which confused some of the modern students of ancient Oriental thought and led them to both under- and overestimate the minds of the ancients. On the one hand, they argued, the ancients were mentally incapable of thinking logically and reflecting intelligently on cosmic problems. On the other hand they were blessed with an intellectually "unspoiled" mythopeic mind, which was somehow naturally profound and intuitive and which could therefore penetrate cosmic truths far more perceptively than the modern mind with its analytic and intellectual approach. Which, by and large, is just stuff and nonsense. The more mature and reflective Sumerian thinker had the inherent mental capacity of thinking logically and coherently on any problem, including those concerned with the origin and operation of the universe. His stumbling-block was the dearth of scientific data at his disposal. Moreover he lacked such fundamental intellectual tools as definitions and generalizations, and had practically no insight into the processes of growth and development, since the principle of evolution which seems so obvious now that it has been discovered, was entirely unknown to him. Just so, no doubt, in some future day, with the continued accumulation of new data and the discovery of hitherto undreamt of intellectual tools and perspectives, the limitations and shortcomings of the philosophers and scientists of our own day will become apparent. There is this significant difference, however: modern thinking man is usually prepared to admit the relative character of his conclusions and is sceptical of all absolute answers. Not so the Sumerian thinker; he was no doubt convinced that he had the truth "by the tail," and that he knew exactly how the universe was created and operated.

a compound word meaning "heaven-earth." The earth was a flat disk consisting of a vast hollow space enclosed top and bottom by a solid surface in the shape of a vault. Just what this heavenly solid was thought to be is still uncertain; to judge from the fact that the Sumerian term for tin is "metal of heaven," it may have been tin. Between heaven and earth they recognized a substance which they called *lil*, a word the approximate meaning of which is "wind, air, breath, spirit"; [2] its most significant characteristics seem to be movement and expansion, and it therefore corresponds roughly to our "atmosphere." The sun, moon, planets, and stars were taken to be made of the same stuff as the atmosphere, but endowed, in addition, with the quality of luminosity.[3] Surrounding the "heaven-earth" on all sides, as well as top and bottom was the boundless sea in which the universe somehow remained fixed and immovable.

From these basic facts concerning the structure of the universe, facts which seemed to the Sumerian thinkers obvious and indisputable, they evolved a cosmogony to fit. First, they concluded, was the primeval sea; the indications are that they looked upon the sea as a kind of "first cause" and "prime mover," and that they never asked themselves just what was prior to the sea in time and space. In this primeval sea was somehow engendered the universe, in the narrower sense of the word, the "heaven-earth," consisting of a vaulted heaven super-imposed over a flat earth and united with it. Between them, however, there came the moving and expanding "atmosphere" which separated heaven from earth. Out of this atmosphere were fashioned the luminous bodies, the moon, sun, planets, and stars. Following the separation of heaven and

[2] In short it has to a certain extent the semantic range of the Hebrew *ruach*.

[3] For the origin and nature of the luminous bodies, moon, sun, planet, and star, there is practically no direct evidence at all. But from the fact that as far back as our written sources go, the Sumerian considered the moon-god, known by the two names, Sin and Nanna, to be the son of the air-god Enlil, it is not unreasonable to infer that they thought of the moon as a bright, air-like body which was fashioned in some way from the atmosphere. And since the sun-god Utu, and the Venus-goddess Inanna are always referred to in the texts as children of the moon-god, the probability is that these two luminous bodies were conceived as having been created from the moon after the latter had been fashioned from the atmosphere. This is also true of the remaining planets as well as the stars, which are described poetically as "the big ones who walk about (the moon) like wild oxen," and "the little ones who are scattered about (the moon) like grain."

earth and the creation of the light-giving astral bodies, plant, animal, and human life came into existence.[4]

Who now created this universe and kept it operating day in, day out, year in, year out, throughout eternity? From as far back as our written records go, the Sumerian theologian assumed as axiomatic the existence of a pantheon consisting of a group of living beings, man-like in form but superhuman and immortal, who, though invisible to mortal eye, guide and control the cosmos in accordance with well-laid plans and duly prescribed laws.[5] Be it the great realms of heaven and earth, sea and air; be it the major astral bodies, sun, moon, and planet; be it such atmospheric forces as wind, storm, and tempest; and finally, to take the earth, such natural entities as river, mountain, and plain, or such cultural entities as city and state, dyke and ditch, field and farm, and even such implements as the pickax, brickmold, and plow — each was

[4] For fuller details cf. my SM (Sumerian Mythology), pp. 30–75 and JCS, 2, pp. 43–44.

[5] The Sumerian myths illustrate vividly the anthropomorphic character of the Sumerian gods: even the most powerful and most knowing among them were conceived as human in form, thought and deed. Like man they plan and act, eat and drink, marry and raise families, support large households and are addicted to human passions and weaknesses. By and large they prefer truth and justice to falsehood and oppression, but their motives are by no means clear, and man is often at a loss to understand them. They were thought to live on the "mountain of heaven and earth," "the place where the sun rose," at least presumably when their presence is not necessary in the particular cosmic entities over which they had charge. Just how they travelled is by no means certain from the available data; the sun-god in a chariot or, according to another version, by foot; the storm-god, on the clouds; other gods, by boat. But the Sumerian thinkers seem not to have troubled themselves too much with such "practical" and "realistic" problems. And so we are not informed just how the gods were supposed to arrive at their various temples and shrines in Sumer, and in what fashion they actually did perform such human activities as eating and drinking. The priests presumably saw of course only their statues, which they no doubt tended and handled with great care. But just how the stone, wooden and metal objects were to be conceived as having bone, muscle, and the breath of life — this kind of question never occurred to them. Nor did the Sumerian thinkers seem to be troubled by the inherent contradiction between immortality and anthropomorphism — although the gods were believed to be immortal, they nevertheless had to have their sustenance: could become sick to the point of death; fought, wounded, and killed, and presumably could themselves be wounded and killed. No doubt our Sumerian sages developed numerous theological notions in a futile attempt to resolve the inconsistencies and contradictions inherent in a polytheistic system of religion. But to judge from the available material they probably never wrote them down in systematic form and we will therefore never learn much about them. In any case it is hardly likely that they resolved many of the inconsistencies. What saved them from spiritual and intellectual frustration was no doubt the fact that many a question which, according to our way of thinking, should have troubled them, never came to their minds.

deemed to be under the charge of one or another anthropomorphic, but superhuman, being who guided its activities in accordance with established rules and regulations.[6]

How did this divine pantheon function? In the first place it seemed reasonable to the Sumerian thinker to assume that the deities constituting the pantheon were not all of the same importance or of equal rank. The god in charge of the pickax or brick-mold could hardly be expected to compare with the deity in charge of the sun. Nor could the deity in charge of dykes and ditches be expected to equal in rank the deity in charge of the earth as a whole. Then, too, on analogy with the political organization of the human state, it was natural to assume that at the head of the pantheon was a deity recognized by all the others as their king and ruler. The Sumerian pantheon was therefore conceived as functioning as an assembly with a king at its head, the most important groups in this assembly consisting of seven gods who "decree the fates" and of fifty deities known as "the great gods." But a more significant division set up by the Sumerian theologians within their pantheon is that between creative and non-creative deities, a notion arrived at as a result of their cosmological views. For according to these, the basic components of the cosmos are heaven and earth, sea and atmosphere; every other cosmic phenomenon could exist only within one or another of these realms. Hence it seemed reasonable to infer that the deities in control of heaven and earth, sea and air, were the creating gods and that one or another of these

[6] Behind this axiomatic assumption of the Sumerian theologian no doubt lay a logical if perhaps unformulated inference, since he could hardly have seen any of the human-like beings with his own eyes. Our theologian took his cue from human society as he knew it, and reasoned of course from the known to the unknown. He noted that lands and cities, palaces and temples, fields and farms, in short all imaginable institutions and enterprises are tended and supervised, guided and controlled by living human beings; without them lands and cities become desolate, temples and palaces crumble, fields and farms turn to desert and wilderness. Surely, therefore, the cosmos and all its manifold phenomena must also be tended and supervised, guided and controlled by living beings in human form. But the cosmos, being far larger than the sum total of human habitations, and its organization being far more complex, these living beings must obviously be far stronger and ever so much more effective than ordinary humans. Above all they must be immortal; otherwise the cosmos would turn to chaos upon their death and the world would come to an end, alternatives which for obvious reasons did not recommend themselves to the Sumerian metaphysician. It was each of these invisible, anthropomorphic, but at the same time superhuman and immortal beings which the Sumerian designated by his word *dingir* and which we translate by the word "god."

four deities created every other cosmic entity in accordance with plans originating with them. Consequently the heaven-god An, the air-god Enlil, the water-god Enki, and the earth-goddess Ninhursag were treated as the four leading deities of the Sumerian pantheon, and are frequently grouped together as a quartette of deities in a class by themselves.[7]

As for the creating technique attributed to these deities, our Sumerian philosophers developed a doctrine which became dogma throughout the Near East, the doctrine of the creative power of the divine word. All that the creating deity had to do, according to this doctrine, was to lay his plans, utter the word, and pronounce the name. Similarly the Sumerian theologians adduced what was for them a satisfying metaphysical inference to explain what keeps the cosmic entities and cultural phenomena, once created, operating continuously and harmoniously, without conflict and confusion; this is the concept designated by the Sumerian word *me*, the exact meaning of which is still uncertain. In general it would seem to denote a set of rules and regulations assigned to each cosmic entity and cultural phenomenon for the very purpose of keeping it operating forever in accordance with the plans laid down by the deities creating it.[8]

But to return to the gods. In the course of the third millennium, we find that there existed among the Sumerians, at least by name, hundreds of deities. We know the names of many of these, not merely from lists compiled in the schools but also from lists of

[7] Cf. especially Arno Poebel in his "Historical Texts" (Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, IV, part 1), p. 24 ff. and JCS, 2, pp. 47–48, note 16.

[8] In short, another superficial but evidently not altogether ineffective answer to the insoluble cosmological problems, which merely hid the fundamental difficulties from view with the help of largely meaningless words. In the case of the *me*'s governing man and his culture, we actually have considerable direct evidence of their supposed number and character. For fortunately for us, one of the ancient Sumerian poets, in the course of comparing or redacting one of his myths, found it desirable to actually list all these cultural *me*'s. He therefore divided civilization as he knew it into over one hundred elements. Unfortunately only some sixty-odd are at present intelligible, and even of these some are only bare words which because of lack of context give but a hint of their real significance. Nevertheless enough remains to show the character and import of this first recorded attempt at culture analysis resulting in a considerable list of what are now generally termed culture traits and complexes; as will be seen, these consist of various institutions, priestly offices, ritualistic paraphernalia, mental and emotional attitudes, as well as sundry beliefs and dogmas. Cf. for the present SM, pp. 64–68.

sacrifices on tablets which have been unearthed over the past century and others from such proper names as "X is a shepherd," "X has a great heart," "who is like X," "the servant of X," "the man of X," "the beloved of X," "X has given me," etc., etc., in which X represents the name of a deity. Many of these deities are secondary; that is, they are the wives and children and servants of the major deities, thought up for them on the human pattern. Others are perhaps names and epithets of well known deities which we cannot at present identify. But quite a large number of deities were actually worshipped throughout the year with sacrifices, adoration, and prayer. Of all these hundreds of deities, as already stated, the four most important were the heaven-god, An, the air-god, Enlil, the water-god, Enki, and the great mother-goddess, Ninhursag. They usually head the god-lists and are often listed as a group performing significant acts together; at divine meetings and banquets they take the seats of honor.

An, the heaven-god, there is good reason to believe, was at one time conceived by the Sumerians as the supreme ruler of the pantheon, although in our available sources reaching to about 2500 B.C. it is the air-god, Enlil, who seems to have taken his place as the leader of the pantheon. The city state in which An had his main seat of worship was called Uruk or, as it is vocalized in the Bible, Erech, a city which played a preëminent political rôle in the history of Sumer and where, not long before the Second World War, a German expedition uncovered hundreds of small clay tablets inscribed with semi-pictographic signs, which date from about 3000 B.C., not long after writing was first invented. An continued to be worshipped in Sumer throughout the millennia but he lost much of his prominence. He became a rather shadowy figure in the pantheon, and he is rarely mentioned in the hymns and in the mytho-epic tales of later days; by that time most of his powers had been conferred upon the god Enlil.[9]

By far the most important deity in the Sumerian pantheon, one who played a dominant rôle throughout in rite, myth, and prayer, was the air-god, Enlil. The events leading up to his general ac-

[9] For one such hymn, cf. e.g. Falkenstein, in Von Soden and Falkenstein's "Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete" (1953), pp. 102–109; for the myths and epic tales, cf. e.g. SM, pp. 82–83 and JAOS, 64, p. 15.

ceptance as a leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon are unknown. But from the earliest intelligible records, Enlil is known as "the father of the gods," "the king of heaven and earth," "the king of all the lands." Kings and rulers boast that it is Enlil who has given them the kingship of the land, who has made the land prosperous for them, who gave them all the lands to conquer by his strength. It is Enlil who pronounces the king's name and gives him his scepter, and looks upon him with favorable eye. From later myths and hymns we learn that Enlil was conceived as a most beneficent deity who was responsible for the planning and creating of most productive features of the cosmos. He was the god who "made the day come forth," who took pity on humans, who laid the plans which brought forth all seeds, plants, and trees from the earth. It was he who established plenty, abundance, and prosperity in the land, and who fashioned the pickax and the plow as the prototypes of the agricultural implements to be used by man.[10]

One of the most important hymns to Enlil and indeed one of the most remarkable of all Sumerian hymns is now being pieced together from a number of tablets and fragments by Thorkild Jacobsen and myself. Several years ago, while working in the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient, I was fortunate enough to identify the lower half of a four-column tablet whose upper half is in our Museum in Philadelphia, and had been published many years ago by the late Stephen Langdon.[11] And several years ago, the joint

[10] I stress the beneficent features of Enlil's character in order to correct a misconception which has found its way into practically all handbooks and encyclopedias treating Sumerian religion and culture, that Enlil was a violent and destructive storm deity whose word and deed practically always brought nothing but evil. As not infrequently happens, this misunderstanding is due largely to an archaeological accident. For it happened that among the earliest Sumerian compositions published, there were an unusually large proportion of lamentation type, in which of necessity Enlil had the unhappy duty of carrying out the destruction and misfortunes decreed by the gods for one reason or another. As a result he was stigmatized as a fierce and destructive deity by earlier scholars and he has never lived this down. Actually, when we analyze the hymns and myths, some of which have been published only in recent days, we find Enlil glorified as a most friendly fatherly deity who watches over the safety and well-being of all humans, and particularly of course over the inhabitants of Sumer. Cf. also JCS, 2, pp. 53–55.

[11] The Istanbul piece has now been copied by Hatice Kizilyay, one of the Turkish curators of the Tablet Collection of the Museum of the Ancient Orient, and published in vol. 16 of the "Belleten" of the Türk Tarih Kurumu, plates LXI and LXII. For further details concerning the text of this hymn, cf. ibid. pp. 358–359, and particularly note 12. For an additional Enlil hymn, cf. now Falkenstein, loc. cit., No. 11, but not 12; cf. my review in Bibliotheca Orientalis, 11, pp. 170–176.

expedition to Nippur under the auspices of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and the University Museum excavated another tablet inscribed with the hymn. The text is still somewhat incomplete and its translation is no simple matter. Here are some of the more intelligible passages of this 170 line hymn; it begins with a paean to Enlil himself, particularly as a god who punishes the evil-doers; continues with a glorification of his great temple in Nippur known as the Ekur; and closes with a poetic summary of civilization's debt to him.

Enlil, whose command is far reaching, whose word is holy,
The lord whose pronouncement is unchangeable, who forever decrees destinies,
Whose lifted eye scans the lands,
Whose lifted light searches the heart of all the lands,
Enlil, who sits broadly on the white dais, on the lofty dais,
Who perfects the decrees of power, lordship, and princeship,
The earth-gods bow down in fear before him,
The heaven-gods humble themselves before him. . . . .

The city (Nippur), its appearance is fearsome and awesome, . . . . ,
The unrighteous, evil, oppressor,
The . . . , the informer,
The arrogant, the agreement-violator —
He does not tolerate their evil in the city,
The great net . . . . ,
He does not let the wicked and evil-doer escape its meshes.
Nippur — the shrine where dwells the father, the "great mountain,"
The dais of plenty, the Ekur which rises . . . ,
The high mountain, the pure place . . . ,
Its prince, the "great mountain," Father Enlil,
Has established his seat on the dais of the Ekur, lofty shrine;
The temple — its decrees like heaven cannot be overturned,
Its pure rites, like the earth, cannot be shattered,
Its decrees are like the decrees of the abyss, none can look upon them,
Its "heart" like a distant shrine, unknown like heaven's zenith . . . . ,
Its words are prayers,
Its utterances are supplication. . . . ,
Its ritual is precious,
Its feasts flow with fat and milk, are rich with abundance,

Its storehouses bring happiness and rejoicing, . . . . ,
Enlil's house, it is a mountain of plenty. . . . .

The Ekur, the lapis-lazuli house, the lofty dwelling place, awe-inspiring,
Its awe and dread are next to heaven,
Its shadow is spread over all the lands,
Its loftiness reaches heaven's heart,
All the lords and princes conduct thither their holy gifts, offerings,
Utter there prayer, supplication, and petition.

Enlil, the shepherd upon whom you gaze (favorably),
Whom you have called and made high in the land, . . . . ,
Who prostrates the foreign lands wherever he steps forth,
Soothing libations from everywhere,
Sacrifices from heavy booty,
Has brought; in the storehouse,
In the lofty courtyards he has directed his offerings;
Enlil, the worthy shepherd, ever on the move,
Of the leading herdsman of all who have breath (the king),
Brought into being his princeship,
Placed the holy crown on his head . . . . .

Heaven — he is its princely one; earth — he is its great one,
The Anunnaki — he is their exalted god;
When, in his awesomeness, he decrees the fates,
No god dare look on him.
Only to his exalted vizier, the chamberlain Nusku,
The command, the word of his heart,
Did he make known, did he inform,
Did he commission to execute his all-embracing orders,
Did he entrust all the holy laws, all the holy decrees.

Without Enlil, the great mountain,
No cities would be built, no settlements founded,
No stalls would be built, no sheepfolds established,
No king would be raised, no high priest born,
No *mah*-priest, no high-priestess would be chosen by sheep-omen,
Workers would have neither controller nor supervisor, . . . . ,
The rivers — their flood-waters would not bring overflow,
The fish of the sea would lay no eggs in the canebrake,
The birds of heaven would not build nests on the wide earth,

In heaven the drifting clouds would not yield their moisture,
Plants and herbs, the glory of the plain, would fail to grow,
In field and meadow the rich grain would fail to flower,
The trees planted in the mountain-forest would not yield their fruit . . . . .

The third of the Sumerian leading deities is Enki, the god in charge of the abyss, or as the Sumerian word for it reads, the *abzu*. Enki is the god of wisdom par excellence; it is primarily Enki who organizes the earth, in accordance with the decisions of Enlil who only makes the general plans, as it were. The actual details and execution are left primarily to Enki, the resourceful, skilful, hardy and wise.[12]

Fourth among the creating deities is the mother-goddess Ninhursag, also known as Ninmah — "the exalted lady." In an earlier day this goddess was even of a higher rank and her name often precedes that of Enki in the various god-lists. There is reason to believe that her name had originally been Ki "earth," and that she was thus taken to be the consort of An "heaven," the couple that presumably were the parents of all the gods.[13] She was also known as Nintu, "the lady who gave birth"; all the early Sumerian rulers like to describe themselves as "nourished by the trustworthy milk of Ninhursag." In brief, Ninhursag was conceived as the mother of all living things, the mother-goddess par excellence.[14]

Turning from theology to ethics, it will not be surprising to find that, as in the case of philosophy, the Sumerian thinkers and sages evolved no explicit system of moral laws and principles, and produced no formal treatise on ethics. What is known about Sumerian ethics and morals must be ferreted out of the extant Sumerian writings, primarily hymns in this case, rather than myths, and such varied documents as votive inscriptions and law-codes. From all these we learn that the Sumerian thinkers, in line with their world-

[12] For additional details, cf. JCS, 2, p. 43, note 6, p. 47, note 16, and pp. 55–56. For the myths involving Enki, cf. SM passim, and especially "Enki and Sumer" (better "Enki and the World Order"), ibid., pp. 59–63. For an Enki hymn, cf. now Falkenstein, loc. cit., No. 22.

[13] Cf. especially JCS, 2, pp. 47–48, note 16.

[14] For two myths in which Ninhursag plays a dominant rôle, cf. "Enki and Ninhursag: A Sumerian 'Paradise' myth" in Supplementary Studies No. 1 of the Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, and "Creation of Man" in SM, pp. 68–72.

view, had no exaggerated confidence in man and his destiny. They were firmly convinced that man was fashioned of clay and created for one purpose only: to serve the gods by supplying them with food, drink and shelter, so that they might have full leisure for their divine activities. His life was beset with uncertainty and haunted by insecurity, since he did not know beforehand the destiny decreed for him by the unpredictable gods. When he dies, his emasculated spirit descends to the dark, dreary nether-world where life is but a dismal and wretched reflection of its earthly counterpart.

One fundamental moral problem, a high favorite with Western philosophers, never troubled the Sumerian thinkers at all, namely the delicate and rather slippery problem of free will. Convinced beyond all need for argument that man was created by the gods solely for their benefit and leisure, they accepted their dependent status just as they accepted the divine decision that death is man's lot and that only the gods are immortal. All credit for the high moral qualities and ethical virtues which the Sumerians had no doubt evolved gradually and painfully over the centuries from their social and cultural experiences, was attributed to the gods; it was the gods who planned it that way, and man was only following divine orders.

The Sumerians, according to their own records, cherished goodness and truth, law and order, justice and freedom, righteousness and straightforwardness, mercy and compassion, and naturally abhorred their opposites: evil and falsehood, lawlessness and disorder, injustice and oppression, sinfulness and perversity, cruelty and pitilessness. Kings and rulers in particular boast constantly of the fact that they have established law and order in the land, protected the weak from the strong, the poor from the rich, and wiped out evil and violence. In one unique and precious document, the Lagashite ruler, Urukagina, who lived before 2300 B.C., proudly records that he restored justice and freedom to the long-suffering citizens, did away with ubiquitous and oppressive officials, put a stop to injustice and exploitation, protected the widow and the orphan.[15] Less than four centuries later, Ur-Nammu, the

[15] Cf. now my "Sumerian Historiography" in Israel Exploration Journal, 3, pp. 227 ff.

founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, promulgated his law-code which lists in its prologue some of his ethical achievements: he did away with a number of prevalent bureaucratic abuses, regulated weights and measures to insure honesty in the market place, saw to it that the widow, the orphan, and the poor were protected from ill-treatment and abuse.[16] Some two centuries later Lipit-Ishtar of Isin promulgated a new law-code in which he boasts that he was especially selected by the great gods An and Enlil for "the princeship of the land in order to establish justice in the lands, to banish complaints, to turn back enmity and rebellion by force of arms, and to bring well-being to the Sumerians and Akkadians."[17] The hymns of quite a number of Sumerian rulers abound in similar claims of high ethical and moral conduct.[18]

The gods too according to the Sumerian sages preferred, of course, the ethical and moral to the unethical and immoral, and practically all the major deities of the Sumerian pantheon are extolled in their hymns as lovers of the good and the just, of truth and righteousness. Indeed, there were several deities who had the supervision of the moral order as their main function; the sun-god Utu, for example.[19] Another deity, a Lagashite goddess by the name of Nanshe, had also been sporadically mentioned in the texts as particularly devoted to truth, justice and mercy. But it is only now that we are beginning to get some adequate idea of the significant rôle played by this goddess in the sphere of man's ethical and moral conduct. At this moment a Sumerian hymn,[20] consisting of approximately 250 lines, is being pieced together by Jacobsen and myself from 19 tablets and fragments excavated in Nippur; it includes some of the most explicit and detailed ethical and moral statements as yet found formulated in the Sumerian documents. Thus the goddess is described as:

[16] Cf. "Ur-Nammu Law Code" in Orientalia, NS 23, pp. 40–51.

[17] Cf. now Ancient Near Eastern Texts (edited by James B. Pritchard), pp. 159–161.

[18] Cf., for the present, Falkenstein, loc. cit., Nos. 16–28.

[19] Cf. in particular the hymn published by Henri de Genouillac in Textes Religieux Sumériens, No. 79 (from the Kassite or even Neo-Babylonian, not "Isin" period), and Lutz, Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts (PBS I, part 2), No. 118 (obv. and rev. to be interchanged), and several unpublished duplicates in the University Museum.

[20] Cf., for the present, University Museum Bulletin, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 30–34.

Who knows the orphan, who knows the widow,
Knows the oppression of man over man, is the orphan's mother,
Nanshe, who cares for the widow,
Who seeks out (?) justice (?) for the poorest (?).
The queen brings the refugee to her lap,
Finds shelter for the weak.

In a passage the meaning of which is still largely obscure, she is pictured as judging mankind on New Year's day; by her side are Nidaba, the goddess of writing and accounts, and Nidaba's husband Haia, as well as numerous witnesses. The evil human types who suffer her displeasure are:

(People) who walking in transgression (?) reached out with high hand . . . . ,
Who transgress the established norms, violate contracts,
Who looked with favor on the places of evil, . . . . ,
Who substituted (?) a small weight for a large weight,
Who substituted (?) a small measure for a large measure, . . . . ,
Who having eaten (something not belonging to him) did not say "I have eaten it,"
Who having drunk, did not say "I have drunk it," . . . . ,
Who said "I would eat that which is forbidden,"
Who said "I would drink that which is forbidden."

Nanshe's social conscience is further revealed in lines which read:

To comfort the orphan, to make disappear the widow,
To set up a place of destruction for the mighty,
To turn (?) over (?) the mighty to the weak, . . . . ,
Nanshe searches the heart of the people.

Unfortunately, although the leading deities were assumed to be ethical and moral in their conduct, the fact remained that in accordance with the world-view of the Sumerians, these were the very gods who, in the process of establishing civilization, had also planned evil and falsehood, violence and oppression, in short, all the immoral and unethical mode of human conduct. Thus, for example, among the list of *me*'s, the rules and regulations devised by the gods to make the cosmos run smoothly and effectively, there are not only those which regulate "truth," "peace," "goodness," "justice," etc., but also those which govern "falsehood,"

"strife," "lamentation," "fear," etc. But then why did the gods find it necessary to plan and create sin and evil, suffering and misfortune altogether — so much so that one Sumerian pessimist could say: "Never has a sinless child been born to his mother"? To judge from our available material, the Sumerian sages, if they asked the question at all, were prepared to admit their ignorance in this respect: the will of the gods and their motives were at times inscrutable. The proper course for a Sumerian "Job" to pursue was not to argue and complain in the face of seemingly unjustifiable misfortune, but to plead and wail, and lament and confess his inevitable sins and failings.

But will the gods give heed to him, a lone and not very effective mortal even if he prostrates and humbles himself in heartfelt prayer? Probably not, it seemed to the Sumerian teachers — as they saw it, gods were like the mortal rulers the world over, and no doubt had more important things to attend to; and so, as in the case of kings, and kings of kings, man must have an intermediary to intercede on his behalf, one whom the gods would be willing to hear and favor. As a result the Sumerian thinkers contrived the notion of a personal god, a kind of good angel to each particular individual and family-head, his divine father who had begot him, as it were. It is to *him*, to his personal deity, that the individual sufferer bared his heart, wept bitter tears, and made his prayers. Just how this personal god was selected by a particular individual is uncertain, but we actually have the names of the personal gods of a number of Sumerian rulers from the second half of the third millennium B.C. Moreover, only recently, a Sumerian poetic essay [21] has been pieced together from five Nippur tablets and fragments which deals to some extent with the problem of human suffering, and which reveals the all important rôle played by the personal god in the life of the individual. The tablets, to judge from their script and other criteria, were actually inscribed, roughly speaking, about 1700 B.C., but the date of the original composition of the essay may have been considerably earlier, perhaps as early as the Third Dynasty of Ur, about 2000 B.C.

[21] Cf. "'Man and His God': A Sumerian Variation on the 'Job' Motif" in Vetus Testamentum, Supplements, Vol. III ("Festschrift" dedicated to H. H. Rowley), pp. 170–182.

The main thesis of our poet is that in cases of suffering and adversity, no matter how seemingly unjustified, the victim has but one valid and effective recourse, and that is to continually glorify his god and keep wailing and lamenting before him until he turns a favorable ear to his prayers. To prove his point our author does not resort to philosophical speculation and theological argumentation. Instead, with characteristic Sumerian practicality, he cites a case: Here is a man, unnamed to be sure, who had been wealthy, wise and righteous, or at least seemingly so, and blest with both friends and kin. One day sickness and suffering overwhelmed him. Did he defy the divine order and blaspheme? Not at all! He came humbly before his god with tears and lamentation, and poured out his heart in prayer and supplication. As a result his god was highly pleased and moved to compassion; he gave heed to his prayer, delivered him from his misfortunes, and turned his suffering to joy.

Structurally speaking, the poem seems to consist of four sections. First comes a brief introductory exhortation that man should praise and exalt his god and soothe him with lamentations. The poet then introduces the unnamed individual who, upon being smitten with sickness and misfortune, addresses his god with tears and prayers. There follows the sufferer's petition which constitutes the major part of the poem. It begins with a description of the ill-treatment accorded him by his fellow men — friend and foe alike; continues with a lament against his bitter fate, including a rhetorical request to his kin and to the professional singers to do likewise; and concludes with a confession of guilt and a direct plea for relief and deliverance. Finally comes the "happy ending," in which the poet informs us that the man's prayer did not go unheeded, and that his god accepted the entreaties and delivered him from his afflictions. All of this leads of course to a further glorification of his god.

To illustrate the mood and temper of the poem, here is a tentative translation of its more intelligible passages. Part of the sufferer's petition runs as follows:

"I am a man, a discerning one, (yet) who respects (?) me prospers (?) not,
My righteous word has been turned into a lie,

The man of deceit has covered me (with) the Southwind, I (am forced to) serve him,
Who respects (?) me not has shamed me before you.

You have doled out to me suffering ever anew,
I entered the house, heavy is the spirit,
I, the man, went out to the street, oppressed is the heart,
With me, the valiant (?), my righteous shepherd has become angry, has looked upon me inimically,
My herdsman has sought out evil forces against me who am not (his) enemy,
My companion says not a true word to me,
My friend gives the lie to my righteous word.

The man of deceit has conspired (?) against me,
(And) you, my god, do not thwart him,
You carry off my . . ,
The wicked has conspired (?) against me,
Angered you, stormed about, planned evil.

I, the wise, why am I bound to the ignorant youths?
I, the discerning, why am I counted among the ignorant?
Food is all about, (yet) my food is hunger,
On the day shares were allotted to all, my allotted share was suffering. . . . .

My god, [I would stand] before you,
Would speak to you, . . . . , my word is a groan,
I would tell you about it, would bemoan the bitterness of my path,
[Would bewail] the confusion of . . . . .

Lo, let not my mother who bore me cease my lament before you,
Let not my sister [utter] the happy song and chant,
Let her utter tearfully my misfortunes before you,
Let my wife voice mournfully (?) my suffering,
Let the expert singer bemoan my bitter fate.

My god, the day shines bright over the land, for me the day is black,
The bright day, the good day has . . like the . . ,
Tears, lament, anguish, and depression are lodged within me,
Suffering overwhelms me like one chosen for (nothing but) tears,
(Evil) fate [holds] me in its hand, carries off my breath of life,
Malignant sickness bath(es) my body, . . . . .

My god, you who are my father who begot me, [lift up (?)] my face,
Like (?) an innocent cow, in pity (?) . . . . the groan,
How long will you neglect me, leave me unprotected?
Like an ox, . . . . ,
(How long) will you leave me unguided?

They say — the valiant sages — a word righteous and straightforward:
'Never has a sinless child been born to its mother,
. . . . a sinless youth has not existed from of old.'

So much for the man's prayer and supplication; the "happy ending" follows and reads:

The man — his god harkened to his bitter tears and weeping,
The young man — his lamentation and wailing soothed the heart of his god.
The righteous words, the pure words uttered by him, his god accepted.
The words which the man prayerfully confessed,
Pleased (?) the . . . . , the flesh (?) of his god, (and) his god withdrew his hand from the evil word,
. . which oppresses the heart, . . . . he embraces,
The encompassing sickness-demon, which had spread wide its wings, he swept away,
The [disease] which had smitten him like a . . . , he dissipated,
The evil fate which had been decreed for him in accordance (?) with his sentence (?), he turned aside (?),
He turned the man's (?) suffering into joy,
Set by him the . . kindly . . spirit as a watch and guardian,
Gave him . . the genii of friendly mien.

/ LOVE, HATE, AND FEAR: Psychological Aspects of Sumerian Culture
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# LOVE, HATE, AND FEAR

## Psychological Aspects of Sumerian Culture

*by* SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER
*University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*

THE Sumerian word for "love" is *ki-ág*, a compound verb which seems to mean literally "to measure the earth", "to mete out a place"; just how this developed into the meaning "love" is uncertain.

As is true of all mankind, love among the Sumerians was an emotion which varied in character and intensity [1]. There was the passionate, sensuous love between the sexes, which usually culminated in marriage; the love between husband and wife, between parents and children; between the various members of the family; between friends and intimates. On a more exalted and sublimated level, there was the love between gods, kings, and people, as well as the love of the good, the right, and the just. We begin our sketch of "love in Sumer" with the natural, passionate love between "man and maid".

It is well known that marriage in ancient Sumer, and indeed in the ancient Near East in general, was usually a practical arrangement in which the carefully weighed shekel counted more than love's hot desire [2]. Nevertheless there is considerable evidence that there was no little "wooing and cooing" before marriage; much of it was no doubt surreptitious and all the sweeter for it. A very illuminating example is furnished by a hitherto unknown poem inscribed on a tablet in the Hilprecht Sammlung of the Friedrich-Schiller University in Jena, which might well be entitled "Love Finds a Way" or "Fooling Mother" [3]. The two main characters in the poem are Inanna, "Queen of Heaven", the Sumerian Venus, and Dumuzi her sweetheart and husband-to-be. The poem, which is designated by the ancient scribe himself as a *tigi* [4], that is, probably, as a song recited to the accompaniment of the harp or lyre, is divided into two stanzas. The first begins with a soliloquy by Inanna in which she relates that one day while she, Inanna, was innocently singing and dancing about in heaven, Dumuzi met her, took her hand, and embraced her; that she then begged him to let go of her, since she did not know how she could keep this clandestine love from her mother Ningal, wife of the moon god, Sin. Whereupon Dumuzi suggests that she deceive her mother by

1. It need hardly be stressed that the Sumerians left us no detailed essays or psychological treatises on their emotional behaviour. What is said here about the Sumerian attitudes to love, fear and hate, is inferred from the incidents and situations which constitute the plot-structure of some of their narratives and from statements scattered throughout their literature in general. Much of the evidence comes from myths which deal with gods rather than humans. Since, however, the Sumerian deities are almost entirely anthropomorphic in character, it is not unreasonable to assume that the emotional attitudes ascribed to them are a true reflection of their human counterparts. It is to be stressed that this paper does not aim at completeness and finality; it is only an initial and pioneer attempt to isolate and describe some of the psychological traits of Sumerian behaviour to be corrected, modified and expanded as the relevant source material grows in extent and clarity.

Finally I wish to thank Jane Kohn, a voluntary assistant in the University Museum, for considerable help in the collection of the relevant material.

2. For the most recent discussion of Sumerian marriage practices, cf. Adam Falkenstein's *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, Part I, p. 98 ff., based on his up-to-date translations of the *di-tilla* texts.

3. The tablet is *HS* 1486, cf. for the present *Wissenschaftliche Zeitchrift der Friedrich-Schiller Universität*, Jahrgang 5, p. 762 and *From the Tablets of Sumer*, 1956 [hence: *FTS*] p. 266. The tablet has been copied by Dr. Inez Bernhardt, the assistant curator of the Hilprecht Sammlung, and a detailed study of its contents will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society.

4. Cf. Falkenstein, *ZA* 49, pp. 85 and 101. I am inclined to the opinion that the *tigi* was a stringed instrument rather than a drum.

telling her that she whiled away the hours with a girl friend in the public square. And with this as a ready excuse they make love by the moonlight. The second stanza consists of an exulting monologue by Inanna — and no wonder — since it seems that after their night of pleasure, Dumuzi had agreed to marry her. The first part of the stanza is destroyed. Where the text picks up again, Inanna is making a joyful announcement that Dumuzi is about to speak to her mother; presumably to ask for her hand in mariage. The poem concludes, naturally enough, with Inanna's ecstatic eulogy of her husband-to-be and, as will be seen later, the future victim of her dire wrath [5]

5. Cf. the concluding portion of the extant text of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" in *JCS* 5, p. 14. Here is a tentative translation of the extant text of "Love Finds a Way":

Last night, as I the Queen was shining bright,
Last night, as I the Queen of Heaven was shining bright,
As I was shining bright, was dancing about,
As I was singing away, while (?) lighting up the cool (?) night,
He met me, he met me,
The lord Kuli-Anna met me,
The lord put his hand into my hand,
Ushumgal-Anna embraced me.
(but I said to him)
"Come (?) now (?), set me free, I must go home,
Kuli-Enlil, set me free, I must go home,
What can I say to deceive my mother?
What can I say to deceive my mother Ningal?"
(Dumuzi answers her:)
"I will tell you, I will tell you (what to say),
Inanna, most beautiful of women, I will tell you,
(Tell her) My girl friend, she took me with her to the public square,
There a player (?) entertained (?) us with dancing,
His chant, the sweet, he sang for us,
In sweet rejoicing he whiled away the time for us,
Thus deceitfully stand up to your mother,
While we by moonlight take our (?) fill (?) of joy (?)
I will prepare(?) for you a bed, pure, sweet, and noble,
The sweet day will bring you joyful fulfillment".

Following a rubric which probably refers to the strings of an accompanying musical instrument the second stanza of which the first ten lines or so are broken away, reads:

I (Inanna) have come to my mother's gate,
Walking in joy,
I have come to Ningal's gate
Walking in joy,
To my mother, he (Dumuzi) will say the word,
Will sprinkle cypress oil on the floor,
To my mother, Ningal, he will say the word,
Will sprinkle cypress oil on the floor,
He whose dwelling is fragrant,
Whose word brings joy.
My lord, of pure and seemly limbs,
Ama-Ushumgal-Anna, the son-in-law of Sin,
Lord Dumuzi, of pure and seemly limbs,
Ama-Ushumgal-Anna, the son-in-law of Sni,
My lord, sweet is your increase,
Tasty your plants and herbs in the plain,
Ama-Ushumgal-Anna, sweet is your increase,
Tasty your plants and herbs in the plain.

6. Cf. *SLTN* pp. 18—19. The remainder of the myth is fragmentary and seems to involve Inanna's journey to Dumuzi's city.

7. Cf. *TRS* 79, a translation of which will appear in the forthcoming *PAPS* study; cf. note 3).

While, according to this poem, Inanna and Dumuzi keep their love a secret and are even prepared to deceive Inanna's mother, there is another version of the affair, according to which Dumuzi woos his bride in the open, and with her mother's full approbation. According to this myth, Dumuzi, the shepherd, comes to Inanna's house and asks for admittance. At her mother's advice, she bathes and anoints herself, puts on her queenly robes, adorns herself with precious stones, and opens the door for Dumuzi. They embrace in joy and probably cohabit [6].

In still another version of the Dumuzi-Inanna courtship and marriage, it was her father, the moon-god Sin, whose permission seemed essential. According to this poem which consists of two stanzas, Inanna, after bedecking the various parts of her body with jewels of precious metals and stones, is met by Dumuzi in the *gipar* of the Eanna temple in Erech. She is eager to "bed" with him at once, but evidently finds it advisable to get her father's consent; in any case we find her sending a messenger to her father with the request that Dumuzi be allowed to dally with her [7].

While according to the three versions summarized above, Inanna's love for Dumuzi seems every bit as warm and passionate as that of Dumuzi for her — even more so in some respects, we get quite a different picture from another

Sumerian poem which belongs to the "disputation" genre of literary works[8]. According to this myth which is in the form of a playlet, Inanna actually loves the farmer Enkimdu, and not the shepherd Dumuzi [9]. In spite of the persuasive efforts of her brother, the sun-god Utu, Inanna first turns Dumuzi down "flat", and only changes her mind after a rather angry and aggressive speech by Dumuzi in which he emphasizes the superiority of his possessions over those of Enkimdu. In fact, Dumuzi is so upset by Inanna's preference that he tries to pick a fight with his rival, Enkimdu, and it is only after the latter appeases him with friendly words and promises that the two rivals become reconciled [10].

Nor were Dumuzi and Inanna the only deities whose marriage was preceded by a passionate love affair. Enlil, the leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon, Nippur's "young man", fell in love at first sight with Ninlil, Nippur's "young maid", when he saw her on the bank of Nippur's stream, Nunbirdu, after she had bathed in its "pure waters". When she turned down his ardent advances, he had his messenger Nusku bring up a boat, where he raped her and impregnated her with the seed of the moon-god Nanna [11]. For this violent act he was punished by the fifty great gods with banishment to the Nether World, but the faithful Ninlil followed him and had there three more children by him [12]. Somewhere along the line, the couple must have gotten married, for Ninlil is known throughout Sumerian literary documents as Enlil's worthy and respectable wife [13].

The Bedu-god Martu, on the other hand had no need to rape the lady of his choice, *Adnigkishar,* daughter of *Numushda,* the tutelary deity of the city Kazallu. When at a divine banquet in the city of *Aktab* Martu expressed his wish for her to become his wife, she joyfully agreed in spite of her friend who tried hard to dissuade her since Martu was known as one who:

Eats uncooked meat,
Has no house in his lifetime,
Is not buried when he dies [14].

Finally the important role which love and sex played before marriage, at least in some cases, may be inferred from the love songs purported to be sung by priestesses selected as brides for the king on the occasion of the *hieros gamos* celebrated on New Year's day. Two such songs have come down to us, and these ring out with passionate love and sexual ecstacy [15].

Thus there is reason to believe that not all marriages in Sumer were for practical advantages, and that at least in some instances they were motivated by love and desire. It is not surprising therefore to find a Sumerian proverb reading:

Marry a wife according to your choice!

8. Cf. *JCS* 2, pp. 60—68; *ANET* pp. 41—44; and *FTS* pp. 165—168.

9. Cf. also the poem translated by Van Dijk in his *La Sagesse Suméro-Accadienne,* p. 65 ff. where Inanna rejects Dumuzi who is Utu's choice, for Enkimdu, "the man of my heart". This poem, consisting of a dialogue between Inanna and her brother Utu is a text by itself, and is not to be taken as the first part of an assumed longer poem, the second part of which is the "Wooing of Inanna". As is now obvious there were quite a number of poems involving the marriage of Dumuzi and Inanna, each with its own version.

10. From the myth, then, we may infer that there were occasions when a marriageable girl was wooed by two or more rivals, who were prepared to fight for her hand, if necessary. This is quite in line with what is known about Sumerian motives and drives in general, cf. the writer's "Rivalry and Superiority" which is to appear in the forthcoming *Proceedings* of the Vth International Congress of the Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.

11. That rape and illicit sexual relations were not confined to the gods, but reflected well-known mortal misdeeds is shown by the proverb:

Can one conceive without intercourse,
Can one get fat without eating?

Cf. for the present *FTS* p. 154.

12. Cf. *FTS* p. 79 ff.

13. Cf. too line 156 of the Enlil hymn quoted in part in *FTS* p. 85 ff., cf. *PBS* X/4, pl. LXXXIX( rev. col. 2, line 5 = *SEM* 102 B, obv. 2.

14. Cf. *SEM* 58 rev. IV 27—9.

15. Cf. *FTS* p. 249 ff. There are a number of additional examples of passionate sex affairs in Sumerian literature, but these do not culminate in marriage, sacred or profane; thus in the poem "Enki and Ninhursag" (cf. FTS p. 169 ff.) Enki "embraced", "kissed" and "poured the seed into the womb" of several goddesses. In the poem "Inanna and Shukallituda: A Gardener's Mortal Sin" it is a mortal who rapes a goddess and brings down her vengeful ire upon all Sumer (cf. *FTS* p. 66 ff.).

Have a child as your heart desires![16]

To be sure, marriage was no light burden for the Sumerian, as is evident from the proverb:

Who has not supported a wife or child,
Has not borne a leash[17].

Moreover the Sumerian husband frequently found himself neglected, or as one of them puts it:

My wife is at the outdoor shrine,
My mother is down by the river,
And here am I starving of hunger.

Indeed, the Sumerian male at least at times regretted his marriage as can be seen from the saying:

For his pleasure: marriage;
On his thinking it over, divorce.

It would seem therefore that, whether there was love or not before marriage, once married, the couple settled down to humdrum, day-by-day existence, in which love receded more and more to the background. Even so, it is not altogether unknown, and such phrases as "beloved husband" and "beloved wife" are not infrequent in the Sumerian documents. Thus for example in the poem "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Nether World", we find Gilgamesh advising his loyal servant Enkidu who is about to descend to the Nether World to bring up Gilgamesh's *pukku* and *mikku*:

Kiss not your beloved wife,
Strike not your hated wife,
Kiss not your beloved son,
Strike not your hated son[18].

Or when King Ur-Nammu has died and gone to the Nether World, he finds no peace and sets up a long and bitter lament, in part because of his wife whom he could no longer press to his bosom, and his child whom he could no longer fondle on his knee[19]. The king is frequently designated as the "beloved husband" of Inanna. In the votive inscriptions, the husband not infrequently includes his wife and children, that is, he dedicates the object to the deity, not only for his life but also for that of his wife and children.

Which brings us to the family, the basic unit of Sumerian society. That the members of the family were knit closely together by love, respect, and familial obligations, is clear from the proverb:

The desert canteen is a man's life,
The shoe is a man's eye,
The wife is a man's future,
The son is a man's refuge,
The daughter is a man's salvation,
The daughter-in-law is a man's devil[20].

Or from a lamentation passage such as:

The storm which knows not the mother, the storm which knows not the father,
The storm which knows not the wife, the storm which knows not the child,
The storm which knows not the sister, the storm which knows not the brother,
The storm which knows not the male friend, the storm which knows not the female friend[21].

Or from this passage which describes the lamentable conditions which were to prevail in the city of Ur in accordance with a decision reached by the angry gods:

The mother will not care for her son,
The father will not cry out, "O my wife",
The concubine will not rejoice in the lap,
The children will not be fondled on their knees[22].

Similarly when the Sumerian "Job", afflicted with dire suffering and pain, beseeches his own personal god, his "guardian angel", the father who

16. Proverb 1.147 of Edmund Gordon's *Sumerian Proverbs* now in press. This is one of several works on Sumerian proverbs and "fables" now being prepared by Edmund Gordon, which will shed new light on Sumerian conduct and character.

17. For this and the following proverbs cf. for the present *FTS* pp. 156—7.

18. Cf. *FTS* pp. 224—5.

19. Cf. *FTS* pp. 182—3 and *BASOR* 94, p. 6, n. 11.

20. Cf. for the present *FTS* p. 157.

21. Cf. *ANET* p. 463 lines 400 ff. and *SAHG* (Falkenstein and Von Soden, *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*), p. 212, second line.

22. Cf. *BE* 31 No. 3, lines 12—15, and *SAHG* No. 37. Still unpublished are four well-preserved tablets excavated at Ur, inscribed with this lamentation over the destruction of Ur; these have been copied by C. J. Gadd, and will appear in a forthcoming volume on the Sumerian Literary Texts from Ur.

begot him, as it were, he calls on his family to stand by him with tears and lament:

Lo, let not my mother who bore me cease my lament before you,
Let not my sister utter the happy song and chant,
Let her utter tearfully my misfortunes before you,
Let my wife voice mournfully my suffering,
Let the expert singer bemoan my bitter fate [23].

Revealing, too, in this respect, is the more or less stereotyped description of the *gallê,* the underworld's inhuman, loveless, and cruel demons as beings who:

Take away the wife from the man's lap,
Take away the child from the nursemaid's breast.

Or, in fuller form:

Sate not with pleasure the wife's lap,
Kiss not the well-fed children,
Take away the man's son from his knee,
Carry off the daughter-in-law from the house of the father-in-law [24].

Turning from the family as a whole, to parent-child relationship, it is clear from the passages just quoted that it was normal for Sumerian parents to love and care for their children, and for children to love and heed their parents.

In the *edubba* essays dealing with the Sumerian schools and schoolmen, the relationship between father and son, in particular, is close, intimate, and full of understanding [25]. In the Sumerian myths admonition and advice by parents for the good and well-being of their children are common and stereotype [26]. The goddess Ninmah, the mother of the storm-god Ninurta, is filled with compassion for her son who has performed dangerous and heroic deeds, struggling with the monsters of the Kur. So much so that she was unable to rest and sleep until she had travelled to the Kur, in spite of the "fear and terror of the battle" raging all about [27]. Even animals are thought of as loving their children dearly. The love between cow and calf is proverbial throughout the literature [28]. The love of a bitch for its pups is admirably expressed in this succinct proverb:

Thus the bitch speaks with pride(?):
"Whether I have fawn-coloured ones or whether I have brindled ones, I love my young ones!" [29]

Even the monstrous Imdugud-bird and his wife raise a bitter cry when they approach their nest and find their young missing [30].

23. Cf. *FTS* p. 150.

24. Cf. *FTS* p. 192 for both quotations.

25. Cf. for the present *FTS* Chapters 1 and 2, and "A Scribe and his Perverse Son" in the *Journal of the National Probation and Parole Association,* vol. 3, pp. 169—173. This latter composition is quite revealing for both family and school life in Sumer; in fact it shows that "juvenile delinquency" is by no means a modern problem. Wayward, disobedient, and ungrateful children existed even in those early days; they roamed the streets and boulevards, loitered in the public squares, hated school and education, and made their parents sick to death with their everlasting gripes and complaints. The essay consists in a large part of a father's bitter upbraiding of his wayward son in which he accuses him of ingratitude and inhumanity, of the pursuit of materialistic success rather than humanistic endeavour. In spite of the father's deep disappointment, his paternal love comes to the fore, and he ends by blessing his son. Blessings of parents are also not uncommon in the mythological documents, cf., for example, Enlil's blessing of Enki and his temple at Eridu (*SM* p. 63), Enlil's blessing of Nanna and his city Ur (*SM* p. 63), Ninlil's blessing of Nanna in the *bal-bal-e* hymn (*SRT* no. 9, *TRS* no. 21).

26. Ninlil's mother instructs her how to attract Enlil (*FTS* p. 80); Martu's mother advises him on marriage (*SM.* p. 100); Shukallituda's father counsels him on how to escape Inanna's wrath (*FTS* p. 68 ff.). Note, too, that there was a composition consisting of instructions by Shuruppak to his son Ziusudra (cf. *BASOR* 122, p. 30).

27. Cf. *FTS* p. 199. The myth *lugal-e* is now being pieced together and translated by Dr. Eugen Bergmann of the Pontifical Biblical Institute.

28. Cf. e.g. *ANET* p. 457, line 103.

29. Cf. "Sumerian Proverbs and Fables: Collection V", by Edmund Gordon in a forthcoming number of *JCS.*

30. The passage reads:

The bird hallooed to its nest,
The young answered not from its nest,
Again the bird hallooed to its nest,
Its young answered not from its nest,
As often as the bird hallooed to its nest,
Its young answered not from its nest.
Now when the bird had hallooed out to its nest,
(And) its young had not answered from its nest,

Normally too, there must have been a close and warm relationship between brother and sister as well as between parents and children. The brother, especially, seemed to take the place of the father in some respects. Inanna, for example, turns to her brother Utu for help when her sacred tree in Erech is invaded by the snake, the Imdugud-bird, and the vicious Lilith [31]. When the time comes for Inanna to choose a husband, it is her brother Utu who tries to guide her choice and to persuade her, for her own good, to marry the shepherd Dumuzi rather than the farmer Enkimdu [32]. When the gardener Shukallituda tries to escape Inanna's wrath, he took his father's advice and "stayed close to his brothers' cities", and while the word "brothers" here refers to the "black-headed" people as a whole, the fact is that it was because they were looked upon as "brothers" that Shukallituda felt safe and secure [33]. Enmerkar, when besieged by the Martu in his city Erech, sends Lugalbanda to his "sister" Inanna in Aratta for help [34]. When Dumuzi is seized by the demons he pleads with Utu to transform him into a gazelle that he might "betake his soul" to his sister the goddess Geshtinanna who loves him dearly and tenderly [35]. When Enki falls sick and the mollified Ninhursag proceeds to heal him, she asks repeatedly and tenderly: "My brother, what hurts you?" [36]

To judge from the proverb "Friendship lasts a day, kinship endures forever" [37], love between friends was not as strong and lasting as that between blood relations. Nevertheless friendship and loyalty were highly prized in Sumer. The friendship between Gilgamesh and Enkidu was legendary and proverbial throughout the Ancient Near East [38]. Lugalbanda's friends are deeply concerned about the latter's contemplated journey to Aratta which involves the crossing of high mountains and the dreaded river of Kur [39]. When in the course of the march of the Erechites on Aratta, Lugalbanda becomes deathly ill on Mt. Hurrum, his grieving friends abandon him only after they have tried in every way to revive him and believe all hope gone — even so, they promise themselves to pick up his body and return it to Erech on their way back [40]. The Sumerian "Job's" anguish and bitterness is due no little to the fact that he finds himself betrayed by his friends and companions [41].

As for love divine, the love of god for man, it is to be borne in mind that theoretically at least the Sumerian theologians taught that man was created by the gods solely to serve and tend them, and that presumably, therefore, the god-man relationship corresponded to that of master-slave. But religious attitudes and practices rarely accord with theory and theology, and the love of god for man on the pattern of love between parents and children as well as between husband and wife is a not infrequent phenomenon in the Sumerian documents. To start with, there was the doctrine of the "personal" god, the "my god" of the worshipper, whom he thought of as his father or mother [42]. It was the love of Inanna for Erech and its people that prompted her to go to Eridu and carry off the *me*'s, the "divine laws" in the "Boat of Heaven", dangerous though this was [43]. In the lamentation literature, the gods again and again manifest their love and affection. Ningal, the wife of the moon-god, for example,

The bird set up a wail, it reached heaven
Its wife set up a cry of woe, it reached the abyss...

Cf. *SEM* No. 1 (and duplicates) col. ii, line 8 ff.

31. Cf. *FTS* p. 223.

32. Cf. *FTS* p. 164 ff.; also Van Dijk, *La Sagesse Suméro-Accadienne*, p. 65 ff.

33. Cf. *FTS* p. 70.

34. Cf. *OECT* pl. 6, Col. II, line 4 ff. (and duplicates).

35. Cf. for the present *JNES* 12, p. 188, and such Dumuzi compositions as *CT* XV, No. 19, 20, 28, and *RA* 19, p. 177 ff.

36. Cf. *FTS* p. 174. Revealing too are such proper names as *šeš-ki-ág-gá* "beloved brother" and *šeš-ki-ág-mu* "my beloved brother", cf. *PBS* XI, part 3 p. 236, nos. 1208—9.

37. Cf. *FTS* p. 157.

38. Cf. the relevant Gilgamesh tales treated in *FTS* p. 216 ff.

39. Cf. for the present *FTS* p. 235.

40. Cf. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller Universität*, Jahrgang 5, pp. 758—9.

41. Cf. *FTS* p. 149.

42. Cf. *FTS* p. 149 ff.

43. Cf. *FTS* p. 91 ff.; cf. also the Lugalzaggesi inscriptions (*SAK* p. 152 ff.) where Larsa is "the city beloved of Utu" and Umma is the "city beloved of Shara".

is depicted by the authors of "The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur" as begging, pleading, and weeping before An and Enlil not to destroy her city and its people [44]. According to a second Ur Lamentation it is Nanna himself who pleads with Enlil to spare his city and its people [45]. When the flood had been decreed Nintu weeps and Inanna sets up a lament for the people [46]. Even Enlil, aloof and awe-inspiring, was conceived as a beneficent, fatherly deity [47].

On occasion, individual mortals were treated with love, affection, and compassion by the gods. Both An and Enlil cherished the flood-hero Ziusudra, presented him with eternal life, and took him up to dwell among the gods in the "place where the sun rises" [48]. When Enmerkar was besieged in Erech by Martu he sent Lugalbanda with a plea for help to his "sister" Inanna in Aratta, which said in part:

If she (Inanna) loves the city (Erech) but hates me,
Why should she link the city with me?
If (on the other hand) she hates the city but loves me,
Why should she link me with the city? [49]

Lugalbanda, sick-to-death, abandoned and forsaken on Mt. Hurrum, raised his eyes to heaven and wept before the gods Utu, Inanna, and Sin, and in each case — even in the case of Inanna — the poet says that he wept before the deity "like his father who begot him" [50]. When Gilgamesh brought offerings to Utu and pleaded for his support as he is about to march off to the "Land of Living", the poet writes:

Utu accepted his tears as an offering,
Like a "man of mercy" he showed him mercy [51].

According to another poem Gilgamesh is "the prince beloved of An" [52]. Gudea, the man "whom Ningirsu loves", pleads with the goddess Gatumdug:

I have no mother, you are my mother,
I have no father, you are my father [53].

Shulgi is the beloved of Ninlil [54]. Shu-sin is "the beloved of Enlil whom Enlil has chosen as the beloved of his heart" [55]. Finally the king is known as the "beloved husband" of Inanna throughout the Sumerian documents from the time of Enmerkar down to post-Sumerian days [56], since he seems to have been mystically identified with Dumuzi [57], an early deified king of the city of Erech who according to the Sumerian mythographers had actually married Inanna, and at least according to one version had been handed over by her to the demons who carried him off to the Nether World [58].

Patriotism, love of country, and particularly love of the home city was a strongly moving force in Sumerian thought and action. Love of the city-state naturally came first in time, and was never althogether superseded by love of Sumer as a whole. The inhabitants of a city were known as its "sons" and considered a closely related, integrated unit. Normally they took pride in their city, god, and ruler, and were ever ready to take up arms on their behalf. The struggle between the city-states, which in a sense proved to be Sumer's undoing, was bitter and persistent; and they stubbornly refused to give up their independence [59].

44. Cf. *ANET* p. 458.
45. Cf. for the present page 2 of the Introduction to *STVC;* see also note 22.
46. Cf. *FTS* p. 179.
47. Cf. *FTS* p. 84 ff.
48. Cf. *FTS* p. 180 ff.
49. Cf. *OECT,* pl. 6 col. ii, lines 19—22 = *SEM* 1, col. V. lines 18—21.
50. Cf. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller Universität,* Jahrgang 5, pp. 758—9.
51. Cf. *FTS* p. 204.
52. Cf. *ANET* p. 46, line 36.
53. Cf. Gudea Cylinder A XVII 12 and III 6—7.
54. Cf. *SAHG* p. 115, line 10.
55. Cf. *UET* I p. 72, lines 1—5.
56. Cf. for the present *FTS* P. 234. For a much later ruler, cf. the Ishme-Dagan hymn *TRS* 9 (see also duplicates listed in *STVC* p. 5) lines 96 ff. which read:

Inanna, queen of heaven and earth
Has chosen me as her beloved husband...
Has gazed upon we with her "eye of life",
Has lifted her bright forehead towards me,
Has brought me to the fruitful bed.

57. Cf. especially the two Dumuzi liturgies *TRS* 8 and *VS* II No. 26 in which the dead rulers of the Ur III and Isin dynasties seem to be identified with Dumuzi.
58. Cf. *FTS* p. 192.
59. Cf. for example the struggle between Erech and

Just when Sumer began to think of itself as a political entity consisting of a land divided into numerous city-states is uncertain; it must have occurred some centuries before 2500 B.C. when the word *lugal* "king" came into vogue [60], since *lugal* was probably used primarily to designate the ruler of the land as a whole rather than of a single city-state. As the royal hymns show, it was the king's sacred, patriotic duty to defend the land from its enemies and bring security and well being to "the land", as Sumer was often designated. At least from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, the Sumerians, "the sons of Sumer" [61], are known as "the black-heads", and "brothers" [62]. The love of the people for their city and state makes itself manifest particularly in the bitter, heart-breaking lamentations in which the Sumerian poets bewail the destruction of both city and state [63].

Finally in the ethical field, the Sumerians, according to their own records, loved and cherished goodness and truth, law and order, justice and freedom, righteousness and straightforwardness, mercy and compassion, in short practically all of man's high moral virtues. Both kings and gods are extolled for their ethical deeds, and several gods have the supervision of the moral order as their main function [64].

Where there is love there is hate, and Sumer was no exception in this respect. The lines

Do not kiss your beloved wife,
Do not kiss your beloved son.

are followed imediately by the lines,

Do not strike your hated wife,
Do not strike your hated son [65].

Enmerkar contrasts love and hate with telling in his plea to Inanna cited above on page 72*. The god Hendursagga is a king who "loves justice" but "hates violence" [66]. Indeed, if I am not mistaken, hatred played a rather dominant role in Sumerian behaviour. As I tried to show in my article: "Rivalry and Superiority: Two Dominant Features of the Sumerian Culture-Pattern" [67], the Sumerian political, economic and educational institutions [68] were deeply coloured by aggressive competition, by a drive for prestige and preeminence, which inspired a high degree of hatred, scorn and contempt.

The gods, too, not infrequently displayed hatred and wrath. Enlil, himself, "with frowning forehead", puts "the people of Kish to death" and crushes "the houses of Erech into dust" [69]. Then because his Ekur in Nippur had been pillaged and defiled, Enlil, "the raging flood which had no rival", brought about the well-nigh total destruction of all Sumer by bringing down the barbarous Guti from their mountains. All four leading deities: An, Enlil, Enki, and Nintu, are implacable in their decision to destroy Ur and Sumer in the reign of Ibbi-Sin [70]. Ninhursag angrily pronounces a curse of death upon Enki who had eaten the eight plants which she had brought into being [71]. Ninurta angrily curses the stones who had acted inimically towards him in his struggle with the Asag demon [72]. Ereshkigal, the Queen of the Nether World "bit her thigh, was filled with wrath" when her chief gatekeeper

Kish (*ANET* p. 44 ff.), Lagash and Umma (*FTS* p. 32 ff.) and Erech and Aratta (*FTS* p. 14 ff.; note however, that Aratta was not situated in Sumer, although its inhabitants seem to have been Sumerian).

60. *Lugal,* as far as I know, is found first in the period of the Fara texts, around 2500 B. C.

61. Cf. *TRS* 14.

62. Cf. *FTS* p. 66 ff.

63. Cf. for the present pp. 32—35 of *SLTN,* and note 45 of this article.

64. Cf. *FTS* p. 97. According to the Nanshe hymn, there quoted in part, the god Hendur-sagga who is described as "the king who loves justice" and "hates violence", is especially commissioned by Nanshe to follow up man's deeds with praise or blame. Cf. too, "he loves justice", "he does not love evil" (cf. for example the Shulgi-hymn, *SAHG,* p. 24 ff.).

65. From the poem "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Nether World", (*FTS,* p. 222-ff.).

66. Cf. note 64.

67. To appear in the *Proceedings* of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.

68. In connection with the Sumerian school, cf. Cyril Gadd's monograph *Teachers and Students in the Oldest Schools,* and especially the Girishag and Enkimansi dispute p. 30 ff.

69. Cf. for the present *FTS* p. 267.

70. Cf. for the present, *SAHG* p. 189 ff. and note 22.

71. Cf. *FTS* p. 169 ff.

72. Cf. for the present *SM* p. 82 and note 27.

Neti announces the arrival of her sister Inanna at the "palace of the nether world" [73].

But the great hater in Sumerian mythology, as might have been anticipated, is also the great lover: the cruel, ambitious, aggressive, but evidently not unattractive Inanna. When "Dumuzi put on a noble robe" and "sat high on his seat" instead of grovelling before his wife Inanna who had just ascended from the Nether World, she becomes enraged and turns him over to the seven Nether World demons who had accompanied her. As the poet puts it:

> She fastened the eye upon him, the eye of death,
> Spoke the word against him, the word of wrath,
> Uttered the cry against him, the cry of guilt [74].

When the gardener Shukallituda took advantage of the weary Inanna and raped her, she was so enraged that she sent three destructive plagues against Sumer in a vain effort to locate her abuser [75]. When Gilgamesh rejects Inanna's love proposals, she sends down the vicious Bull of Heaven to ravage Gilgamesh's city Erech [76]. Even in the hymnal literature she is depicted at times as a goddess of bitter wrath and dire destruction [77].

Fear, like hatred, tended to colour deeply and darkly the Sumerian way of life. From birth to death the Sumerian had cause at times to fear his parents [78], his teachers [79], his "friends" and fellow citizens [80], his superiors and rulers [81], the foreign enemy [82], the violence of nature [83], wild animals [84], vicious monsters and demons [85], sickness and diseases [86], death and oblivion [87]. No wonder then that the most significant features of man's golden age, according to the Sumerian thinkers, was freedom from fear, or as the poet puts it:

> Once upon a time, there was no snake, there was no scorpion,
> There was no hyena, there was no lion,
> There was no wild dog, no wolf,
> There was no fear, no terror,
> Man had no rival [88].

73. Cf. *FTS* pp. 188 and 189.
74. Cf. now *FTS* p. 183 ff.
75. Cf. for the present, *FTS* p. 66 ff.
76. Cf. for the present *FTS* p. 217.
77. So especially the Ninmesharra (Ninmedugga) hymn recited by the *en* Enheduanna, cf. for the present *SLTN* 64, and the comment in the introduction on pp. 22—23.
78. Cf. for example Gudea Cylinder A XIII line 3, *SAHG* p. 150 which indicates that it took a special day of celebration for the mother not to upbraid her daughter.
79. Cf. *Schooldays, FTS* p. 10 ff.
80. Cf. for example, *FTS* p. 149.
81. Cf. e.g. *FTS* p. 41 ff.
82. Cf. especially the numerous lamentations, note 63.
83. Cf. especially the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur". (*ANET* p. 456 ff.).
84. Cf. especially *FTS* p. 259.
85. Cf. *FTS* p. 196 ff.
86. Cf. *FTS* p. 148 ff.
87. Cf. especially the relevant Gilgamesh poems in chapter 21 of *FTS*.
88. Cf. *FTS* p. 259.

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# DEATH AND NETHER WORLD ACCORDING TO THE SUMERIAN LITERARY TEXTS

*By* SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

FROM the point of view of Sumerian cultural behaviour, the royal tombs excavated at Ur with such care and skill by Sir Leonard Woolley, were of epoch-making significance; they indicate with reasonable certainty that customarily the early rulers of Sumer were accompanied to the grave not only by some of their most precious personal possessions, but by a considerable human retinue as well.[1] Needless to say, immediately upon this rather startling discovery the cuneiformists, and particularly the Sumerologists, began searching the documents for inscriptional verification of one sort or another, but without success. Moreover, in the past two decades, quite a number of Sumerian myths, epic tales, hymns, lamentations, and " historiographic " documents have become available,[2] and it seemed not unreasonable to hope that one or another of these might shed light on the Sumerian burial customs relating to the royal tombs. But this hope, too, failed to materialise to any significant extent, which is not too surprising in view of the fact that the royal tombs date from about 2500 B.C., while the majority of our available literary documents were probably first composed about 2000 B.C. However, a number of the Sumerian literary works are concerned in one way or another with death and the Nether World, and the invitation to participate in the Woolley *Festschrift* offered an opportune moment to sift, collect, analyse and present the Sumerian ideas about death and " immortality," in honour of the archaeologist who has done so much to make the long dead Sumerians " immortal."

As of today, the only Sumerian literary document which seems to confirm the archaeological evidence that the ancient rulers were accompanied to their graves by a human retinue is UM 29-16-86, a text published and treated in *B.A.S.O.R.* 99, p. 3ff. It is a small tablet inscribed with the last 42 lines of a Gilgameš epic tale, probably the one tentatively entitled " The Death of Gilgameš," of which only fragmentary remains are available at present.[3] This text states in poetic phraseology that Gilgameš presented gifts and offerings to the various deities of the Nether World and to the important dead dwelling there, such as the *maḫḫu, entu,* and *pašišu*, for all who " lay with him " in his " purified palace " in Erech: his wife, son, concubine, musician, entertainer, chief valet, and household attendants. As suggested in the above-mentioned publication, it is not unreasonable to assume that the poet pictured these gifts as presented by Gilgameš after he and his retinue had died and descended to the Nether World. If this interpretation should turn out to be

correct, we would here have literary corroboration for the multiple-burial type of royal tomb uncovered by Woolley, especially since, as we now know from the *Tummal* composition, Gilgameš was a contemporary of Mesannepadda, and therefore belongs roughly to the period represented by the tombs.

Another document which sheds no little light on the funerary practices relating to the royal dead is the six-column tablet CBS 4560 inscribed with a unique Ur-Nammu composition belonging to a literary genre as yet unclassifiable.[4] The first column, which is broken away entirely, may have contained a poetic description of Ur-Nammu's outstanding achievements in war and peace, and of the unfortunate incidents leading to his death. The available text which begins with the second column seems to relate how Ur-Nammu, " who had been abandoned on the battlefield like a crushed vessel " was lying on his bier in his palace, mourned (probably) by his family and kin and by the people of Ur. We next find him in the Nether World—just as in the case of Gilgameš—presenting gifts to its " seven gods," slaughtering oxen and sheep to the important dead, and presenting weapons, leather bags, vessels, garments, ornaments, jewels, and other paraphernalia to Nergal, Gilgameš, Ereškigal(?), Dumuzi, Namtar, Ḫušbišag, and Ningišzida—each in his own palace; he also presents gifts to Dimpimekug and to the " scribe of the Nether World." Just how Ur-Nammu got to the Nether World with all these rich gifts and offerings is not stated by our poet, unless it should turn out that the " chariots " mentioned in the very obscure lines immediately preceding the " Nether World passage " were utilized for this purpose.[5] In any case, Ur-Nammu finally arrives at the spot which (probably) the priests of the Nether World have assigned to him. Here certain of the dead are turned over to him, perhaps to be his attendants, and Gilgameš " his beloved brother " explains to him the rules and regulations of the Nether World. But, our poem continues, " after seven days, ten days had passed," " the wail of Sumer " reaches Ur-Nammu. The walls of Ur which he had left unfinished, his newly built palace which he had left unpurified(?), his wife whom he could no longer turn on his lap, his son whom he could no longer fondle(?) on his knee—all these brought tears to his eyes, and he sets up a long and bitter lament. The burden of his outcry seems to be that although he had served well the gods, they failed to stand by him in time of need; now he is dead and his wife and friends and supporters are sated with tears and lamentation. The conclusion of the composition is altogether unknown since the last column is completely destroyed.

As can be seen from the preceding tentative sketch of its contents, it is difficult to classify the literary genre to which the poem belongs; it may be a kind of " historiographic " composition, similar in some respects to the " Curse of Agade,"[6] in which a Sumerian poet gave vent to his feelings at the sad state of affairs existing in Sumer immediately after the death of Ur-Nammu. In any case, the document sheds considerable light on the " life " of the dead in the world below as pictured by the Sumerian intellectuals. We find once

again the gods which had to be placated, as well as the important dead priests. The newly arrived deceased had a special place assigned to him, and was instructed in the laws of the Nether World, at least if he was a king. Though " dead " the deceased could in some unexplained manner be in sympathetic contact with the world above, could suffer anguish and humiliation, and cry out against the undependable gods. But unlike " The Death of Gilgameš " poem, no mention is made of a human retinue attending the king to the Nether World, indeed, the wife and children are actually described as living in the world above.[7] It would, therefore, seem safe to conclude that by the time of Ur-Nammu at least, it was no longer customary to have the king accompanied to his grave by any of his family or attendants.

Turning from royalty to more ordinary mortals, there will be published in the near future an hitherto unknown document from the Pushkin Museum in Moscow which is of no little significance for the funerary practices of the Sumerians and their mental image of " life " in the Nether World.[8] This is a tablet which contains two compositions of unequal size separated by a ruled line. The first and longer of the two consists of 112 lines of text, while the second has only 66 lines. Both of the compositions consist in large part of funeral dirges uttered by a single individual, named Ludingirra. In the first, Ludingirra laments the death of his father Nanna who, if I have understood the relevant passage correctly, had died from wounds received in some kind of physical struggle. In the second dirge, the same Ludingirra bewails the death of his good and beloved wife, Nawirtum by name, who seems to have died a natural death.

In both compositions, the dirges are preceded by prologues which serve to set the scene, as it were. The prologue to the first dirge consists of 20 lines, and is therefore relatively brief compared to the rest of the composition. The prologue to the second dirge, however, consists of 47 lines and is about two-and-a-half times as long as the remainder of the poem. Stylistically, both compositions make use of highly poetic diction characterised by various types of repetition, parallelism, choral refrains, similes and metaphors. The deeds and virtues of the deceased, as well as the grief and suffering of those left behind, are sung in inflated and grandiloquent phrases, a stylistic feature characteristic of funeral songs and orations the world over and at all times.

The prologue to the first composition begins with a relatively prosaic two-line statement which seems to say that a son, who had gone away to a distant land, was called back to Nippur where his father lay mortally sick. There follow six lines, each of which describes the father with some highly flattering phrases and ends with the refrain " (he) had become ill." These are followed by a passage depicting the intensity of the father's illness and suffering, and his eventual death (lines 9–15). News of the catastrophe reaches the son " on a distant journey "; whereupon, we may assume, he returns to Nippur and, overcome with grief, he writes the lament which follows (lines 16–20).

The dirge itself begins by depicting the desperate grief of the deceased's wife, who was presumably Ludingirra's mother (lines 21–32); of an unnamed lukur-priestess of the god Ninurta (lines 33–39); of an unnamed entum-priestess of the god Nusku (lines 40–46); and of the deceased's sons and their brides (lines 47–62). Following what seems to be a brief prayer for Nanna's welfare (63–69), the dirge continues with a description of the mourning for the deceased by his daughters, by the elders and the " matrons " of Nippur, and by his slaves (lines 70–75). Here, rather surprisingly, there seems to be interposed a one-line prayer involving the eldest son of the deceased (line 76). Following which comes a passage containing a number of curses against Nanna's murderer and the latter's offspring (lines 77–84). The dirge concludes with a series of prayers: for the welfare of the deceased in the Nether World (lines 85–98); for his favourable treatment at the hands of his personal god and the god of his city (lines 99–103); and for the well-being of his wife, children, and kin (lines 104–112).

In the second elegy it is the prologue to the dirge which, as mentioned earlier, takes up the greater part of the poem. It begins with the announcement of Nawirtum's death in a series of parallel-phrased similes and metaphors (lines 113–121), and continues with a description of the ensuing grief on the part of the inhabitants of Nippur (lines 122–131). Following two very obscure passages (lines 132–138 and lines 139–150), the first of which seems to describe the interruption of important religious rites in Nippur as a result of Nawirtum's death, the latter's husband Ludingirra comes on the scene to utter his mournful lament (lines 151–159). The dirge itself may be divided into two parts: a bitter lament for Ludingirra's bereavement, consisting of a succession of parallel clauses, each followed by an identical refrain (lines 160–168); and a series of prayers for the deceased, and for her husband, children, and household (lines 169–178).

So much for the contents of the two dirges. For the purposes of the present study, it is the closing passage in the first dirge (lines 87–112) which is of importance. Line by line it reads:

87. O Nannâ, may your spirit (?) be pleased, may your heart be at rest,
88. Utu, the great lord (?), of Hades,
89. After turning the dark places to light, will judge your case (favourably),
90. May Nanna decree your fate (favourably) on the " Day of Sleep,"
91. [May] Nergal, the Enlil of the Nether World, . . . before (?) it (?),
92. May the bread-eating heroes (?) utter your name, . . . food,
93. [May] the . . . of the Nether World . . . pity . . . ,
94. May (?) the . . .-drinkers [satisfy(?)] your thirst with (?) its (?) fresh water,
95. [May(?)] . . . . ,
96. In strength [may(?)] Gilgameš . . your (?) heart (?),

97. [May] Nedu and Etana [be] your allies,
98. The gods of the Nether World will [utter(?)] prayers for you,
99. May your (personal) god say ' Enough!' May he [decree (?)] (favourably) your fate,
100. May the god of your city . . for you a . . heart,
101. May he [annul] for you (your) promises (?) (and) debts,
102. May he [erase] the guilt of the house(hold) [from] the accounts(?),
103. [May he bring to nought] the evil planned against you . . . ,
104. May those you leave behind be happy, [may] . . . . ,
105. May the . . . . take(?) . . . . ,
106. May the (good) spirits (and) genii [protect(?)] your . . . . ,
107. May the children you begot be written (?) down(?) for leadership(?)],
108. May (all) your daughters marry,
109. May your wife stay well, may your kin multiply,
110. May prosperity (and) well-being(?) envelop (them) day in day out,
111. In your . . . may beer, wine, (and all) good things never cease,
112. May the invocation(?) of (your(?)) house(hold) be forever the invocation(?) of your (personal) god!"

While, as not unexpected, a good part of the text is fragmentary and obscure, we learn quite a number of hitherto unknown details about the " Sumerian Nether World." Thus we hear for the first time that the Sumerian thinkers held the view that the sun after setting continues its journey through the Nether World at night, turning its night into day, as it were;[9] and that the moon spends its " day of rest," that is the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth day of each month, in the Nether World. We learn too, that there was a judgment of the dead by the sun-god Utu,[10] and that the moon-god Nanna, too, " decreed the fate " of the dead. In the Nether World are to be found " bread-eating heroes(?) " and " . .-drinkers " who satisfy the thirst of the dead with fresh (sic.) water. We learn too that the gods of the Nether World can be called upon to utter prayers for the dead; that the personal god of the deceased and his " city "-god were invoked in his behalf, and that the welfare of the family of the deceased was by no means overlooked in the funerary prayers.

The Sumerian document which provides the most detailed information about the Nether World and the " life " going on within its confines is the poem " Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Nether World."[11] According to this composition which characterises the Nether World euphemistically as the " Great Dwelling," there was presumably an opening[12] of some sort in Erech leading down to the world of the dead, through which such wooden objects as the *pukku* and the *mikku* could fall, and into which a hand and foot could be placed. Also there was a gate in Erech in front of which one could sit down, and through which

a mortal—at least if he was a hero like Enkidu—might descend to the Nether World, although just how this descent takes place is not made clear. There were certain tabus, however, which, according to the author of the poem, any one descending to the Nether World must beware of violating: he must not wear clean clothes, anoint himself with " good " oil, carry a weapon or staff, wear sandals, make a noise, or behave normally towards the members of his family;[13] if he breaks any of those tabus he will be surrounded by the " stewards " and by the shades inhabiting the lower regions, and will be held fast by " the outcry of the Nether World."[14] Once seized by this " outcry " it is impossible for a mortal to reascend to the earth, unless one or another of the gods intervenes on his behalf. In the case of Enkidu, it was Enki who came to his rescue—he had Utu open the a b - l à l of the Nether World, and Enkidu reascended to the earth, seemingly " in the flesh " rather than as a ghost.[15] There follows, according to the poem, a heart-breaking colloquy between Gilgameš and Enkidu in which the latter is purported to describe the state of the dead, or rather of a few selected categories of the dead. *A priori* we might have expected this passage to be most revealing, especially for the judgment and treatment of the dead. Actually it tells us disappointingly little; the types of dead selected for mention are not particularly significant, and the sufferings and torments which they are presumed to undergo seem to be no more than superficial reflections of the wishes, hopes, and frustrations of the living.[16]

Turning from mortals, ordinary and extraordinary, to the " immortal " gods, the Nether World would seem to be the last place to look for their " undying " presence. Nevertheless we find quite a number of deities[17] there, and while some—Namtar, Dimpikug, Neti, for example—seem to " belong " there from the beginning, as it were, others were originally sky-gods " condemned " to the Nether World by the Sumerian mythographers as a result of theological speculation and storied invention. As of today, however, only a few of the relevant myths have been recovered, and except for one, these all concern the ambitious Inanna and her unfortunate spouse Dumuzi. The one exception is the myth " Enlil and Ninlil: Birth of the Moon-God "[18] which tells how Enlil himself, the most powerful of the Sumerian gods and the chief of the Sumerian pantheon, was banished to the Nether World[19] and followed thither by his wife Ninlil.[20] This myth is also significant as the sole source for the Sumerian belief that there was a " man-devouring " river which had to be crossed by the dead, as well as a boatman who ferried them across to their destination, a belief prevalent throughout the ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean World.[21]

A highly revealing myth relating to death and the Nether World is " Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," which is now available almost in its entirety.[22] To judge from this poem, the Nether World is a place to which one descends and from which one ascends—presumably through an opening or a gate situated in Erech, although this is nowhere explicitly stated. In the Nether

World there is a palace described as a " lapis-lazuli mountain," whose locked and bolted gates are guarded by gatekeepers under the supervision of Neti, their chief. The Nether World is governed by divine regulations and rules, among which one of the most important seems to be that its denizens must be stark naked. Another rule, one that proved fatal to Dumuzi, was that no one once in the Nether World, not even a deity, could reascend to the world above, unless a substitute had been found to take its place.[23] Thus, for example, it was to make sure that Inanna, who had been revived through the clever efforts of Enki, would provide a suitable scapegoat to take her place, that the seven *gallê* stuck by her side, until she turned over Dumuzi to them as her surrogate.[24]

To summarize: the Sumerian ideas relating to death and Nether World, judging from the available literary material, were neither clear, precise or consistent. In general the Nether World was believed to be the huge cosmic space below the earth corresponding roughly to heaven, the huge cosmic space above the earth. The dead, or at least the souls of the dead[25] descended into it presumably from the grave, but there also seemed to be special openings and gates in Erech, as well as no doubt in all the important city centres. There was a river which the dead had to cross by ferry, but it is nowhere stated where it was situated in relation to the earth or the Nether World. There was a palace with seven gates where Ereškigal held court, but it is uncertain where it was supposed to be located. The Nether World was ruled by Ereškigal and Nergal who had a special entourage of deities, including seven Anunnaki, and numerous unfortunate sky-gods, as well as a number of constable-like officials known as *gallê*. All these, except the *gallê*, seemed to need food, clothing, weapons, vessels of various sorts, jewels, etc., just like the gods in the sky or mortals on earth. The dead seemed to be arranged in a hierarchy, just like the living, and no doubt the best " seats " were assigned to the dead kings, and high priestly officials who had to be taken care of with special sacrifices by such deceased as Gilgameš and Ur-Nammu. There were all kinds of rules and regulations in the Nether World, and it was the deified Gilgameš[26] who saw to it that the denizens of the Nether World conducted themselves properly. Although in general one has the feeling that the Nether World was dark and dreary this would seem to be true only of " daytime "; at " night " the sun brought light to it, and on the last day of the month it was even joined by the moon. The deceased were not treated all alike; there was a judgement of the dead by Utu and to a certain extent even by Nanna, and if the judgement was favourable, presumably the dead man's soul would live in happiness and contentment, and have all its " heart desires." Be that as it may, all the indications are that the Sumerians loved life and clung to it with a dogged tenacity. On the numerous votive objects which they dedicated to the gods, the Sumerians state frankly and openly that they do so for their own life and/or for the life of those dear to them. The royal hymnal prayers practically all contain special pleas for long life. The vain and pathetic quest

for eternal life was a favourite theme of the Sumerian bard and inspired the most exalted literary work of the Ancient Near East, the Epic of Gilgameš. All of which is hardly compatible with rosy hopes of a blissful life in the Nether World, even if only for the good and deserving. By and large, the Sumerians were dominated by the conviction that in death the emasculated spirit descended to a dark and dreary beyond where " life " at best was but a dismal, wretched reflection of life in earth.

p. 59. [1] The early Sumerians must have believed therefore that their rulers would continue to live in the world beyond more or less as they lived on earth. It is hardly likely, however, that they thought this matter through very carefully or consistently. What was uppermost in the minds of those who planned and attended the elaborate and costly funeral arrangements—the king and his top officials, no doubt—was the ardent resolve to see to it that their beloved king, leader, and friend take with him to his grave all these personal goods, servants, and attendants which he had treasured most during his life-time. In short, as will be corroborated by the literary evidence discussed in this paper, we learn more about the living than the dead from the Sumerian funerary practices and beliefs.

p. 59. [2] For details see my *Sumerian Literature: A General Survey* prepared for the forthcoming Albright *Festschrift*.

p. 59. [3] For details see *Gilgameš: Some New Sumerian Data*, in *Cahiers du Groupe François-Thureau-Dangin-1*, pp. 59–68. The paper begins with an analysis of the newly available text of the first part of the Tummal document, which indicates that Gilgameš was a younger contemporary of Mesannepadda, and continues with a revised sketch of the contents of the epic tales " Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Nether World," " Gilgameš and the Land of the Living " (two versions), and " The Death of Gilgameš."

p. 60. [4] Published in *P.B.S.* X[2], 6, pl. xvii–xxiv; *cf.* now G. Castellino's edition of the text in *Z.A.* LVII, 1–57, which presents a fairly adequate translation under the circumstances, except for the attempted restorations of the lacunae which are more than questionable and at times seriously misleading.

p. 60. [5] *Cf.* col. ii, 33–4.

p. 60. [6] *Cf.* for the present S. N. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer* (= *H.B.S.*), 228–32.

p. 61. [7] *Cf.* col. iii, 24–5 and 39–40.

p. 61. [8] The identification and study of the contents of this tablet came about in the course of a two months visit to the U.S.S.R. in the fall of 1957, as a guest of its Academy of Science. Almost half of my Soviet stay was spent in Moscow, and primarily in the Pushkin Museum, which has a cuneiform collection consisting of about 2,000 pieces. In the course of a cursory examination of this collection, made with the kind permission of the Pushkin Museum authorities, I noted a fairly well preserved four-column tablet inscribed with a Sumerian literary text, catalogued G.1 2b 1725. On closer study, this text was seen to consist of two separate poems, each containing a funeral dirge as its outstanding feature. Since the funeral song or elegy is a literary genre not hitherto found among the numerous extant Sumerian literary compositions, I was naturally eager to make a careful study of this Pushkin Museum tablet, in order to publish an edition of its contents, consisting of a transliteration, translation and commentary. With the generous co-operation of the Pushkin Museum authorities, I therefore devoted a good part of my three-weeks' stay in Moscow to the preparation of a careful transcription of the Sumerian text. As for a full scholarly edition, I soon realized that this would take several months of concentrated effort, and would therefore have to be prepared at leisure in Philadelphia. The Pushkin Museum put at my disposal an excellent set of photographs of the tablet, and after a prolonged study of the text based on the transcription made in Moscow and on the photographs prepared by the Pushkin Museum, I prepared a small monograph which is to be published by the Soviet Academy of Science.

p. 63. [9] S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (= *S.M.*), 41–2 are therefore to be corrected accordingly.

p. 63. [10] To be sure, it was evident from the poem " Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Nether World," that the dead were not all treated alike in the world below, and this may well justify the inference that there was a judgment of the dead. But the Pushkin Museum tablet is the first to my knowledge, which states this explicitly. Note, too, that according to this document, it is Utu who judges the deceased in the Nether World. It is true that, according to the Ur-Nammu document discussed above it is Gilgameš who seems to act as a judge in the Nether World (*cf.* col. iii, 16–7), but this probably refers to possible quarrels and " lawsuits " between the denizens of the lower regions, on the analogy of the role of a judge in the world above. Note, too, that there were also " seven judges " of the Nether World known as the Anunnaki (*cf.* " Inanna's Descent," line 163, *J.C.S.*, V, 8), but these probably limited their judgment to unusual cases—involving deities. Utu's judgment of the dead, however, no doubt had to do with the deeds and misdeeds of the newly deceased and the punishment or reward which they merited, which seems to imply that the Nether World was not all wretchedly hellish (*cf.* above note 6).

p. 63. [11] *Cf.* for the present *H.B.S.*, 195–9, and the comments in the paper mentioned in note 3 above. For the Semitic counterpart of the second half of the tablet, *cf.* Heidel, *The Gilgameš Epic*, 94–102, and Speiser, *A.N.E.T.*, 96–9.

p. 63. [12] This hole is hardly the *ab-làl* (*cf.* for a variant rendering of this term, Jacobsen, *J.C.S.*, XII, 187, note 78), through which Enkidu ascended to the earth, since the latter had to be first opened by Utu before it could be entered.

p. 64. [13] In his selection of these particular acts as tabus, our author is hardly attempting to be literal or exhaustive. Rather, he is expressing poetically and impressionistically the fundamental idea that anyone wishing to descend unharmed to the Nether World must act like the dead rather than the living, otherwise he will arouse the ire and envy of the departed spirits, and be prevented from returning to earth.

p. 64. [14] Just what is meant by "the outcry of the Nether World" which is further described as an outcry for the mother of Ninazu (that is, presumably for Ninlil who according to the myth "Enlil and Ninlil: Birth of the Moon-god," followed Enlil to the Nether World and gave birth to Ninazu on the way) is far from clear. Note, too, that further on in the poem, when Gilgameš pleads with Enlil and Enki to bring up his servant to the earth, he says that it is the Nether World which seized him, not "the outcry" of the Nether World.

p. 64. [15] The Sumerian text reads š u b u r - a - n i k u r - t a m u - n i - $e_{11}$ - d è, "His (that is Gilgameš's) servant ascended out of the Nether World"; note however, that ordinarily Enkidu is described as the a r a d not š u b u r of Gilgameš.

p. 64. [16] *Cf. H.B.S.*, 199, and Heidel, *The Gilgameš Epic*, 99–101. The passage containing Gilgameš's questions about the fathers who have from one to seven sons, can now be restored almost entirely; tentatively translated the answers are as follows: (He who has one son) "weeps bitterly by the (clay) nails which had been built into his walls"; (he who has two sons) "sits on two bricks and eats bread"; (he who has three sons) "drinks water out of the water-skin of the young man" (*cf.* perhaps the lines 110 and 115—repeated in lines 120 and 125— of the myth "Inanna and Bilulu", *J.N.E.S.*, XII, 176); (he who has four sons) "rejoices like him who yokes four asses"; (he who has five sons) "like a kindly scribe he is open-handed (literally "his arm has been opened"), he brings justice into the palace"; (he who has six sons) "his heart rejoices like him who yokes a plow"; (he who has seven sons) "as a companion of the gods he sits on a throne (and) listens to the music of the pipes." Note especially, that here in the Nether World, our poet talks of "rejoicing, bringing justice into the palace, sitting in a throne and listening to music. It may be, however, that the poet is simply transferring his ideas of a "happy" father blessed with numerous sons on earth to the Nether World, without noting the inconsistency and bitter irony of his transposition.

p. 64. [17] *Cf. Z.A.*, 18–9 and *B.A.S.O.R.*, 94, 8. Note, too, that according to the last named text, Enki who is said to be in the Nether World is described as one of Enlil's fathers, a genealogical speculation which is still an enigma.

p. 64. [18] *Cf.* for the present *S.M.*, 43–7, and *H.B.S.*, 84–5.

p. 64. [19] To judge from the Sumerian literary documents as a whole, however, Enlil continued as the active leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon without interruption, and it is difficult to reconcile his banishment to the Nether World with this fact, at least for the present. However, Ninurta and Nergal are sometimes given the epithet "avenger of Enlil" (*cf.* e.g. Falkenstein, *Z.A.*, XLIX, 132–3) and this too points to the existence of myths according to which Enlil had gotten into serious difficulties, in spite of the fact that he was king of the gods.

p. 64. [20] For the possibility that Ninlil is the deity referred in "Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Nether World" as the goddess who was lying naked and mourned in the Nether World, *cf. H.B.S.*, 198, and note 14 above.

p. 64. [21] The word "descend" is not used in this myth, only such words as "come," "follow," "enter," but this is probably without special significance.

p. 64. [22] *Cf.* last *J.C.S.*, V, 1–17. Since, the publication of this edition of the myth there has become available a number of additional tablets and fragments belonging to it (three from the Nippur collections of Istanbul and Jena—for the latter, *cf. Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller Universität Jena*, V, 162, no. 48—four Ur pieces copied by C. J. Gadd who generously permitted me to study their contents; one piece, B.M.17427, published by Figulla in *C.T.*, XLII, pl. 3). As a result we now have a fairly good idea of the contents of the hitherto largely destroyed passage, lines 222–64, as well as of the missing passage following line 359 (the lines 375–84, however, are still unplaceable). The content of the first mentioned passage may be tentatively sketched as follows: the k u r g a r r û and the k a l a t u r r u are instructed by Enki to descend to the Nether World where Ereškigal, "the birth-giving mother" lies sick "because of her children," and where naked and uncovered she keeps moaning "woe my inside" and "woe my outside"; they are to repeat sympathetically her cry and add: "from my 'inside' to your 'inside', from my 'outside' to your 'outside'"; they will then be offered water of the river and grain of the field as a gift, but they must not accept them; instead they are to say "give us the corpse hanging from the nail", and proceed to sprinkle upon it the "food of life" and the "water of life" which he (Enki) had entrusted to them, and thus revive Inanna. The k u r g a r r û and the k a l a t u r r u do exactly as bidden (*cf.* B.M. 17427, rev. 2) and Inanna revives and reascends to the earth above.

The contents of the passage following line 359 may be tentatively sketched as follows: Utu grants

Dumuzi's prayer and changes him into a snake. Thus metamorphosed, Dumuzi carries his soul (his z i) to the house of Geštinanna. But the *gallê* do not give up their pursuit. They follow him to Geštinanna's house and torture her to tell them Dumuzi's whereabouts, but to no avail. They then proceed to Geštinanna's " holy stall " and sure enough, there they find Dumuzi. They tie him up hands and arms, and though the text breaks off at this point, we may surmise from the myth " The Death of Dumuzi " (see note 24) that they carry him off to the Nether World.

p. 65. [23] Note, however, that to judge from " Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Nether World," Enkidu seems to have left the Nether World without producing a substitute to take his place.

p. 65. [24] The death of Dumuzi following pursuit and capture by the *gallê* was a favourite theme of the Sumerian mythographers. In addition to " Inanna's Descent to the Nether World " where it takes up much of the second half of the poem, it forms the basic plot of at least two other compositions. The first is a work long known, but still unintelligible in large part, because much of it is written in the Emesal dialect; my sketch of its contents in *J.C.S.*, IV, 207, note 50, should now to be modified to read as follows: The actual story begins with the statement that " in those days " the seven *gallê* entered the " holy stall " one after another and, as a result the stall is turned desolate (lines 28–41). The *gallê* then arouse the sleeping Dumuzi, telling him that they have come for him and he must arise and accompany them; that his flocks have been carried off, that he is to take off his crown, royal robe, sceptre, and sandals, and follow them (lines 42–53). Dumuzi thus is forced to leave his stall, never to return (lines 54–5). The passage (lines 56–67) is still obscure; line 61 probably states Dumuzi's determination to ask Utu for help, while line 67 indicates that his purpose is to escape from the *gallê*. In any case, according to lines 68–77, Dumuzi prays to Utu to turn him into a gazelle and Utu grants his request. There follows a consultation among the outwitted *gallê*, who are determined to continue their pursuit (lines 78–93). Dumuzi then seems to go to his mother Turtur and his wife Inanna, perhaps with a plea for help (lines 94–9). The composition closes with a passage (lines 100–109) whose meaning is still obscure, although the translation of the individual lines is relatively assured.

The second composition concerned with the theme of Dumuzi's capture by the *gallê* and his ensuing death, is a poem first discussed by Thorkild Jacobsen in J.C.S., XII, 165–7 (for the dream-passage in the composition, *cf.* Jacobsen's translation in Oppenheim, *Dreams and their Interpretation*, 246); since then I have identified 21 additional pieces (the majority are very small fragments) belonging to the poem, and as a result almost the entire text of approximately 240 lines can now be restored. As expected, however, the translation is far more difficult than the reconstruction of the Sumerian text, and the following condensed résumé of its contents is to be taken as a preliminary effort. The poignant and melancholy mood of the poem is established at the outset by its introductory first 14 lines, in which the poet tells us that Dumuzi saddened by the intuition of his imminent death, goes forth into the *edin* and cries out to it to set up a lament among the crabs and frogs, while his mother too is to " utter the word ". He then lies down in the *ul* and dreams a terrifying dream. Upon awakening he has his sister Geštinanna brought before him and she interprets the dream as betokening his death and the desolation of his stall. When she further informs him that it is the *gallê* who will bring about his death, he hides among the plants, large and small, and in the ditches of *arali*. But to no avail; the *gallê* catch up with him, tie up his hands and arms, and are all set to drag him down to the Nether World. Whereupon Dumuzi prays to Utu to turn him into a gazelle so that he can escape the *gallê* and carry off his soul to some (unknown) place described in one text as š u - m à ( ? ) - NAM$^{m}$ u š e n - a - m u g ( ? ) - a - ḫ u - u n and in a variant text as š u - b i-RI- l á - a -ŠÈ-RI- a -RI- e ( ? ) -BUR(?). Utu grants his request and Dumuzi carries off his soul to the place he had chosen. But the *gallê* follow in hot pursuit and again catch up with him and put fetters on his hands and arms. Whereupon Dumuzi again addresses himself to Utu pleading with him to turn him into a gazelle so that he might carry off his soul, this time to the house of u m m a - $^{d}$ b e - l i - l i (*cf.* line 73 of " Inanna and Bilulu ", *J.N.E.S.*, XII, 174, and my comment *ibid.*, 187–8). Once again Utu grants his request, and Dumuzi carries off his soul to the house of Belili. But as soon as Belili leaves her house, the *gallê* reappear and put Dumuzi in fetters. Dumuzi now turns for the third time to Utu with the same plea; this time he will carry off his soul to the " holy stall " of his sister Geštinanna. Utu grants his request a third time, but to no avail. The *gallê* catch up with him a third time, turn the " holy stall " into a ruin and Dumuzi dies.

p. 00. [25] It will be noted that Dumuzi's soul remained immutable and indestructible in spite of the fact that his body was changed into a snake or a gazelle (*cf.* notes 22 and 24). It is not unreasonable to conclude, therefore, that it was not the body, but the soul of the dead, which continued to exist in the Nether World. Just how the poet and mythographer picture the soul is not known, they may have thought of it as having the form of the man's shadow. In any case, the soul could walk, talk, feel, weep, rejoice, etc.; that is, it could do practically everything the deceased did on earth, except perhaps have sexual intercourse and beget offspring, although even these acts may have been envisaged as possible by the author of the " Death of Gilgameš," to judge from the fact that several of Gilgameš's wives were buried with him.

p. 65. [26] This indicates of course that many, if not most of the Sumerian ideas about the Nether World found in the literary texts, postdate Gilgameš and his times.

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# NEW LITERARY CATALOGUE FROM UR


BY SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER


As of to-day five Sumerian literary catalogues dating from the Old Babylonian period[1] are known : 1) a Nippur tablet in the University Museum in Philadelphia[2] (designated P in this article) ; 2) a tablet, probably from Nippur, in the Louvre[3] (L) ; 3) an Ur tablet now in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad published by FIGULLA and MARTIN which was first identified as a catalogue by F. R. KRAUS[4] (B) ; 4) a Nippur tablet in the Hilprecht Sammlung in Jena[5] (J) ; 5) a tablet of unknown provenience published by ZIMMERN in *VS* X 216, now in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Berlin Museums[6]. To these five, the Ur literary catalogue here published in transliteration, which was identified by C. J. GADD and copied for publication in a forthcoming volume of literary texts from Ur, will make a welcome sixth. For while most of its titles are duplicated in one or another of the known literary catalogues[7],

1. For a unique and as yet rather unintelligible literary catalogue, cf. *SLTH* (= *Sumerische Literarische Texte aus Nippur*, Texte und Materialen der Frau Professor Hilprecht SAMMLUNG..., Akademie Verlag, 1961), 19-20 ; for a catalogue dating probably from the Kassite period, cf. *WZJ* 6, 391-393, and *SLTH*, No. 53.

2. Cf. *BASOR* 88, 10-16 and *WZJ* 6, 393, n. 2.

3. Cf. *BASOR* 88, 16-19 and *WZJ* 6, 393, n. 3.

4. Cf. *WZJ* 6, 394, n. 4.

5. Cf. *WZJ* 6, 389 ff. and *SLTH*, No. 54.

6. Cf. *WZJ* 6, 394, n. 5.

7. Five are duplicated in B, L, and P ; one in J, L, and P ; twenty-three in L and P ; one in B and P ; three in B alone ; five in L alone ; two in P alone. Omitted from this count is line 33 with its three dumu-é-dub-ba compositions which are all duplicates (cf. comment to the line) and line 43 with its eleven lugal-compositions some of which may be duplicated in the titles beginning with lugal in the other catalogues (e. g. B 1 and 13 = L 17 = P 26 ; J 13, 17, 32).

it provides us with quite a number of new titles[1], some of which can be identified with the compositions to which they belong[2]. Moreover its duplicated titles show several interesting variants[3], and in a number of instances it helps to correct earlier readings[4]. Finally it reveals a hitherto unknown scribal cataloguing device for saving time and effort[5] : in the two lines 33 and 43, the scribe lists a total of 14 compositions which begin with the same word or word complex[6], and thus saves himself twelve lines of writing[7]. Following is a line by line transliteration of the tablet (duplications of the known catalogues are given in parentheses).

1. Nos. 3, 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31, 34, 38, 47, 51, 53, 54.

2. Nos. 25, 26, 47, 49-50, and probably 53 ; note, too, that No. 29, because of the fuller text given in our catalogue, can now actually be identified with two different compositions (cf. comment to the line).

3. Following is a detailed list of variants : *No. 1.* B omits final -e n. *No. 2.* P : -šu- for-šúm-(if reading is correct). *No. 3.* P adds -en after lugal-me. *No. 4.* P -mú- for -me-. *No. 6.* B : me-a-di-á(?)-x ; P, if the identification of the duplication is correct has àm- for the second me-. *No. 8.* P omits -šè. *No. 10.* B : i- for ì-; L and P : -lum-lum for -lú-$lu_7$. *No. 11.* L : -me- for -mí- ; L and P : -ka for -kam. *No. 13.* B : -$nin_9$ -for -nin-. *No. 14.* L and P : -$u_4$-for -e-. Note that the correction of -e- to -$u_4$- in B 18 (cf. *WZJ* 6 : 394, n. 4) turns out to be unjustified. *No. 15.* P omits -$ke_4$. *No. 18.* L and P have e- before the first gišal ; L omits the second GIŠ. *No. 19.* L and P omit -e- and have -ta for -da. *No. 21.* L and P : -$u_6$- for -$u_4$-. *No. 22.* L : -gál for -ra ; note that P probably also has -ra, not -gál (the reading in *BASOR* is to be corrected accordingly). *No. 27.* L : ki-gal-ta for ki-gal-šè. *No. 32.* B omits one $DU_{13}$. *No. 35.* B and P omit -la- ; P adds -ra after engar-. *No. 36.* P adds -la after -gal-gal. *No. 39.* B, P (and probably L) omit determinative. *No. 40.* P (and probably L) omit determinative. *No. 45.* Variant uncertain.

The more interesting variants in our catalogue are the use of the signs ŠÚM (?) for ŠU (No. 2), ME for MÍ (No. 4), LÚ-$LU_7$ for LUM-LUM (No. 10), E for $U_4$ (No. 14), $U_4$ for $U_6$ (No. 21).

4. Cf. Nos. 48 and 49 which show that the initial sign of the duplicates L 57 and L 58 is $U_4$, not É (cf. already *WZJ* 6, 393, n. 2) ; No. 52 which shows that the last sign is DÙ, not NI (cf. also L 49 where I had assumed DÙ to be an error for NI) ; see also the comment to *No. 14.*

5. For an attempt to unravel some of the scribal cataloguing practices, cf. *BASOR* 88, 19, and *WZJ* 6, 394, n. 4. As in the case of L and P, the criteria for the overall arrangement and order of the listed titles are far from clear, but similarity of content and identity of initial words and perhaps even of final words, do seem to play a considerable role in a number of instances. Thus *Nos. 1 and 2* may be hymns to Nidaba ; *Nos. 4 and 5* are royal hymns and begin with the same word ; *Nos. 6 and 7* are wisdom essays and begin with identical complexes ; *Nos. 9-12* are probably all Gilgameš tales (note that interestingly enough, our scribe, not unlike the modern scholar lists the two versions of « Gilgameš and the Land of the Living » one after the other, while B, L, and P all separate them by interspersing one or more titles of other compositions) ; *Nos. 16 and 17* have the same major protagonist, the god Enlil ; *Nos. 18-20* are probably all disputations ; *Nos. 23 and 24* begin with an identical complex, while *No. 25* begins at least with one identical word ; *Nos. 26 and 27* are both concerned with the death of Dumuzi ; *Nos. 28-30* begin with the same complex ; *Nos. 37 and 38* have the final ki-ta in common ; *Nos. 41 and 42* are both Ninurta hymns (note that in this case, too, our Ur cataloguer, like the modern scholar, keeps these two compositions together while L separates them) ; *Nos. 44-46* are probably all lamentations ; Nos. 48 and 49 begin with the same word ; *Nos. 53-55* are probably all laments of one sort or another.

6. Fortunately for the modern cuneiformist, he is far from consistent in applying this device ; thus e. g. there are three compositions beginning with lugal (4, 5, 41) which he might have added to his 11 lugal and made 14 undifferentiated titles, or he might have listed Nos. 6 and 7 as 2 me-ta-àm ; or Nos. 22-25 as 3 nam ; or Nos. 28-30 as 3 $u_4$-ri-a.

7. Hence, it will be noted, the summation of the reverse as 42 refers not to the number of *lines* which is only 30, but to the number of *titles* ; so too the grand total 67 refers not to the number of lines on the tablet, but to the number of titles.

TRANSLITERATION

*Obverse*

1. nin-mul an-gim en- (B 17)
2. bur-šúm (!?)-ma-gal (P 15)
3. zi-gál
4. lugal-me šà-ta ur-sag-me-en (P 1 and probably L 1)
5. lugal-me-dug$_4$-ga (P 2 and probably L 2)
6. me-ta-àm me-di Á (?) (B 11 and perhaps P 55)
7. me-ta-àm im-du (perhaps P 54)
8. nin-me-šár-ra (P 4 and probably L 4)
9. en-e kur-lú-ti-la-šè (B 14, L 10, P 10)
10. ì-a-lú-lu$_7$ (!) (B 16, L 39, P 14)
11. šul-mè-kam (L 38, P 11)
12. lú-kin-gi$_4$-a (P 12)
13. in-nin-me-ḫuš-a (B 10, L 8, P 8)
14. é-e-ḫuš-an-ki (B 18, L 9, P 9)
15. ḫur-sag-an-ki-bi(!)-da(!)-ke$_4$ (L 11, P 17)
16. $^{d}$en-líl-sù-du(!?)-šè (P 5 and probably L 5)
17. sag-ki-gíd-da (L 12, P 18)
18. $^{giš}$al-e $^{giš}$al-e (L 16, P 25)
19. u$_4$-ul-e-ri-da (L 21, P 27)
20. ki-ùr(!?)-gal-e (L 22, P 28)
21. é-u$_4$-nir (L 32, P 49)
22. an-ne nam-nir-ra (L 31, P 29)
23. nam-nun-e
24. nam-nun-e sag na-íl(?)-?
25. nam-lugal

(Here, at the end of the obverse, the scribe adds the numeral 25 to indicate the number of titles listed.)

*Reverse*

26. šà-ga-a-ni
27. an-gal-ta ki-gal-šè (L 34, P 41)
28. u$_4$-ri-a nam-ba-tar-ra (! ?) (for this line and the next two, cf. L 7, 14, 15 and P 7, 20, 21, also Ja 6)
29. u$_4$-ri-a u$_4$-su$_x$(= BU)-ta-ri(!)-a

30. $u_4$-ri-a níg-$du_7$-e(!)
31. $u_4$ ma-da dam na-na
32. $du_{13}$-$du_{13}$-lá-$u_4$-da (B 8)
33. 3 dumu-é-dub-ba (cf. B 24 and P 50, 51, 52, 57, 59)
34. ? - ? - ? - NI-ÍL (! ?)
35. $u_4$-ul-la engar (B 22, P 53)
36. in-nin-me-gal-gal (L 35, P 44)
37. $u_4$-ul an-ki-ta (L 23, P 38)
38. LUM-maḫ ki-ta
39. $^{d}$lugal-bàn-da (B 20, L 24, P 39)
40. $uru^{ki(!)}$gud-ḫuš (L 25, P 48)
41. lugal-$u_4$-me-lám-bi-nir-gál (L 18)
42. an-gim-dím-ma (L 44)
43. 11 lugal
44. tùr-ra-na (L 27, P 32)
45. $u_4$-šu-bala-ki(?)-ta (cf. probably L 30, P 34)
46. $u_4$-ḫuš-ki-en-gi-ra (L 53, P 36)
47. ur-sag-e
48. $u_4$-bi-ta (L 57)
49. $u_4$-an-né- (L 58)
50. *i-nu anum ù-$^{d}$en-lîl*
51. $^{d}$en-líl dirig-šè (L 59)
52. kua-mu é-dù (L 49, P 16)
53. ur-sag kur-ra
54. uru-àm ír-a (! ?) -nir-ra
55. lú-i-lu-di

(On the left edge the scribe adds the numeral 42, and šu-nigin 67 ; cf. n. 14.)

COMMENTARY

*No. 1*, to judge from its incipit which may be translated as « The shining queen who like An », or perhaps « The queen who like the stars (of) heaven »[1], is probably a hymn to a female deity, either Inanna, or more likely, Nidaba, since the following title is a hymn to that deity. *No. 2* is a hymn to Nidaba as the goddess of writing and written documents, who is responsible to no little extent for man's prosperity

1. In either case, final en- (left untranslated) is assumed to begin the following complex, the remainder of which is not given in the title ; note that B, therefore, omits this en-.

and well-being[1]. *No. 3*, to judge from its incipit « Living beings », is probably a myth, perhaps the long known « Flood-Myth » whose beginning is still missing[2]. *No. 4* is the now well-known self-laudatory Šulgi hymn noteworthy for the king's concern with land travel and for its celebration of the king's record-breaking journey between Nippur and Ur[3]. *No. 5* is a self-laudatory hymn of Lipit-Ištar which begins with a glorification of his personal qualities and continues with a poetic summation of his royal achievements in war and peace[4].

*No. 6* or *No. 7* may turn out to be « A Scribe and His Perverse Son », a composition of close to two hundred lines beginning with a dialogue between a scribe and his son which turns into a monologue consisting primarily of the father's bitter harangue against his son's ungratefulness and disobedience[5]. *No. 8* is an excellently preserved hymnal prayer addressed to the goddess Inanna by the en-priestess Enḫeduanna[6]. *Nos. 9 and 10* are the titles of the two variant versions of « Gilgameš and the Land of the Living »[7].

*No. 11*, to judge from its incipit « Valiant of battle », and from its position between « Gilgameš and the Land of the Living », and « Gilgameš and Agga of Kiš » (No. 12) is probably a Gilgameš tale, perhaps the one known tentatively as « The Death of Gilgameš »[8] or « Gilgameš and the Bull of Heaven »[9]. *No. 12* is « Gilgameš and Agga of Kiš »[10]. *No. 13* is the myth « Inanna and Ebiḫ »[11]. *No. 14* is a hymn to Sumugan, — a female deity according to this composition — which begins with a hymn to her temple Ekur and ends with a paean of self-praise uttered by Sumugan herself[12]. *No. 15* is the « Disputation between Laḫar and Ašnan », which ends with Ašnan's victory over her sister Laḫar[13].

1. The hymn is translated in part in *SAHG* 65-67 ; cf. also *ibid.* 363, and *Bi Or* 5, 172 where the bibliographical references will be found.

2. Cf. *BANE* (= *The Bible and the Ancient Near East : Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, edited by G. Ernest Wright, Doubleday and Co., 1961), 255.

3. For a definitive edition of the hymn see *ZA* 50, 61-91 ; cf. also *Bi Or* 11, 175, n. 32.

4. A translation of the hymn will be found in *SAHG* 126-130 ; cf. also *Bi Or* 11, 175-176.

5. For a preliminary translation cf. *HBS* (Kramer : *History Begins at Sumer*), 13-16 ; for the bibliographical details cf. *Bi Or* 17, 143, and *SLTH* 17 (comment to Nos. 39-41).

6. For bibliographical references cf. *SLTN* 22-23 (comment to No. 64) ; *Sumer* 11, 110 (comment to No. 6) ; *ibid.* 13, 65 ; and now *BANE*, 263, n. 56 ; there are also several well preserved duplicates from Ur, which have been copied by Gadd, and which will appear in a forth-coming volume devoted to the literary texts from Ur.

7. Cf. *JCS* 1, 3-46 ; *ANET* 46-50 ; *Gilgameš et sa légende (Cahiers du Groupe François Thureau-Dangin I)*, 59-81 ; *SLTH* 11 (comment to Nos. 13-14).

8. Cf. *BASOR* 94, 2-12 ; *ANET* 50-52 ; *Gilgameš et sa légende*, 67-68.

9. Cf. *JAOS* 64, 15.

10. Cf. *AJA* 53, 1 ff. ; *ANET* 44-47, *ZA* 52, 116, n. 55.

11. For bibliographical details cf. *SLTH* 10 (comment to No. 3).

12. For bibliographical references cf. *BANE* 263, n. 60.

13. The text has now been pieced together from 38 tablets and fragments by M. Civil, and a definitive edition

*No. 16* is a hymn to Enlil which extols his temple Ekur, and acclaims civilization's debt to his beneficence[1]. *No. 17* is the « Curse of Agade : The Ekur Avenged »[2]. *No. 18* is the « Disputation between Pickaxe and Plow »[3]. *No. 19*, to judge from its incipit « From those days of yore », may be a myth, epic tale, or disputation ; it is probably the latter[4], since it is listed between the « Disputation between Pickaxe and Plow » and the « Disputation between Tree and Reed ». *No. 20* is the « Disputation between Tree and Reed »[5].

*No. 21* is the « Collection of Temple Hymns » which contains hymns of varied length to all the more important temples of Sumer and Akkad[6]. *No. 22* is the « Disputation between Emeš and Enten », the first line of which reads an-né nam-nir-ra sag mu-ni-in-íl $u_4$-dùg àm-mi-i-è « An lifted (his) head in lordliness, brought forth the 'good day' »[7]. *No. 23*, to judge from the fact that nam-nun-e is identical with the Emesal incipit nam-nu-ne of the Nanna-Sin hymn in VS II 1 obv. i 1 may be a hymn to the same deity ; this may be true also for *No. 24*. *No. 25* is the « Sumerian King List »[8].

*No. 26* is « The Death of Dumuzi », a myth which begins with Dumuzi's ominous dream and its foreboding interpretation by his sister Geštinanna and ends as the god is carried off to the Nether World by its cruel *galla*'s after his pathetic efforts to save himself from their clutches had proved vain and futile[9]. *No. 27* is « Inanna's Descent to the Nether World »[10]. *No. 28*, to judge from its incipit, is probably a myth or

will be published in the near future. The new edition will correct and modify some of the translations and interpretations in e. g. *SM* 53-54 and 172-173 ; *HBS* 110-113 ; one of the more interesting corrections concerns the fact that Laḫar is a female deity, and is the sister (not the brother) of Ašnan.

1. For a definitive edition of the text, cf. *SG* I (FALKENSTEIN : *Sumerische-Göttlerlieder*) I, 5-79 ; and *SLTH*, Nos. 15-19, for copies of the relevant material in the Hilprecht Sammlung.

2. For bibliographical details, cf. *SLTN* 34 (comment to 104-109) and *SLTH*, Nos. 27-33 ; a sketch of its contents will be found in *HBS* 228-232.

3. Cf. for the present *Bi Or* 17, 146, n. 218 and 219.

4. It is not impossible that this composition is the « Disputation between Bird and Fish » (for bibliographical details, cf. for the present *Bi Or* 17, 146, n. 211, 212, and 213) ; a definitive edition of this composition which begins with the line... nam-dùg-tar-ra-a-ba is now being prepared by M. CIVIL.

5. For bibliographical details, cf. for the present *Bi Or* 17, 146, n. 214 and 215.

6. Cf. for the present *BANE* 264, n. 73.

7. For bibliographical details cf. for the present *Bi Or* 17, 145, n. 207 and 208. A definitive edition of this disputation is now being prepared by M. CIVIL, who made the identification of the incipit in the catalogue with the composition.

8. Cf. *AS* 11, *ZA* 50, 29-60, and *Bulletin of the University Museum* 17, 2, 19.

9. The composition whose first line reads : [šà-ga-ni]ír im-si edin-šè ba-ra-è (the restoration is assured from the two following lines) has come to be known as « Dumuzi's Dream », and « Dumuzi and His Sister Geštinanna » ; cf. *BANE* 262, n. 29, and *MAW* (*Mythologies of the Ancient World*, edited by S. N. KRAMER, Doubleday Anchor, 1961), 109-115.

10. Cf. *JCSS* : 1-17 ; *Iraq 22*, 67-68, n. 22 ; and *SLTH*, No. 2.

epic tale, although as the comment to No. 29 indicates, it may even be a « wisdom » composition. *No. 29* may be either « Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Nether World »[1] or the « Instructions of Šuruppak to his son Ziusudra »[2]. *No. 30*, like No. 28, is probably a myth or epic tale.

*No. 31*, whose reading and meaning is uncertain, may be a « wisdom » composition, to judge from the fact that it is followed by a series of works of this genre. *No. 32* is probably a « wisdom » composition of one sort or another ; its incipit is found in the still unpublished small Istanbul fragment Ni 4398[3]. *Line 33* refers to three compositions beginning with the words dumu-é-dub-ba ; we now actually know of five compositions beginning with this complex[4], and there is therefore no way of identifying the three intended by our cataloguer. *No. 34*, whose reading and meaning is altogether uncertain, may turn out to be a « wisdom » composition, since it is preceded and followed by works of this genre. *No. 35* is the « Farmer's Almanac »[5].

*No. 36*, to judge from its incipit « Lady of the great *me*'s », may be a hymn to the goddess Inanna, or perhaps Nidaba. *No. 37*, whose incipit seems to mean « In days of yore, from the universe », is probably a myth. So too, perhaps is *No. 38*, whose incipit seems to mean « The lofty..., out of the earth ». *No. 39* is the epic tale « Lugalbanda and Enmerkar »[6]. *No. 40*, to judge from its incipit « City, the raging

1. For bibliographical details, cr. *SLTH* 11 (comment to Nos. 13-14) ; and *Gilgameš et sa légende*, 66-67.

2. Cf. *Bi Or* 17, 148, n. 24 for a listing of the text material. For the -ta- of $u_4$-$su_x$-ta-ri-a, cf. now *CT* XLII, pl. 1, line 13, and *CT* XXXVI, pl. 47, line 27 wich reads [$u_4$-sù]-ta-r[i-a].

3. Only the first four lines of the text, copied by Muazzez Cığ of the Museum of the Ancient Orient are, fairly well preserved, and these read : (1) $du_{13}$-$du_{13}$-lá-$u_4$-da (2) ? nu-ag-en-dè-en (3) za-e- me-en á(?) -ág-e-ne (4)... àm-bur-re-en. Although the meaning of this initial passage is not clear, it reads like a conversational introduction typical of some of the *edubba* compositions (cf. following note).

4. These are (1) « Schooldays » (for bibliographical references cf. *Bi Or* 17, 142, n. 166) which begins with the line : dumu-é-dub-ba-$u_4$-ul-la-àm me-šè-àm ì-du-dè-en (cf. P 50), « Edubba-alumnus » (i. e. Edubba-son (of) days of yore) where did we go (in our youth, that is ; note the translation of ì-du-dè-en as a preterit first person plural, the « we » referring to the speaker and the fellow-alumnus whom he is addressing) ; (2) « Colloquy between an ugula and a Scribe » (for a translation of the document cf. now *SLTH* 15-17), which begins with the line : dumu-é-dub- ba-$u_4$-ul-la-àm gà-nu ki-mu-šè (cf. P 51), « Edubba-alumnus come pray to me » (literally « to my place ») ; (3) « Disputation between a lú-IM and a Scribe » (cf. now *SLTH* 18, comment to No. 44 ; note however that No. 44 is an error for No. 43), which begins with the line : dumu-é-dub-ba-$u_4$-ul-la-àm gá-nu ga-na-ab-di-en-dè-en (cf. P 52, and note that it has a slightly variant reading), « Edubba-alumnus come pray let us debate » ; (4) « Disputation between Enki-ta and Enki-ḫegal » (cf. now *SLTH* 17-18, comment to Nos. 42-43 ; note however that No. 43 is an error for No. 44) ; whose first line reads : dumu-é-dub-ba-$u_4$ -ul-la-àm a-na-àm á-ág-gá (cf. P 57), « Edubba-alumnus, what are the directions » ; (5) « Disputation between Enki-mansi and Girni-išag » (cf. now *SLTH* 18) whose first line reads : dumu-é-dub-ba $u_4$-da egir -UM. ME-ka a-na-àm ga-ab-sÀR-en-dè-en (cf. P 59, where -dub- should have been read -um-), « Edubba-son, now after the..., what pray shall we... ».

5. For bibliographical details, cf. *Bi Or* 147-148, n. 237-243.

6. For bibliographical details, cf. now *SLTH* 11 (comment to Nos. 6-7).

bull » may be a lamentation, or perhaps an epic tale such as « Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta »[1].

*Nos. 41 and 42* are two long-known Ninurta myths which may be entitled « The Deeds and Exploits of Ninurta » and « The Return of Ninurta to Nippur »[2]. *Line 43* is to be understood as saying that the cataloguer had before him eleven compositions beginning with the word lugal just as in line 33 he had listed three works beginning with the complex dumu-é-dub-ba. *No. 44* is the « Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur », published in *AS* 12[3]. *No. 45* is probably the « Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur » which mentions Ibbi-Sin's captivity in Elam[4].

*No. 46*, to judge from its incipit « The raging storm (overwhelms, or some such expression) Sumer », as well as from the fact that it follows two lamentations, is probably the « Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer » described in *SLTN* 32 (comment to No. 100). *No. 47* is « The Journey of Nanna-Sin to Nippur » ; its first line reads ur-sag-e uru-ama-na-šè geštug-ga-ni na-an-gub[5]. *No. 48*, to judge from its incipit « In former days » is probably a myth. *Nos. 49 and 50* together contain the title of the long-known astrological work $u_4$-an-ne <$^d$en-líl> rendered in Akkadian as *inu anum ù* $^d$*enlil*[6].

*No. 51*, to judge from its incipit « Enlil exceedingly (?) », may be a hymn to Enlil or a myth involving Enlil. *No. 52* is a rather unusual composition which may be entitled « Home of the Fish », and consists of a monologue by a deity (perhaps the goddess Nanshe) who has built a house for the fish, inviting them all to come and spend the night there in comfort and safety[7]. *No. 53* may be the Dumuzi (?) composition *BL* VI[8]. *No. 54*, to judge from its incipit « The city in tears and lament » is obviously some sort of lamentation. This is probably true also of *No. 55*, to judge from its incipit « Who utters a lament ».

1. Cf. e. g. the poetic description of Erech in *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, lines 1 ff.

2. Cf. *BANE* 261, n. 20 and 21.

3. For fuller bibliographical details of this composition and the following one, cf. *BANE* 264, n. 78.

4. On the assumption that $u_4$-šu-bala-ki-ta is a variant of $u_4$-šu-bala-ag-dè.

5. For bibliographical details, cf. now *SLTH* 10 (comment to No. 4).

6. Cf. last, *AfO* 14, 172-195 and 308-318, *AfO* 15, 71-89 ; lines 49 and 50 therefore contain the title of only one composition, though as a bilingual it is written on two lines and consequently it seems to be counted as two compositions, to judge from the fact that the total is given as 67 (see note 14).

7. Note the corrected reading of the title (P 16, however, as the photograph shows has NI rather than DÙ) ; a detailed edition of the composition based largely on three Ur literary pieces copied by C. J. Gadd, has been prepared by M. Civil, and will appear in *Iraq 23*, 154-175.

8. The text is written largely in phonetic Emesal and very difficult to interpret ; Dumuzi is mentioned nowhere in the extant part of the text, but such complexes as su(!?)-pàd-e « the shepherd » (?) (line 2) and mu-ud-na-ka-ša-an-na, « the bridegroom of Inanna » point to its being a Dumuzi composition.

University of Pittsburgh- Of the Commonwealth System of Higher Education

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# Cultural Anthropology and the Cuneiform Documents

Samuel Noah Kramer
University Museum
University of Pennsylvania

For more than a hundred years archeologists working in Mesopotamia and the surrounding lands have been digging up written documents by the thousands and tens of thousands inscribed with a wedge-like script commonly known as cuneiform. These vary in size from tiny clay tablets less than a square inch in area, inscribed with only the briefest prosaic notation, to many-columned tablets, prisms, and cylinders with inscribed areas of more than a hundred square inches containing long literary compositions, historical annals, annual inventories, and a wide assortment of lexical compendia for school use. Cuneiform documents have been found not only in Mesopotamia, their cradle and home land, but all over the ancient Near East from western Iran to the Mediterranean and from central Anatolia to northern Egypt. They range in age from about 3000 B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era. Once translated and interpreted, these long-buried documents will reveal, at least to some significant extent, the character and content of a number of ancient cultures, dead and forgotten for several millennia. They thus provide a precious mine of unexpected source material for the anthropologist interested in comparative cultural studies. It is the purpose of this paper to sketch briefly the history of the discovery and decipherment of the cuneiform documents, the nature of their varied contents, and the promise they hold for the cultural anthropologist.

The decipherment of the cuneiform script, interestingly enough, did not come about as a result of the discovery of inscriptions found in Mesopotamia, but in western Iran. From Persepolis, the capital city of the Achaemenid dynasty, which for a brief interval made itself master of almost the entire civilized world of those days, there came to be known in Europe in the late eighteenth century a number of brief trilingual cuneiform inscriptions; they were written, as is now known, in Old Persian, Akkadian (the name now generally used to designate the two dialects known as Assyrian and Babylonian), and Elamite, the language of the autochthonous people of western Iran who lived there long before the arrival of the Indo-European Persians. More important still was the long trilingual inscription of Darius I (521-486 B.C.) inscribed on the Behistun Rock several hundred feet above the road leading from Hamadan to Kermanshah.

Western scholars began the successful decipherment of these trilinguals toward the very close of the eighteenth century, and by the middle of the nineteenth century all three scripts had been "broken," as it were, primarily as a result of the keen manipulation of the relevant proper names found in Biblical and classical sources.

The first large-scale excavations of cuneiform documents began in 1842 in northern Mesopotamia on such Assyrian sites as Khorsabad, Nimrud, and Nineveh, and in the course of the next three decades thousands of cuneiform inscriptions on monuments and clay tablets, especially from the Ashurbanipal "library" in Nineveh, were recovered and brought to London and Paris. The vast majority of these were written in the Akkadian language, but not a few of the tablets from Ashurbanipal's library were bilinguals, that is, they were written both in Akkadian, a Semitic language related to Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, etc., and in another language totally unknown at the time, but definitely not Semitic. Moreover, in the course of several brief surveys and superficial excavations in southern Mesopotamia made in the 1850s there were found a number of bricks and tablets inscribed with the very same unknown non-Semitic language. In fact, it soon became clear to the more discerning scholars that it could not have been the Semitic Akkadians who invented and developed the cuneiform system of writing, but rather an unknown, non-Semitic people who had preceded the Semites in settling Mesopotamia. It was not until the year 1869, however, that this people was identified and correctly designated as the Sumerians.

Even so, the Sumerians had, so to speak, only a shadowy existence for several decades, and most scholars refused to recognize their presence. In 1877, however, began the first large-scale excavation in Mesopotamia, that of the French at Telloh, ancient Lagash, which yielded numerous Sumerian stelas, statues, and plaques and probably a hundred thousand or more clay tablets and cones inscribed in the Sumerian language. And twelve years later began the excavation of the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur, Sumer's cultural center for many centuries, which yielded some 50,000 cuneiform documents, of which the majority were in Sumerian and among which were several thousand inscribed with the Sumerian belles lettres: their myths and epic tales, hymns and laments, essays, proverbs, and fables.

In addition to the excavations already mentioned, with their yield of some 200,000 cuneiform documents, clay tablets by the thousands were uncovered in the following Mesopotamian sites between the years 1880 and 1960: Sippar, Babylon, Ashur, Fara, Bismaya, Warka, Kish, Jemdet Nasr, Ur, Tell Asmar, Hafaji, Nuzi, Billah, Larsa, Aqar-Quf, Uqair, and Harmal. Moreover, throughout the decades, native Iraqis excavated thousands of clay tablets illicitly—a practice which has fortunately been stopped in recent years by the forceful intervention of the highly competent Iraqi Department of Antiquities. These clandestinely excavated tablets were sold to antiquity dealers, who in turn sold them to museums and private collections. All in all, counting small and fragmentary

pieces, the number of cuneiform documents excavated in Mesopotamia proper over the past hundred years or more possibly reaches a total of about half a million.

The discovery of cuneiform documents, however, is not limited to Mesopotamia. In Susa, in southwestern Iran, there have been uncovered thousands of tablets and inscriptions written in Sumerian, Akkadian, and Elamite. To the west of Mesopotamia, some 25,000 clay tablets written primarily in the Akkadian language have been excavated in the past three decades at Mari, Brak, Chagar-Bazar, Ras-Shamra, Tell Atchana, and Sultan Tepe. In Anatolia, Boghaz Köy alone has yielded an archive of some 10,000 tablets written in the Indo-European Hittite language, which was not deciphered until 1918, as well as in Akkadian. In addition, close to 10,000 Akkadian tablets have been excavated at Kültepe in Southern Anatolia, not to mention several hundred in Alishar, not far from Boghaz Köy. Even Egypt, and specifically Tell-Amarna, has yielded several hundred cuneiform documents. These consist primarily of letters to and from the Egyptian kings Amenophis III and IV to the kings and kinglets of Canaan, Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylonia. But among them there are also school tablets inscribed with Akkadian myths and legends, which indicate that cuneiform was taught in one or another of the Egyptian schools.

What now, in brief, are the contents of this vast collection of cuneiform documents scattered throughout the museums and private collections of the world? Obviously no one scholar could actually have seen all of them, let alone examine, study, and analyze their contents. What the cuneiformist knows about them is based primarily on the publication of copies, photographs, transliterations, and translations of some of them prepared by one scholar or another over the past hundred years. As of today, probably less than 10 per cent of the extant material has been made available in published form. There is good reason, nevertheless, to assume that this fraction gives a fairly representative cross-section of the contents of the cuneiform documents as a whole, although there is little doubt that we shall still encounter many a surprise, especially if scientific excavations in the area are continued in the years to come.

Let us begin with the earliest written documents as yet discovered in Mesopotamia: more than a thousand small clay tablets inscribed with the pictographic forerunners of the cuneiform script and dating roughly from about 3000 B. C. While these pictographs can still not be read phonetically, it is clear from the numerals and summations that they contain administrative records of cattle, grain, and other material possessions distributed on various occasions to members of the temple personnel. The language of these still illegible documents is generally taken to be Sumerian, but the reasoning is circumstantial and circuitous, and there is a bare possibility that they are written in the language of a people who preceded the Sumerians in southern Mesopotamia. Inscriptions which are definitely Sumerian begin roughly about 2700 B. C. At first these, too, consist primarily

of administrative memoranda concerned with the temple possessions and personnel. But gradually there came into vogue the idea of inscribing votive objects, such as statues, stelas, plaques, vases, stones, and markers, with the name of the individual represented, his station, and some of his achievements; these constitute the first Sumerian historical documents. From about 2500 B. C. we begin to find contracts of land sales between private individuals, as well as "textbooks" consisting of long lists of Sumerian words and names prepared for pedagogical purposes.

About 2350 B. C. the Semitic Akkadians, led by Sargon the Great, conquered practically all of Sumer, and, as a result, cuneiform documents written in the Akkadian language begin to multiply. With the renascence of the Sumerian state in the twenty-first century B. C., under a dynasty commonly known as Ur III, the Sumerians came into their own once again. This dynasty, though it reigned for only about 100 years, witnessed and encouraged the development of writing and literature to an extraordinary extent. It was during this century that the Sumerian school—the *edubba* or tablet-house as it is known in Sumerian—developed into a center of learning and scholarship. Every important city in Sumer had its *edubba* with a considerable faculty and large student body. Temple and palace administrative documents excavated from this period probably number more than 100,000, and of these some 15,000 have actually been published in one form or another. The great bulk are inventories, but several hundred among them are precious court decisions and legal archives of one sort or another. In fact, the first written legal "code" uncovered thus far was promulgated by Ur-Nammu, the founder of the Ur III Dynasty.

The flow of temple and palace memoranda and inventories continues during the first four centuries of the second millennium B. C., but in addition we now get a considerable number of contracts, agreements, sales, wills, and other legal documents involving private individuals, as well as a large group of official letters. During this period the *edubba* continued to flourish. In fact, practically all the extant Sumerian literary and lexical documents stem from copies prepared by Akkadian scribes in the early second millennium B. C., when Sumerian was gradually disappearing as a living tongue. From this period we find numerous mathematical documents as well as three law codes, one written in Sumerian and two in Akkadian. Finally, thousands of commercial letters and business transactions inscribed on tablets of the same period, excavated in Assyrian settlements in central Anatolia, and large numbers of letters and administrative documents, excavated in Syria, give some idea of the ethnic groupings and social structure of the lands to the west of Mesopotamia.

For about a century and a half, during the so-called "Dark Age" of Mesopotamia, from approximately 1600 to 1450 B. C., the flow of cuneiform documents ceases, but for the remainder of the second millennium large numbers of inscribed tablets have been excavated

in Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and Anatolia. These shed considerable light, not only on the Assyrians and Babylonians, but on such peoples as the Canaanites, Hurrians, Mitanni, and, above all, the Hittites (the Hittite archives of Boghaz Köy in central Anatolia date from this period).

The great cuneiform discovery from the first millennium B. C. is, of course, the Ashurbanipal library with its thousands of tablets and fragments inscribed with Akkadian and Sumero-Akkadian bilingual literary and religious works, incantations, omens, and letters, as well as a diversified assortment of astronomical, medical, and lexicographical texts. Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, where this library was found, was destroyed late in the seventh century B. C. For the remainder of the first millennium down to almost the beginning of the Christian era we have large numbers of administrative, business, literary, astronomical, and lexical documents from Babylonia, not to mention a cache of some 10,000 administrative tablets from the treasury of Persepolis, written in the Elamite language.

As is obvious from this bare and sketchy outline of their contents, the cuneiform documents help to reveal the history and culture of a number of peoples of the ancient Near East. In the case of the Sumerians and Akkadians, in particular, they provide us with a fairly detailed picture of their way of life: their social structure, economic interests, legal practices, literary efforts, religious attitudes, and world view. Moreover, since the Sumerians and Akkadians lived side by side throughout much of the third and early second millennia B. C., there was a great deal of cultural borrowing and interchange between them, and this fact may prove of no little significance for the study of acculturation and cultural transference in general.

All this is obviously of vital importance to the cultural anthropologist. In fact, it is not too much to say that the study of ancient cultures, as revealed by their cuneiform documents in conjunction with the relevant material finds made in the area, would add a new dimension to anthropological research, which is usually based on contemporary and primitive societies. The trouble is, of course, that the cultural anthropologist cannot read the cuneiform sources, and that the cuneiform scholar is not trained in cultural anthropology. This could doubtless be overcome to some extent if the cuneiformists and anthropologists should team up and pool their intellectual resources in a cooperative effort to reconstruct the ancient cultures from the pertinent data. Because of practical, human, and psychological factors, however, this cooperation is hardly likely to materialize effectively in the near future. A more promising solution, as I see it, is to train half a dozen or so gifted and dedicated students in both anthropology and cuneiform studies for a period of from eight to ten years, beginning with the first year of graduate school and including some five to six years of postdoctoral study and research as paid fellows in universities which control both disciplines. Such a group of anthropologically oriented cuneiformists, or cuneiform-oriented anthropologists, could lay the foundation for a reinter-

pretation and re-evaluation of the cultures of the ancient Near East in terms significant for the history of civilization and the study of man.

To illustrate concretely but one facet of the "cultural surprises" which the cuneiform documents hold for us, let me sketch the contents of, and quote several passages from, a rather unusual Sumerian literary work only recently translated, which reveals the regard and reverence of the ancient Mesopotamians for the aquatic life of the sea and rivers. In fact, it is not too much to say that this literary vignette provides us with man's first idea of a fish sanctuary, albeit on a highly idealized plane. The composition consists of about 150 lines of text pieced together from nine tablets and fragments now located in Istanbul, London, and Philadelphia. Six of the nine are still unpublished, and three of the larger of these have been made available to me only recently in copied form by Mr. C. J. Gadd, formerly of the British Museum. It was largely with the help of Gadd's copies that M. Civil, my assistant and Spanish colleague in the University Museum, was able to identify the other six fragments as part of this composition, and to place them in their proper order in the text. He even recognized that three of the fragments, two in Philadelphia and one in Istanbul, make what is commonly known as a long-distance "join," and thus provide a longer running text than they did before joining. Following these identifications, Civil devoted several months of concentrated effort to the restoration and translation of the text and prepared a detailed edition of the text, together with a translation and commentary (cf. *Iraq* 22: 154-175, 1961).

The composition consists of a monologue by some unnamed individual or deity for whom the various aspects of aquatic life had a strong emotional appeal and who was eager to see all fish live in comfort and security. It begins with a description of a house especially built for the fish, a kind of aquarium as it were, which is pictured as a "home sweet home" for them; the intelligible lines are translated as follows:

My Fish, I have built a house for you, I have built a granary for you,
In the house I have built an extra court and a large sheepfold for you, . . .
In the house, there is food—food of top quality,
In the house, there is food—health-giving food,
From your beer-flowing house the flies cannot be chased, . . .
The threshold, the bolt, the sprinkled flour, the censer are all in place,
Of the house—its fragrance smells like the fragrance of a cedar grove,
In the house there is beer, there is goodly beer,
There are sweet drink and honey cakes as far as the reed fence.

The poem—and it is a poem to judge from the pattern of repetition and parallelism which characterizes its style—then continues with an invitation to all the fish's relatives and friends to come to the house and enjoy its comforts and repose. In the words of the poet:

Let your acquaintances come,
Let your dear ones come,
Let your father (and) forefathers come,

Let the sons of your older brothers, the sons of your younger brothers come,
Let your little one, your big ones come,
Let your wife, your children come,
Let your companions, your friends come,
Let your brothers-in-law, your father-in-law come,
Let your crowd of onlookers come,
Do not leave out your neighbors, not a one.

Enter, my beloved son,
Enter, my goodly son,
Day is passing, night is coming, . . .
With the passing of day, the coming of night,
You who enter will repose, I have fixed a place for you,
In its midst I will appoint a seat for you,
My Fish, they who lie about shall not be disturbed,
They who sit about shall not start a quarrel.

Enter, my beloved son,
Enter, my goodly son,
Like a brackish canal which no longer has ditches,
Like the river silt which cannot be moved,
Like flowing water your bed will be spread.

Come you now, your face towards the 'sanctuary,'
Come you now like a . . . to your lair, your face toward the 'sanctuary,'
Come you now like a dog to your sniffing place, your face toward the 'sanctuary,'
Come you now like an ox to your stall, like a sheep to your fold, your face toward the 'sanctuary.'

Following a passage which is broken in large part, we find the author describing in some detail the various fish which would enter the "sanctuary" in the company of "My Fish." For example:

Who has goodly beards, eats sweet plants,
My large *suhur*-fish [probably a species of Barbus, with two barbels on each side of the mouth], may he, too, enter with you.

Who eats the . . . reeds, who . . . to the mouth,
My small *suhur*-fish, may he, too, enter with you.

Who has big lips, sucks the reeds, . . .
My *gud*-fish [the carp], may he, too, enter with you.

Who is a black punting pole, engendered in the fields, . . .
My *gubi*-fish [the eel], may he, too, enter with you.

While most of these fish delineations are rather brief—usually no more than two or three lines—there is one that consists of eleven lines filled with riddle-like details which suggest the sting ray with its scaleless skin, flattened body, whip-like tail, and nail-like sting:

The head, a hoe; the teeth, a comb;
His bones, the branches of the fir tree;
The skin of his stomach (?), the water-skin of Dumuzi [the shepherd god],
A 'dehaired' skin which needs no processing;
His slender tail, the whip of the fisherman;
A jumping fish, the skin naturally smooth;
His entrails are not in his nose;
A fish which seizes the adversary by the arms and legs,
With his sting serving as a nail;
Being taboo, he is not placed as an offering in the city shrine,
My *mur*-fish, may he, too, enter with you, My Fish.

After brief delineation of a number of other fishes that are unidentifiable for the present—the *kin*, *peshgid*, *gur*, *agargar*, *sagga*, *turhar* (?), *azagga*, *mush*, *giru*, and *salsal*—the speaker turns to a description of the various birds and the crocodile which prey on fish, and whose threat makes still more pressing the need of the fish sanctuary. The beginning of this passage is destroyed; the remainder reads as follows:

Who utters his sinister cry in marsh and river,
My *akan*-bird will seize you, My Fish.

Who is in the water where the nets are stretched, circles the nets (looking) for you,
My *ubur*-bird will seize you, My Fish.

The tall-legged, the laughing,
Who comes from far-away waters, writes in the mud,
My *anshebar*-bird will seize you, My Fish.

Who is unadorned with . . . ,
Who has the head (?) of a bird, the feet of a fish,
My *kib*-bird will seize you, My Fish.

Who attacks (?) the quadrupeds running about the marshes,
My crocodile will seize you, My Fish.

With all these dangers lurking for the innocent, unsuspecting fish, the need for a sanctuary is imperious, and our fish-lover concludes his monologue with the lines:

That you should not be seized, should not be trampled,
My Fish, time is pressing, come to me,
Time is pressing, come to me,
The queen of the fishermen,
The goddess Nanshe will rejoice with you.

From the point of view of the history of civilization, Sumer's supreme achievements were the development of the cuneiform system of writing and of the formal system of education which was its direct outgrowth. It is no exaggeration to say that, had it not been for the inventiveness and perseverance of the anonymous, practically oriented Sumerian pundits and teachers who lived in the early third millennium B. C., it is hardly likely that the intellectual and scientific achievements of modern days would have been possible; it was from Sumer that writing and learning spread throughout the world. To be sure, the inventors of the earliest Sumerian signs, the pictographs, could hardly have anticipated the system of schooling as it developed later. But even among the oldest known written documents, those found in Erech, which consist of more than a thousand small pictographic clay tablets inscribed primarily with bits of economic and administrative memoranda, there are several which contain word lists intended for study and practice. As early as 3000 B. C., therefore, some scribes were already thinking in terms of teaching and learning. Progress was slow in the centuries that followed, but by the middle of the third millennium B. C. there must have been a number of schools throughout Sumer where writing was formally

taught. In ancient Shuruppak, near the village now known as Fara, there were excavated some 50 years ago quite a number of school "textbooks" dating from about 2500 B. C., consisting of lists of gods, animals, artifacts, and a varied assortment of words and phrases.

It was in the course of the last half of the third millennium, however, that the Sumerian school system matured and flourished. From this period there have already been excavated tens of thousands of clay tablets, and there is little doubt that hundreds of thousands more lie buried in the ground awaiting the future excavator. The vast majority are administrative in character and cover every phase of Sumerian economic life. From these we learn that the number of scribes then practicing their craft ran into the thousands; there were junior scribes and "high" scribes, royal and temple scribes, scribes highly specialized for particular categories of administrative activities, and scribes who became leading officials in state and government. There is every reason to assume, therefore, that scribal schools of considerable size and importance flourished throughout the land.

None of these earlier tablets deals directly with the Sumerian school system, its organization and method of operation. For this type of information we must go to the first half of the second millennium B. C. From this latter period there have been excavated hundreds of practice tablets filled with all sorts of exercises actually prepared by the pupils themselves as part of their daily school work; their script ranges from the sorry scratches of the "first-grader" to the elegantly made signs of the advanced student about to become a "graduate." By inference these ancient "copybooks" tell us not a little about the method of teaching current in the Sumerian school, and about the nature of its curriculum. Better yet, the teachers themselves liked to write about school life, and several of their essays on this subject have been recovered. From these various sources we get a picture of the Sumerian school, its aims and goals, its students and faculty, its curriculum and teaching techniques, which is unique for so early a period in the history of man.

The Sumerian school was known as *edubba*, "tablet-house." Its original purpose was what we would term professional, i.e., for the training of the scribes needed to satisfy the economic and administrative demands of the land—primarily, of course, of the temple and palace. This continued to be the major aim of the Sumerian school throughout its existence. However, in the course of its growth and development, and particularly as a result of the ever-widening curriculum, it came to be the center of culture and learning in Sumer. Within its walls flourished the "scholar-scientist," the man who studied whatever theological, botanical, zoological, mineralogical, geographical, mathematical, grammatical, and linguistic knowledge was current in his day, and who in some cases added to this knowledge.

In partial contrast to present-day institutions of learning, the Sumerian school was also the center of creative writing. It was here that the literary creations of the past were studied and copied; it

was here, too, that new ones were composed. While the great majority of graduates from the Sumerian schools became scribes in the service of the temple and palace or found a place among the rich and powerful of the land, there were nevertheless some who devoted their lives to teaching and learning. Like the university professor of today, many of these ancient scholars depended for their livelihood on their teaching salaries and devoted themselves to research and writing in their spare time. The Sumerian school, which probably began as a temple appendage, became in time a secular institution. The teachers were paid, as far as we can ascertain, out of the tuition fees collected from the students. The curriculum, too, was largely secular in character.

Education was, of course, neither universal nor compulsory. The majority of the students came from the wealthier families, for the poor could hardly afford the cost and the time which a prolonged education demanded. Until recently this was an a priori assumption, but more than a decade ago a German cuneiformist by the name of Nicholas Schneider was able to provide proof by an ingenious demonstration from actual source materials. In the thousands of published economic and administrative documents from about 2000 B. C., some 500 individuals list themselves as scribes, and for further identification many of them add the name of their father and his occupation. Schneider compiled these data and found that the fathers of the scribes, i.e., of graduates of the school, were governors, "city fathers," ambassadors, temple administrators, military officers, sea captains, high tax officials, priests of various sorts, managers, supervisors, foremen, scribes, archivists, and accountants—in short, the wealthier citizens of an urban community. Rarely, if ever, is a woman listed as a scribe in these documents, and it is therefore likely that the student body of the Sumerian school consisted of males only.

The head of a Sumerian school was the *ummia*, the "expert" or "professor." He was also called "school-father," the pupil being called "school-son" and an alumnus "the school-son of days past." The assistant professor was known as "big brother," and some of his duties were to write the new tablets for the pupils to copy, to examine the students' copies, and to hear them recite their lessons from memory. Other members of the faculty included "the man in charge of drawing," "the man in charge of Sumerian," etc. There were also monitors in charge of attendance and special proctors responsible for discipline. We know nothing of the relative rank of the school personnel other than the headmaster or "school-father." Nor do we know anything definite about their sources of income; presumably they were paid by the "school-father" from the tuition fees which he received.

As regards the curriculum of the Sumerian school, we fortunately do not have to depend on statements made by the ancients or on inferences from scattered bits of information, for we actually have the written products of the schoolboys themselves, ranging from the beginner's first attempts to the copies of advanced students which

were so well prepared that they can hardly be distinguished from those of the professor himself. From these products we can recognize that the curriculum consisted of two categories, of which the first may be described as semi-scientific and scholarly, and the second as literary and creative.

In considering the first or semi-scientific group of subjects, it is important to note that they did not stem from what we might call the scientific urge, the search for truth for truth's sake. Rather they grew and developed out of the main aim of school education, which was to teach the scribe how to write the Sumerian language. To satisfy this pedagogical need, the scribal teachers devised a system of instruction which consisted primarily of linguistic classification; they classified the Sumerian language into groups of related words and phrases and had the students memorize and copy them until they could reproduce them with ease. In the course of the third millennium B. C. these "textbooks" became ever more complete and gradually grew to be more or less stereotyped and standard for all the schools of Sumer. Among them we find long lists of the names of trees and reeds, of all sorts of animals including insects and birds, of countries, cities, and villages, of various kinds of stones and minerals. These compilations show a considerable acquaintance with what might be termed botanical, zoological, geographical, and mineralogical lore—a fact that is only now beginning to be realized by historians of science.

The schoolmen also prepared various sorts of mathematical tables, as well as many detailed mathematical problems together with their solutions. In the field of linguistics we find the study of Sumerian grammar well represented; the school tablets include a number inscribed with long lists of substantive complexes and verbal forms which indicate a highly sophisticated grammatical approach. Moreover, as a result of the gradual conquest of the Sumerians by the Semitic Akkadians in the last quarter of the third millennium B. C., the ancient professors prepared what are by all odds the oldest "dictionaries" known to man. The Semitic conquerors not only borrowed the Sumerian script; they also treasured highly the Sumerian literary works, and studied and imitated them long after Sumerian had become extinct as a spoken language. Hence arose a pedagogical need for dictionaries translating Sumerian words and phrases into the Akkadian language.

The literary and creative aspects of the Sumerian curriculum consisted primarily of studying, copying, and imitating the large and diversified group of literary compositions which must have originated and developed primarily in the latter half of the third millennium B. C. The number of these ancient works ran into the hundreds. They were almost all poetic in form, ranging in length from close to a thousand to fewer than 50 lines. As recovered to date, they consist in the main of the following genres: myths and epic tales in the form of narrative poems celebrating the deeds and exploits of the Sumerian gods and heroes; hymns to gods and kings; lamentations,

i.e., poems bewailing the not infrequent destruction of Sumerian cities; wisdom compositions including proverbs, fables, and essays. Of the several thousand literary tablets and fragments recovered from the ruins of Sumer, not a few are in the immature hand of the ancient pupils themselves.

Little is known as yet of the teaching methods and techniques practiced in the Sumerian school. In the morning, upon his arrival in school, the pupil studied the tablet which he had prepared the day before. After this, the "big brother" prepared a new tablet which the student then proceeded to copy and study. Both the "big brother" and the "school-father" would examine his copies to see if they were correct. Memorizing doubtless played a very large role in the students' work. The teacher and the assistants must also have supplemented the bare lists, tables, and literary texts which the student was copying and studying with considerable oral and explanatory material. But these "lectures," which would no doubt prove invaluable for our understanding of Sumerian scientific, religious, and literary thought, were in all probability never written down and hence are lost to us forever.

While the Sumerian school was in no way "tainted" by what we could call "progressive" education, the curriculum was at least to some extent "pedagogically" oriented. Thus the neophyte began his studies with quite elementary syllabic exercises such as tu-ta-ti, nu-na-ni, bu-ba-bi, and zu-za-zi. This was followed by the study and practice of a sign list of some 900 entries which gave single signs along with their pronunciation. Then came lists containing hundreds of words which had come to be written, for one reason or another, not by one sign but by a group of two or more signs. These were followed by collections containing literally thousands of words and phrases arranged according to meaning. Thus in the field of the "natural sciences" there were lists of parts of the animal and human body, of wild and domestic animals, of birds and fishes, of trees and plants, of stones and stars. The lists of artifacts included more than 1,500 wooden objects ranging from pieces of raw wood to boats and chariots; objects made of reed, skin, leather, and metal; assorted types of pottery and garments, of food and beverages. A special section of these lists dealt with place names—lands, cities and hamlets, rivers, canals, and fields. A collection of the most common expressions used in administrative and legal documents was also included, as well as a list of some 800 words denoting professions, kinship relations, deformities of the human body, etc.

It was only when the student had become well acquainted with the writing of the complex Sumerian vocabulary that he began to copy and memorize short sentences, proverbs, and fables, as well as collections of model contracts, the latter being essential for the redaction of the legal documents which played so large a role in the economic life of Sumer. Along with this linguistic training, the student was also given instruction in mathematics, which took the form of studying and copying metrological tables with the equivalences of

measures of capacity, length, and weight, as well as multiplication and reciprocal tables for computation purposes. Later the student was put to solving practical problems dealing with wages, canal digging, and construction work.

Discipline seems to have been a major problem in the Sumerian school, and there was no sparing of the rod. While no doubt the teachers encouraged their students to do good work by means of praise and commendation, they depended primarily on the cane for correcting the student's faults and inadequacies. The student did not have an easy time of it. He attended school daily from sunrise to sunset; he must have had some vacation, but we have no information on this point. He devoted many years to his school studies; he stayed in school from his early youth to the day when he became a young man. It would be interesting to know if, when, and to what extent the students were expected to specialize in one study or another. But on this point, as indeed on many other matters concerned with the school activities, our sources fail us.

Little is known about the school building. In the course of several Mesopotamian excavations, particular buildings have for one reason or another been identified as possible schoolhouses: one in Nippur, another in Sippar, and a third in Ur. Except for the fact that a large number of tablets were found in their rooms, there seems little to distinguish them from ordinary house rooms, and the identification may be mistaken. Some fifteen years ago, however, the French who excavated ancient Mari far to the west of Nippur uncovered two rooms which definitely seem to show physical features that might be characteristic of a schoolroom. In particular, they contain several rows of benches made of baked brick, capable of seating one, two, and four people. There may be a reference to the shape and form of the school building in an enigmatic riddle which an ancient Sumerian professor contrived, and which reads as follows:

A house which like heaven has a plow,
Which like a copper kettle is cloth-covered,
Which like a goose stands on a base;
He whose eyes are not open enters it,
He whose eyes are (wide) open comes out of it?

Its solution is: It's the school.

While the first part of this riddle, found on a still unpublished tablet excavated at Ur and copied by C. J. Gadd of the British Museum, is altogether obscure, the last two lines sum up succinctly the purpose of the school: to turn the ignorant and illiterate individual into a man of wisdom and learning.

As noted above, we have at our disposal quite a number of essays relating to education which the ancient schoolmen prepared for the edification of their students. These give a graphic and vivid picture of various aspects of school life, including the interrelationships among faculty, students, parents, and graduates. One of the better prepared essays might be entitled "Schooldays." It deals with the

day-to-day activities of the schoolboy as recounted by an "old grad" with some of the nostalgic details which the modern alumnus recounts at his class reunion. It is one of the most human documents excavated in the ancient Near East. Originally composed by an anonymous school teacher who lived about 2000 B. C., its simple, straightforward words reveal how little human nature has really changed through the millennia. We find our ancient schoolboy, not unlike his modern counterpart, terribly afraid of arriving late at school "lest his teacher cane him." When he awakes he hurries his mother to prepare his lunch. In school he misbehaves and is caned more than once by the teacher and his assistants; we are quite sure of the rendering "caning" since the Sumerian sign consists of "stick" and "flesh." As for the teacher, his pay seems to have been as meager then as it is now; at least he is only too happy to make a "little extra" from the parents to eke out his earnings.

The composition, which was no doubt the creation of a professor (*ummia*) in the *edubba*, begins with a direct question to an alumnus:

> "Old Grad, where did you go (when you were young)?"

The latter answers:

> "I went to school"

The professor-author then asks:

> "What did you do in school?"

This is the cue for the "Old Boy" to reminisce about his school activities:

> "I recited my tablet, ate my lunch, prepared my (new) tablet, wrote it, finished it, then my model tablets were brought to me, and in the afternoon my exercise tablets were brought to me. When school was dismissed, I went home, entered the house, and found my father sitting there. I explained (?) my exercise tablets to my father, recited my tablet to him, and he was delighted, (so much so) that I attended him (with joy)."

The author now has the schoolboy turn to the house servants—it was evidently quite a well-to-do home—with these words:

> "I am thirsty, give me water to drink; I am hungry, give me bread to eat; wash my feet, set up my bed; I want to go to sleep. Wake me early in the morning, I must not be late, lest my teacher cane me."

Presumably all this was done, for we next find our schoolboy saying:

> "When I arose early in the morning, I faced my mother and said to her: 'Give me my lunch, I want to go to school' My mother gave me two rolls and I set out; my mother gave me two rolls and I went to school. In school the fellow in charge of punctuality said: 'Why are you late?' Afraid and with pounding heart I entered before my teacher and made a respectful curtsy."

Curtsy or not, it was a bad day for the pupil, at least as the "Old Grad" remembered it nostalgically, for he had to take canings from various members of the school staff. In the words which the author puts in the mouth of the alumnus:

> "My headmaster read my tablet, said:
> 'There is something missing,' caned me. . . .

The fellow in charge of neatness (?) said:
'You loitered in the street and did not straighten up (?) your clothes (?),' caned me.
The fellow in charge of 'silence' said:
'Why did you talk without permission?' caned me. . . .
The fellow in charge of good behavior said:
'Why did you rise without permission?' caned me.
The fellow in charge of the gate said:
'Why did you go out from (the gate) without permission?' caned me.
The fellow in charge of the whip said:
'Why did you take . . . without permission?' caned me.
The fellow in charge of Sumerian said:
'Why didn't you speak Sumerian?' caned me.
My teacher (*ummia*) said:
'Your hand is unsatisfactory,' caned me.
(And so) I (began to) hate the scribal art, (to) neglect the scribal art.
My teacher took no delight in me, (even) stopped teaching (?) me his skill in the scribal art; in no way prepared me in the matters (essential) to the art (of being) a 'young scribe' (or) the art (of being) a 'big brother.' "

In despair, according to our one-time schoolboy, the lad turned to his father, saying:

"Give him (a bit extra) salary, (and) let him become more kindly (?); let him be free (for a time) from arithmetic; (when) he counts up all the school affairs of the students, let him count me (too among them)" [meaning perhaps "Let him not neglect me any longer"].

From here on the author himself takes over, describing the events as if he had been there and actually witnessed them:

To that which the schoolboy said, his father gave heed. The teacher was brought from school, and, after entering the house, he was seated on the 'big chair'. The schoolboy attended and served him, and whatever he learned of the scribal art he unfolded to his father. Then did the father in the joy of his heart say joyfully to the headmaster of the school:

"My little fellow has opened (wide) his hand, (and) you made wisdom enter there; you showed him all the fine points of the scribal art; you made him see the solutions of the mathematical and arithmetical (problems); you (taught him how) to make deep (?) the cuneiform script (?)."

The author now has the father turn to his household servants, saying:

"Pour for him *irda*-oil, bring it to the table for him. Make fragrant oil flow like water on his stomach (and) back; I want to dress him in a garment, give him (some extra) salary; put a ring on his hand."

They poured for him *irda*-oil, brought it to the table for him, made fragrant oil flow like water on his stomach (and) back; he (the father) dressed him in a garment, gave him (some extra) salary, put a ring on his hand. (Then) did the teacher speak out to him in the joy of his heart:

"Young fellow, (because) you hated not my words, neglected them not, may you complete the scribal art from beginning to end. Because you gave me everything without stint, paid me a salary larger than my efforts (deserve), (and) have honored me, may Nidaba, the queen of guardian angels, be your guardian angel; may your pointed stylus write well for you; may your exercises contain no faults. Of your brothers, may you be their leader; of your friends, may you be their chief; may you rank the highest among the schoolboys, satisfy (?) all who walk (?) to and fro in (?) the palaces. Little fellow, you know (your) father, I am second to him; that homage be paid to you, that you be blessed, may the god of your father bring this about with firm hand; he will bring prayer and supplica-

tion to Nidaba your queen, as if it were a matter for your good. Thus when you put a kindly hand on the . . . of the teacher, (and) on the forehead of the 'big brother,' then (?) your young comrades will show you favor. You have carried out well the school's activities, you are a man of learning. You have exalted Nidaba, the queen of learning. O Nidaba, praise!"

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The Assyriological or, as it may be more aptly designated, the "cuneiformological" literature which has grown up in the past century and a half is vast and extensive. It includes archeological reports, text editions, text translations, and lexicographical and grammatical compilations, as well as books, monographs, and innumerable articles concerned with history, administration, economic organization, religion, art, literature, science, and technology. The interested student and scholar will find a comprehensive analytical bibliography of the cuneiformological publications up to the year 1954 on pages 750-770 of S. A. Pallis's useful but rather capricious book, *The Antiquity of Iraq: A Handbook of Assyriology* (Copenhagen, 1956). A far less detailed but rather convenient list of the cuneiformological works which appeared up to the year 1923 is to be found in L. Delaporte's well organized and lucid *Mesopotamia: The Babylonian and Assyrian Civilization* (London, 1925). A detailed and very useful bibliography of practically all cuneiformological publications has been appearing regularly, from the year 1926 to the present, in the *Archiv für Orientforschung*, a journal edited by E. F. Weidner, who also published the valuable bibliographical work, *Die Assyriologie 1914-1922.*

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# LITERARY TEXTS FROM UR VI, PART II

*By* SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

(*University Museum, University of Pennsylvania*)

*U.E.T.* VI, Part II will consist of about 150 plates of copies prepared by C. J. Gadd from some 200 pieces varying in size from fairly well-preserved four column tablets to small fragments and " buns " inscribed with but a few lines of text. Tentatively, the arrangement of the volume is planned to be as follows:

*Lamentations.* All in all there are nineteen tablets and fragments inscribed with several different lamentations. Thus, there is a fragment which is probably part of the long known Nippur lament, which begins with a bitter wailing over the destruction of Nippur and Sumer as a whole, and ends on a note of joy celebrating their delivery and restoration by king Išme Dagan of Isin. There is a well preserved tablet inscribed with lines 110–171 of " The Curse of Agade ", the historiographic lament which concerns the rise and fall of Sargon's capital, Agade. There is a fragment inscribed with part of a composition which may be designated " The Lamentation over the Destruction of Erech and Sumer ", for which there are available at present four published and five unpublished pieces; as yet only a small part of this composition can be restored, a passage of about 120 lines containing the partially preserved text of *kirugu* 4, 5, and 6. Six of the Ur pieces are inscribed, not unexpectedly, with " The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur ", which I published some 25 years ago as no. 12 of the Oriental Institute's *Assyriological Studies*. Five of these are excellently preserved tablets, but since the text has been almost completely available in published form for many years, the new Ur material will add but little that is new except, of course, a considerable supply of new variants which should prove to be of some significance.

By all odds the most important of the nineteen pieces, are nine tablets inscribed with the historiographically significant composition which may be designated as " The Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur and Sumer ", and which has hitherto been mistakenly assumed to be two different compositions, a so-called " Ibbi-Sin " lamentation and a lamentation over the destruction of Sumer and Akkad. Although there were hitherto available fifteen published and eleven unpublished pieces belonging to this composition, it is the new Ur material which makes possible the restoration of the composition as a whole and which clarifies its structure and contents.

The lamentation, which is about 500 lines in length, is divided into 5 *kirugu*'s of different length. The first (probably 108 lines long) begins with a detailed

account of the decision made by four leading deities of the pantheon—An, Enlil, Enki, and Nintu—to destroy and devastate Sumer, to transfer " kingship " from Ur, to deport its Sumerian inhabitants and have their places taken by the Su-people and the Elamites; it ends with a description of the violent destruction of Sumer by the Guti whom Enlil had brought down for this purpose from their mountain-land. In the second *kirugu* (about 170 lines in length) the poet enumerates all the more important cities of Sumer and portrays briefly, often in the words of the wife of the tutelary deity of the city, the disaster which had befallen them (it is the text of this *kirugu* which as mentioned above, was formerly taken to be a separate lamentation concerned with the destruction of Sumer and Akkad): Kiš, Kazallu, Isin, Nippur, Keš, Adab (these two cities according to our poet were taken over completely by the Guti), Zabalam, Erech, Umma, Lagaš and its environs (destroyed by the Elamites), Gaeš, Gišbanda, HA.A, Eridu, Ur (destroyed by the Elamites, the Halma-people, and the Tidnumites), and Udinim. In the third *kirugu* (about 62 lines in length) the poet turns to Ur, depicting its destruction and devastation in considerable detail, and dwelling particularly on the impoverishment of the palace, the desolation of the city's docks and quays, and the despoliation of the Ekišnugal by the enemy; the *kirugu* closes, however, with a prayer by Sin to Enlil to return the city to his " arms " and to restore the *me*'s of Sumer. The fourth *kirugu* (120 lines in length) begins with Enlil's rejection of Sin's plea; continues with a detailed account of the destruction of the city, the suffering of its inhabitants, and the defilement of the Ekišnugal by the Elamites—much of this is in the form of a lament uttered by the people of Ur, themselves; concludes with a second prayer by Sin to Enlil who this time shows himself favourably disposed toward his son, and pronounces a blessing for the restoration of Ur and the Ekišnugal. The fifth *kirugu* (about 40 lines in length) continues with Enlil's blessing of Ur, part of which is in the form of a curse on Sumer's enemies and destroyers: Gutium, Tidnum, and Anšan (Elam, for some unknown reason, is omitted from the curse).

2. *Wisdom Compositions.* Following the lamentations, the new Ur volume will contain about 150 pieces, representative of the various types of " wisdom " compositions current in Sumer in the early second millennium B.C.; vituperative disputations, compositions concerned with school activities and commonly known as *edubba* texts, precepts, and proverbs. First, the disputations, of which four are found represented in the new Ur texts. Thus are well preserved pieces inscribed with " The Disputation between Enki-mansi and Girni-išag ", a composition of 192 lines pieced together from ten tablets and fragments, in which these two school worthies fulminate against each other with such bitterness and venom that they well-nigh come to blows, and are only silenced by threats of severe punishment on the part of one of the *edubba*-personnel, probably the šeš-gal, or " big brother ". Two well preserved Ur

tablets are inscribed with " The Disputation between Enkita and Enki-hegal, a composition of some 230 lines, pieced together from 21 tablets and fragments, which begins with the rather unexpected joyous line tu$_{19}$-tu$_{19}$-lá u$_4$-da kin-me nu-ag-en-dè-en " Fellows, to-day we don't work ", and continues with a series of some twenty paragraphs, each usually from four to five lines in length, replete with insults and taunts hurled by the two protagonists against each other. Two rather poorly preserved Ur pieces are inscribed with part of a 140-line composition pieced together from 35 tablets and fragments, which seems to consist of a bitter debate between two unnamed *edubba* graduates, academicians, as it were. It begins with a highly boastful speech by one of the protagonists introduced by the line dumu-é-dub-ba-a u$_4$-ul-la-àm gá-nu ga-na ga-ab-sá-sá-en-dè-en " Old school grad, come let us debate." This unnamed rival responds accordingly and the insults fly back and forth to the very end of the composition which closes with a vituperative blast by one of the antagonists, consisting of twenty lines of vitriolitic abuse. Finally there are two poorly preserved Ur fragments belonging to a disputation between two irascible, cantankerous, and acid-tongued females who vituperate and fulminate against each other in, as might have been expected, the Emesal dialect. The composition, which consists of about 240 lines pieced together from 33 tablets and fragments, is divided into some twenty-odd paragraphs distributed more or less evenly between the two antagonists, all filled with derisive taunts and scurrilous, sarcastic sneers. These four disputations, which may turn out to be of some significance for the history of literature, and especially the dialogue literary genre current in the western world throughout the millennia, are being pieced together, transliterated, and translated by our young Spanish colleague M. Civil who has been working for the past four years in the University Museum, and has now gone to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and there is every reason to believe that a scholarly edition of these disputations will be published in the not too distant future.

Turning from the disputations to the *edubba*-texts we find among the Ur tablets and fragments, five inscribed with parts of " A Scribe and His Perverse Son ", the composition of almost 180 lines pieced together from close to thirty tablets and fragments, whose contents are sketched in Chapter 3 of *History Begins at Sumer*. Altogether new and quite important for the history of education are the contents of three Ur pieces inscribed with what at present looks like two *edubba*-compositions, although it may turn out that all three pieces belong to the same literary work. Two of these Ur pieces are duplicates which enable us to restore in good part the first 63 lines of the composition, which interestingly enough begins with four lines that are identical with the first four lines of " Schooldays ", the *edubba*-text published some fifteen years ago in volume 69 of the Journal of the American Oriental Society; these four lines, as some of you will recollect, read:

dumu-é-dub-ba-$u_4$-ul-la-àm me-šè ì-du-dè-en
é-dub-ba-šè ì-du-dè-en
é-dub-ba-a a-na-àm ì-ag
dub-mu ì-šed NIG-KA-DU-mu ì-kú

and which may be tentatively translated

" Old school-grad where did you go (in your youth)? "
" I went to school."
" What did you do in school? "
" I recited by tablet, ate my lunch " . . .

The remainder of the new Ur text, however, is altogether different from the " Schooldays " text, and seems to be taken up almost entirely with a speech by the *dumu-é-dub-ba* in which he exalts the *ummia* for having taught him the calculation of areas of vari-shaped fields, as well as those required for building houses, digging canals, and for instructing him in the ways of getting on in the world.

But it is the second of the Ur *edubba*'s which is revealing for the educational practices of the Mesopotamian schools, since from it we learn for the first time that the ancient students had a six-day vacation each month. This Ur tablet, which probably contains an extract from the middle of the composition, seems to begin with a question-answer colloquy between the *dumu-é-dub-ba* and some unspecified individual, which leads up to the former's describing some of the curricular activities current in the *edubba*, in the course of which he says:

nig-šed-itu-é-dub-ba-a ì-tuš-ù-na-mu gar-ra
$u_4$-$du_8$-a-mu itu-da $u_4$-3-àm
ezen-aš-aš-bi itu-da $u_4$-3-àm
šà-ba itu-da $u_4$-24-àm
é-dub-ba-a ì-in-ti-i-na-mu $u_4$-da-BU-da nam-me

which might tentatively be rendered as follows:

The fixed count of my monthly stay in the *edubba* (is):
My days of recess are three each month,
Its holidays are three each month;
In its midst, 24 days each month,
(Are the days) I live in the *edubba*, long days they are.

Continuing our survey of the contents of the Ur " wisdom " texts we find one well preserved four-column tablet inscribed with the practical down-to-earth precept collection now commonly known as " The Farmer's Almanac ", a tentative translation of which is given in my recently published *The Sumerians*, a translation which owes much to the contributions of Benno Landsberger, Thorkild Jacobsen, and M. Civil. Three fairly well preserved tablets are inscribed with the first 126 lines of another, and more general precept col-

lection, " The Instructions of Šuruppak to His Son Ziusudra." This is a composition of over three hundred lines of which there had been available hitherto only the second half of the text, and the new Ur material therefore makes a most welcome addition. Interestingly enough, there is also a fairly well preserved tablet in the Hermitage in Leningrad which I was generously permitted to study during my stay in Russia in 1957, which originally had contained the first 74 lines of the composition. As a result of all this new material, the nature and contents of " The Instructions of Šuruppak to His Son Ziusudra " are now much clearer than before and may be very sketchily summarized as follows:

The text begins with the following instructive passage, parts of which are repeated several times throughout the body of the composition:

> In days of yore, in distant days of yore,
> In nights of yore, in distant nights of yore,
> In years of yore, in distant years of yore,
> In those days, the wise one, the speaker of clever words who gave life (?) to the seed of the Land,
> Šuruppak, the wise one, the speaker of clever words, who gave life (?) to the seed of the Land,
> Šuruppak instructed his son,
> Šuruppak, the son of Ubar-tu-tu,
> Instructed his son Ziusudra:
> " My son I will instruct you, take my instruction.
> Ziusudra, I will say a word to you, give heed to it,
> Do not neglect my instructions,
> Do not transgress my spoken word,
> The instructions of a father are precious, put them about your neck " . . .

There, then, follow the instructions which, as far as I can understand the text at present concern especially one's conduct towards others; for example, not to be quarrelsome, not to have intercourse with a servant girl, not to trespass on the property of another, not to be two-faced, not to curse or boast, not to use corporal punishment readily, not to travel alone, to treat an older brother and sister like a father and mother, etc. etc. Interspersed throughout the text are also maxims and old saws concerned with the idler, the liar, the rich man, the bachelor, the violent man, good and evil, love and hate, the noble and the powerful, etc.

Rounding out the Sumerian wisdom texts from Ur are more than a hundred proverbs, fables, and riddles, practically all inscribed on coarse, clay buns, usually one to a bun. These are all of the type published by Edmund Gordon in his monumental monograph *Sumerian Proverbs*, and will help to advance

considerably our understanding and knowledge of this remarkably well developed Sumerian literary genre.

In addition to the lamentations and wisdom texts which I have treated in some detail, there are 11 pieces inscribed with Sumerian literary letters, seven liturgical pieces of the Kassite period, about a score of Sumerian pieces whose contents are not identifiable at the moment, some ten incantations, and half a dozen Akkadian literary texts, two of the more interesting of which, Mr. Gadd is publishing in the forthcoming number of *Iraq*. All in all, therefore, the new Ur volume consisting of copies prepared by Mr. Gadd over the years, and to which he has devoted so much time and labor, will considerably enrich cuneiform studies in general, and Sumerological research in particular, and it is a profound privilege to have had the opportunity to participate in its preparation and publication.

Cuneiform Studies and the History of Literature: The Sumerian Sacred Marriage Texts
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# CUNEIFORM STUDIES AND THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE: THE SUMERIAN SACRED MARRIAGE TEXTS

**SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER**

Clark Research Professor of Assyriology and Curator of Tablet Collections,
University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

(*Read April 19, 1963, in the Symposium on Cuneiform Studies and the History of Civilization*)

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *ANET* | *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.* Pritchard, James B., editor (Princeton, 2nd. edition, 1955). |
| *AS* 12 | Kramer, S. N. *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* (Chicago, 1940). |
| *BE XXX* | Radau, Hugo. *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Dumuzi* (München, 1913). |
| *Bi Or* | *Bibliotheca Orientalia* (Leiden, 1943). |
| CBS | University Museum, Catalogue of the Babylonian Section (followed by number). |
| *CT XLII* | Figulla, H. H., *Cuneiform Texts from the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1959). |
| *HBS* | Kramer, S. N. *History Begins at Sumer* (New York, 1959). |
| *JCS* | *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (New Haven, 1947–). |
| *MAW* | *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, Kramer, S. N., editor (New York, 1961). |
| N | University Museum, Catalogue of the Babylonian Section (followed by number). |
| Ni | Museum of the Ancient Orient (Istanbul), Nippur Collection (followed by number). |
| *OLZ* | *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1898–). |
| *PAPS* | *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1838–). |
| *RA* | *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* (Paris, 1884–). |
| *SAHG* | Falkenstein, Adam and Von Soden, Wolfram. *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1953). |
| *SHCC* | Kramer, S. N. *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963). |
| *SEM* | Chiera, Edward. *Sumerian Epics and Myths* (Chicago, 1934). |
| *SLTN* | Kramer, S. N. *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient* (Philadelphia, 1944). |
| *SSA* | Van Dijk, J. J. A. *La Sagesse suméro-accadienne* (Leiden, 1953). |
| *TC II* | Van Dijk, J. J. A. *Tabulae Cuneiforme a F.M. Th. de Liagre Böhl* (Leiden, 1957). |
| *TMH N.F. III* | Bernhardt, Inez and Kramer, S. N. *Sumerische Literarische Texte aus Nippur* (Berlin, 1961). |
| *TRS* | Genouillac, Henri de. *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre* (Paris, 1930). |
| *UET VI* | Gadd, C. J. and Kramer, S. N. *Literary Texts from Ur* (in press). |
| UM | University Museum, Catalogue of the Babylonian Section (followed by number). |
| 3NT | Joint Expedition to Nippur of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Third Season (1951–1952). Registry of clay tablets. |

## SUMERIAN LITERATURE AND THE LITERATURE OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

TO JUDGE from the available information, about half a million cuneiform documents varying considerably in shape, size, and state of preservation, have been excavated in the Near East, and are scattered throughout the museums and collections the world over. Of this vast number, probably less than two per cent or less than ten thousand tablets and fragments are inscribed with belles-lettres, such as myths, epic tales, hymns, prayers, laments, and "wisdom" compositions. The great majority of these are written in the Sumerian and Akkadian languages; the remainder are in Hittite and Ugaritic (Canaanite), and very rarely in such other languages as Hattic, Hurrian, Luvian, and Palaic.[1] Except for the Sumerian documents, almost all these literary works have been published and translated, and their significance for the history of literature, and particularly for Biblical and Greek literature, has been pointed out and evaluated by a number of scholars over the years.[2] This paper will therefore confine itself primarily to the Sumerian compositions and their impress on the literary works of the Hebrews and the Greeks.

As of today there are about 5,000 Sumerian literary tablets and fragments scattered throughout the museums the world over. About a third of these have now been published; most of the remainder are available at the University Museum in the form of originals, copies, photographs, and casts. Practically all these tablets date from the eighteenth century B.C., although there is good reason to assume that not a few of the compositions inscribed on them were composed several centuries earlier. Actually the Sumerians first began to write down their literary works some time about 2,500 B.C. although the earliest as yet discovered date from about a century or so later. By the end of the third millennium their literary output must have been prolific, but no doubt owing to archaeological accident relatively few literary products from this highly creative period, have as yet come to light. The vast majority of the excavated Sumerian literary tablets date from the first half of the second millennium B.C. when the Semitic Amorites were infiltrating the land, and when Sumerian was gradually replaced by Akkadian as the spoken language of the land. It was throughout this, the so-called First Post-Sumerian Period, that the earlier literary works were studied, copied, and redacted; in fact the presumably Akkadian speaking teachers, poets, and scribes of these post-Sumerian days even created new Sumerian literary works, although by and large these followed closely their earlier prototypes.

Sumerian literature, in the restricted sense of belles-lettres, consists of myths and epic tales, hymns and lamentations, "historiography" and "wisdom." The large majority of the Sumerian literary works are written in poetic form. The use of meter and rhyme was entirely unknown but practically all other poetic devices and techniques were utilized with skill, imagination, and effect: repetition and parallelism, metaphor and simile, chorus and refrain.

As of today, there have been recovered wholly, or in large part, twenty Sumerian myths; these are concerned primarily with the creation and organization of the universe; the birth of the gods, and their deeds and misdeeds; the creation of man; the sending of the flood against man; the mysteries of death and the Nether World. There are now restorable, wholly or in part, nine Sumerian epic tales, revolving about the three Sumerian heroes who lived early in the third millennium B.C.: Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and Gilgamesh. One of the most carefully cultivated literary arts in Sumer was hymnography. Scores of hymns to gods, kings, and temples have been recovered to date, and there is every reason to believe that this is only a fraction of the hymns current in ancient Sumer. There are a series of lamentations and historiographic documents concerned with the destruction of such famous cities as Ur, Nippur, and Agade. Finally—and this has only become clarified in the last decade or so—the Sumerians had a large and diversified group of wisdom compositions: debates, essays, and collections of precepts and proverbs contain-

[1] For a more detailed account of the nature, content, and provenience of the extant cuneiform documents, *cf.* S. N. Kramer, "Cultural Anthropology and the Cuneiform Documents," *Ethnology* 1 (1962): 299–314.

[2] For a representative collection of the cuneiform documents as a whole, *cf. ANET;* the "Index of Biblical References" at the end of the book (pages 520–523) is a valuable indicator of the possible and probable interconnections between Biblical and cuneiform literature. For the impress of cuneiform literature on the Greek and Aegean world, *cf.* H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Mythology" (chapter 3 of *MAW*); T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (2nd ed., New York, 1961); J. Fontenrose, *Python* (Berkeley, 1959); C. H. Gordon, *Before the Bible* (New York, 1962).

ing hundreds of maxims, sayings, apothegms, and even Aesop-like fables.[3]

Sumerian literature, it is generally agreed, has left a deep impress on the literary products of the entire ancient Near East, especially since at one time or another practically all the peoples of Western Asia—Akkadians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Hittites, Hurrians, Canaanites, and Elamites, to name only those for which positive and direct evidence is available at the moment—had found it to their interest to borrow the cuneiform script in order to inscribe their own records and writings. For the adoption and adaptation of this syllabic and logographic system of writing, which had been developed by the Sumerians to write their own agglutinative and largely monosyllabic tongue, demanded a thorough training in the Sumerian language and literature. To this end, no doubt, learned scribes and teachers were imported from Sumer to the schools of the neighboring lands, while the native scribes traveled to Sumer for special instruction in its more famous academies. All of which resulted in the wide spread of Sumerian culture and literature. The ideas and ideals of the Sumerians—their cosmology, theology, ethics, and system of education—permeated to a greater or lesser extent the thoughts and writings of all the peoples of the ancient Near East including Palestine. So too, did the Sumerian literary forms and themes—their plots, motifs, stylistic devices, and aesthetic techniques. And since, as is becoming ever more apparent, the interconnections between Ancient Mesopotamia, Palestine, and the Aegean world were manifold and far-reaching, it is not unlikely, *a priori*, that traces of Sumerian influence may be found even in the literatures of the ancient Greeks and Hebrews.

To be sure, even the earliest Greek and Hebrew literary works were not written down in their present form earlier than the eighth century B.C., while most of the Sumerian literary documents were composed about 2000 B.C., or not long thereafter. There is therefore, no question of any contemporary borrowing from the Sumerian literary sources. Sumerian influence penetrated the Greek and Hebrew world through the Canaanite, Hittite, and Akkadian literature. Particularly through the latter, since it is well known, that in the second millennium B.C. the Akkadian language was the *lingua franca* of practically the entire literary world. Akkadian literary works must therefore have been quite familiar to men of letters, even in the Palestinian and Aegean world.[4] But not a few of these Akkadian literary works went back to Sumerian prototypes, remodeled and transformed over the centuries.

Be that as it may, the fact is that we can now point out a considerable number of parallels between the Sumerian and Greek literary remains. First, the myths. A number of striking similarities between some of the Greek mythological motifs and those found in the Mesopotamian world going back to Sumerian sources are now generally recognized by classicists as well as Orientalists: the creation of the universe, the birth of the gods, the wise and invaluable culture hero, the slaying of the dragon, theomachy, stories of a "Flood," plagues as divine punishment, the dismal, dreary Nether World with its uninviting river and ferryman—all these mythological themes and motifs will be found in both the Sumerian and the Greek literatures.

Turning to epic poetry, it is a fact that as early as 1932, the eminent English scholar, H. Munro Chadwick, had already noted in his monumental three-volume work *Growth of Literature* (Cambridge, 1932–1940), that in view of the Akkadian Epic of Gilgamesh it is not unlikely that Mesopotamia was the cradle of the written epic. Since that time, however, there have been identified a number of Sumerian epic tales, which can be recognized as forerunners of the Akkadian Gilgamesh epic. These Sumerian epic tales have a good deal in common with Greek epic poetry: they are concerned with the deeds and exploits of individuals rather than with the state and its fate; their plot is based on a kernel of historical truth although the poet does not hesitate to introduce unhistorical motifs and conventions such as exaggerated notions of the hero's power, ominous dreams, and the presence of divine beings; stylistically both Sumerian and Greek epic poetry are fond of the static epithet, lengthy repetitions, speeches between characters, and detailed leisurely descriptions.[5] In fact the

[3] For a more detailed account of the nature and contents of the Sumerian literary works, *cf.* S. N. Kramer, "Sumerian Literature: A General Survey," Chapter 9 of *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (New York, 1961).

[4] *Cf.* especially the most recent inscriptional discoveries in Ugarit as reported by J. Nougayrol, "Nouveaux Textes Accadiens de Ras-Shamra," Académies des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, *Comptes Rendus* **1960**: 163–171.

[5] *Cf.* note 2 for bibliographical references.

resemblances between Greek and Sumerian epic poetry are so striking that it seemed not unreasonable to conclude that the Sumerians, not unlike the Greeks, underwent what is commonly known as a "Heroic Age" era in the course of their conquest of the land which later came to be known as Sumer.[6]

On the other hand there is little likelihood that the Greeks had developed anything like the vast and highly sophisticated hymnal literature of the Sumerians since the temple and its liturgy no doubt played a much larger role in Sumerian than in Greek life. So, too, the lamentation compositions bewailing the destruction of Sumer and its cities, that were high favorites in the Mesopotamian cults and have left their traces in Biblical literature, seem to have no counterparts in Greek literature. The Greek dirge or elegy, however, has its counterpart in two Sumerian compositions on a Pushkin Museum tablet, only recently translated, in which a certain Ludingirra bemoans in hyperbolic terms the death of his father and of his wife.[7]

Finally there is the Sumerian "wisdom" literature consisting of essays, proverbs, fables, and riddles, precepts and instructions, and a remarkable group of disputations and dialogues which were practically unknown even to the scholarly world until recent days, and which my young Spanish colleague M. Civil, formerly a Research Associate in the Near Eastern Section of the University Museum, is now piecing together from hundreds of tablets and fragments in our museum and abroad, and preparing for publication.[8] A number of Sumerian parallels to the Aesopic fables have become known in recent years as a result of the researches of another young colleague Edmund Gordon on Sumerian proverbs and fables.[9] A noteworthy example of literary parallelism is the so-called Sumerian "Farmer's Almanac"[10] in which a farmer instructs his son concerning all the more important chores and labors which must be performed during the year in order to ensure a successful crop, and which is reminiscent to no little extent of Hesiod's *Works and Days*. But the Sumerian "wisdom" compositions which I wish to stress before you today are the disputations and dialogues, eleven in number, a variorum edition of which M. Civil is now preparing. For they are the forerunners and prototypes of similar literary compositions current all over the ancient world as far as India[11] on the east and probably Greece on the west, and unless I am very much mistaken they provided the literary and stylistic framework for even such profound philosophic works as Plato's *Dialogues*. I had indeed long suspected that this might be the case, but until very recently I was loath to say so in print because only the *disputation* compositions were known, and these consisted of debates between such personified entities as Cattle and Grain, Bird and Fish, Summer and Winter, Tree and Reed, Silver and Copper, Pickaxe and Plow. At long last, however, we have at our disposal five disputations and dialogues between humans, and two of the compositions actually furnish the names of the rival debaters. Interestingly enough, in at least three of the compositions the individuals involved are schoolmen, "academicians," as it were, since they are described as graduates of the *Edubba*, or "Tablet House," the Sumerian prototype of all ancient Near Eastern schools and academies. To be sure it is a far cry from the rather trivial, puerile, superficial and self-centered debates of these Sumerian schoolmen to the profound, soul-searching Socratic dialogues. But even the mightiest oak from the lowly acorn doth grow, and since the Sumerian disputation-dialogue genre was copied and imitated all over the ancient world, it seems not unlikely that it was known even to the Hellenic men of letters who transformed it by their Greek genius into the remarkable dialectic philosophic vehicle which has molded the thought of the Western man for over two thousand years.

Turning from Greek literature to Hebrew, the Sumerian impress on the Bible has been treated by me several years ago in considerable detail in an article published in *Analecta Biblica*,[12] entitled "Sumerian Literature and the Bible"; these parallels include such literary themes and motifs as: (1) creation of the universe; (2) creation of

[6] *Cf.* S. N. Kramer, "Heroes of Sumer," *PAPS* **90**, 2 (1946): 120–130.

[7] *Cf.* Kramer, *Two Elegies on a Pushkin Museum Tablet* (Moscow, 1960); in English with a Russian translation.

[8] It will take several years before the book is actually published; for the present, *cf.* S. N. Kramer, "Sumerian Literature, A General Survey" (see note 3), and chapter 5 of *SHCC;* and E. I. Gordon, "A New Look at the Wisdom of Sumer and Akkad," *Bi Or* 17 (1960): 122–152.

[9] For bibliographical details, *cf.* pages 138–139 of Gordon's article cited in the preceding note.

[10] *Cf.* for the present *SHCC* pp. 103–107 and pp. 340–342.

[11] *Cf.* for the present J. de Menosce, "Sumero-Iranica," *RA* **1957**: 145–146.

[12] *Analecta Biblica* **12** (Rome, 1959): pp. 185–204.

man; (3) creation techniques; (4) Paradise; (5) the Flood; (6) the "Cain-Abel" motif; (7) the dispersion of mankind; (8) the earth and its organization; (9) personal god; (10) divine retribution and national catastrophe; (11) punishment by plague; (12) suffering and submission; (13) death and the Nether World. As pointed out in that article, this list only skims the cream and scratches the surface; in the coming years, as more and more of the Sumerian literary documents are made available, the number of Sumerian parallels to the Bible will grow and multiply, particularly for such books as Psalms, Proverbs, Lamentations, and Song of Songs. Thus just last year a book was published by a Biblical scholar which treated only one psalm, Psalm 51, in which innumerable points of contact between it and Sumero-Akkadian literature were identified and analyzed.[13] In this paper, however, I should like to treat only the Sumerian parallels to Solomon's "Song of Songs," also known as "Canticles." This book, that is like no other book in the Old Testament, is not concerned with the history of the Hebrew people and contains no revealing prophecies or inspiring preachments—in fact it seems to be nothing more than a loosely organized collection of sensuous love songs devoid of any religious, theological, moralistic, or didactic motivation. No wonder that there was considerable debate among the early Rabbis about the propriety of including it in the Biblical canon altogether, although once included it came to be looked upon as one of the most inspiring books in the Old Testament, since it was interpreted allegorically by both Jews and Christians with Jahweh or Christ in the role of the lover, and the Hebrew people or the Church in the role of the bride.[14]

Modern scholarship, however, cannot accept this whimsical and fanciful allegorical interpretation, attractive and inspiring as it may be. To judge from what we now know of the history and culture of the Ancient Near East, there is good reason to conclude that at least some of the passionate and rhapsodic love songs of which the book is composed, are cultic in origin, and were sung in the course of the hieros gamos, or "sacred marriage," between a king and votary of Astarte, the Canaanite goddess of love and procreation whom even so wise a Hebrew king as the great Solomon, worshiped and adored, according to I Kings 11: 5. But as more than one scholar has surmised,[15] this Canaanite rite itself has Mesopotamian roots; it goes back to the Tammuz-Ishtar cult, which in turn is a Semitic Akkadian counterpart of the Sumerian Dumuzi-Inanna cult. Until recently, there was little of a tangible and substantive nature to support this hypothesis. But in the course of recent years, a considerable amount of new Sumerian literary material has come to light which tends to confirm the thesis that at least some of the songs in the book of Canticles, reflect Sumerian origins. The following pages will sketch briefly the contents of the relevant Sumerian literary compositions and will present translations of the still unpublished texts as well as of the published ones, when deemed advisable.

The Dumuzi-Inanna cult and the sacred marriage ceremony which was its central rite, probably originated as far as we can tell at present, in the city known in the Bible as Erech, in the cuneiform literature as Unug or Urug, and in modern Arabic as Warka. Dumuzi, who is usually known by the epithet "shepherd" was probably a prominent ruler of the important Sumerian city-state of Erech early in the third millennium B.C. The tutelary deity of Erech was Inanna, a goddess who throughout Sumerian history was deemed to be the deity primarily responsible for sexual love, fertility, and procreation, and the names of Dumuzi and Inanna no doubt became closely intertwined in the early myth and ritual of Erech. Sometime about the middle of the third millennium, however, when the Sumerians were becoming more and more nationally minded, and the theologians were in the process of systematizing and classifying the Sumerian pantheon accordingly, there arose the seemingly quite plausible and not unattractive idea that the king of Sumer, no matter who he was, or from what city he originated, must become the husband of the life-giving goddess of love, that is, Inanna of Erech, if he were to insure effectively the fecundity and prosperity of the

[13] E. R. Dalgish, *Psalm Fifty-One in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism* (Leiden, 1962). This is a model comparative study of one psalmic genre and its Sumero-Akkadian cognates and analogues, with a comprehensive, up-to-date bibliography which should prove invaluable for the student of Biblical and Near Eastern interconnections.

[14] *Cf.* Theophile Meek's valuable Introduction to the book in *The Interpreter's Bible* (12 v., New York, 1956) **5**: pp. 91–97, which includes the pertinent bibliographical references.

[15] For bibliographical details, *cf.* the preceding note, and Theophile Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (3rd ed., New York, 1960) p. 141, note 70.

land and its people.[16] After the initial idea had become accepted dogma it was actually carried out in ritual practice by the consummation of a marriage ceremony which was probably repeated every New Year, between the king and a specially selected hierodule from Inanna's temple in Erech. To lend importance and prestige, however, to both the credo and the rite, it was advisable to carry them back to earlier times, and the honor of being the first mortal ruler to have become the husband of Inanna, Erech's most revered deity, not unnaturally fell to Dumuzi, the Erech ruler who over the centuries had become a memorable figure in Sumerian legend and lore.

The available Sumerian literary material, new and old, concerned with the sacred marriage, consists of (1) poems pertaining to the premarital courting and wooing of Dumuzi and Inanna; (2) poetic compositions relating to the marriage ritual, and stressing its importance for the welfare of the king and the prosperity of Sumer and its people; and (3) rhapsodic love songs uttered by the goddess Inanna to Dumuzi or by one of the temple hierodules to the king in the role of Dumuzi. The poems relating to the courtship are five in number, and each presents a different version of the love affair—the poets seem to be fancy free in inventing and improvising the pertinent details. Thus, according to one version, Inanna first rejects the shepherd Dumuzi's suit—she would rather marry the farmer Enkimdu—and it took considerable suasion on the part of Dumuzi to induce her to change her mind.[17] Inanna's reluctance to marry is also evident from another poem in which she vaunts her noble pedigree—her mother is the goddess Ningal, her father, the moon-god Nanna, and her brother, the sun-god Utu—and Dumuzi has to caution her not to start a quarrel with him, since his pedigree is quite as noble.[18] According to a third poem, Inanna finds it advisable to obtain permission from her father, Sin, before giving herself to Dumuzi who is waiting for her in the *gipar*.[19] According to another version, however, Dumuzi comes acourting to Inanna's home, and is warmly welcomed by Inanna at her mother's behest.[20] On the other hand, there is a poem which depicts the lovers as deceiving the mother, that they might have their fill of love by the moonlight.[21]

The sacred marriage itself seems to have taken place on New Year's day, usually in the palace of the king, known as "the house of life." We now have six compositions which describe the Dumuzi-Inanna marriage rites and rituals in some detail, and two of these actually name the king who played the role of Dumuzi—one is Šulgi who reigned in Ur about 2050 B.C.,[22] and the other is Iddin Dagan who reigned in Isin about a century and a half later.[23] As in the case of the courting, the marriage rituals vary in the different versions, and at the moment it is not possible to get a clear, consistent, and uniform picture of the ceremony, except that the marriage was consummated on a ceremonially prepared bed with a very special coverlet,[24] and that it was followed by a rich feast during which there was singing, dancing and instrumental music.[25] What the content of some of these songs may have been we learn from a group of about ten poems whose texts are now available, and it is these in particular which are reminiscent to no little extent of the passion and fervor which characterize Solomon's "Song of Songs."[26]

But love and passion notwithstanding, the marriage of Dumuzi and Inanna ended in bitter, ironic tragedy, at least as far as Dumuzi was

[16] *Cf.* for the present the passage cited by the writer in *Expedition* **5**, 1 (1962): 26 (for the Sumerian text see *SEM* No. 18, line 17 ff. and *SEM* No. 19, col. i, line 23 ff.).

[17] For the translation of this poem, *cf.* S. N. Kramer, *JCS* **2** (1948): 60–68, and *SSA*, pp. 67–73 (the suggestion there made that the beginning of the poem is the text of *BE XXX* No. 4 is quite erroneous: two separate *balbale*-compositions are involved).

[18] *Cf.* pp. 493–495 (of this study).

[19] *Cf.* pp. 495–497.

[20] *Cf.* pp. 497–499.

[21] *Cf.* pp. 499–501.

[22] *Cf.* Van Dijk, "La Fête du nouvel an dans un texte de Šulgi," *Bi Or* 11 (1954): 83–88, and *TC* 2, No. 2.

[23] *Cf.* No. 18 of *SAHG*.

[24] For a poem devoted primarily to the nuptial bed of Inanna and Dumuzi, *cf. SSA*, pp. 65–85 (note that the first sign in the poem is š e š "brother," not b a l), and S. N. Kramer, "The Biblical Song of Songs and Sumerian Love Songs," *Expedition* **5**, 1 (1962): 28–29; N 4305 (figure 5) obv. col. i duplicates lines 22–35 of this text.

[25] For the new texts concerned with the sacred marriage rites, *cf.* pp. 501–508 (of this study); *cf.* also *TMH N.F.*, No. 24, a small fragment of a larger tablet which had contained a whole cycle of Dumuzi-Inanna poems relevant for the sacred marriage ritual.

[26] For four new love songs, *cf.* pp. 508–510 (of this study); for bibliographical references to, and translations of, two other love songs, *cf. HBS*, pp. 212–215, and note that Ni 4569 (figure 9) obv. col. i, lines 15 ff. is a duplicate of the second of the two there treated. In addition there are a number of other more obscure love poems published and unpublished, which I hope to treat on a future occasion (thus Ni 4552—figure 8—probably contains part of two love-songs).

concerned. Which brings us to the concluding part of this paper, an examination of the material that has recently become available for "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," a myth whose restoration and translation has now been in process for nearly half a century. Although by the year 1951, the text of this myth had been pieced together and revised three times as more and more of the tablets and fragments inscribed with it became available—these now number more than a score—the denouement of the plot was unknown since the relevant text was still wanting.[27] It is this missing portion of the myth which can now be restored in large part with the help of a tablet excavated by Leonard Woolley at Ur, and copied by C. J. Gadd, former Keeper in the British Museum, with whom I am collaborating on the publication of the literary texts from Ur. But first, the plot of the myth as known to date.

Inanna, "queen of heaven," the ambitious goddess of love and war whom the shepherd Dumuzi had wooed and won for wife, decides to descend to the Nether World in order to make herself its mistress, and thus perhaps to raise the dead. She therefore collects the appropriate divine laws and, having adorned herself with her queenly robes and jewels, she is ready to enter the "land of no return."

The queen of the Nether World is her older sister and bitter enemy, Ereshkigal, Sumerian goddess of death and gloom. Fearing, not without reason, lest her sister put her to death in the domain she rules, Inanna instructs her vizier, Ninshubur, who is always at her beck and call, that if after three days she had failed to return he is to set up a lament for her in the assembly hall of the gods. He is then to go to Nippur, the city of Enlil, the leading god of the Sumerian pantheon, and plead with him to save her and not let her be put to death in the Nether World. If Enlil refuses, Ninshubur is to go to Ur, the city of the moon-god Nanna, and repeat his plea. If Nanna, too, refuses, he is to go to Eridu, the city of Enki, the god of wisdom, who "knows the food of life," who "knows the water of life," and he will surely come to her rescue.

Inanna then descends to the Nether World and approaches Ereshkigal's temple of lapis lazuli. At the gate she is met by the chief gatekeeper, who demands to know who she is and why she has come. Inanna concocts a false excuse for her visit, and the gatekeeper, on instructions from his mistress, leads her through the seven gates of the Nether World. As she passes through one gate after another her garments and jewels are removed piece by piece in spite of her protests. Finally, after entering the last gate, she is brought stark naked and on bended knees before Ereshkigal and the Anunnaki, the seven dreaded judges of the Nether World. They fasten upon her their eyes of death, and she is turned into a corpse, which is then hung from a stake.

Three days and three nights pass. On the fourth day Ninshubur, seeing that his mistress has not returned, proceeds to make the rounds of the gods in accordance with her instructions. As Inanna had surmised, both Enlil and Nanna refuse all help. Enki, however, devises a plan to restore her to life. He fashions the *kurgarra* and the *kalatur*, two sexless creatures, and entrusts to them the "food of life" and the "water of life," with instructions to proceed to the Nether World where Ereshkigal, "the birth-giving mother," lies sick moaning, "Oh my inside" and "Oh my outside." They, the *kurgarra* and *kalatur*, are to echo her cry and thus arouse her and gain her favor. They will then be offered water of the rivers and grain of the fields as gifts, but, Enki warns, they must not accept them. Instead they are to say, "Give us the corpse hanging from a nail" and proceed to sprinkle "the food of life" and "the water of life" which he had entrusted to them, and thus revive the dead Inanna. The *kurgarra* and *kalatur* do exactly as Enki bid them and Inanna revives.[28]

Though Inanna is once again alive, her troubles are far from over, for it was an unbroken rule of the "land of no return" that no one who had entered its gates might return to the world above unless he produced a substitute to take his place in the Nether World.[29] Inanna is no exception to the rule. She is indeed permitted to reascend

[27] For full details, *cf.* S. N. Kramer, "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World, Continued and Revised," *JCS* **4** (1950): 199–211, *JCS* **5** (1951): 1–17, and "Sumerian Literature," *PAPS* **85**, 3 (1942): 293–323 and 10 plates (containing all the relevant texts then known).

[28] The contents of much of this section of the myth were poorly preserved in the texts known up to 1951, and have only now been restored with the help of new material which has since become available; for full details, see pp. 510–516 (of this study).

[29] The translation of this crucial line which helped to clarify to no little extent the plot of the myth was first suggested by Thorkild Jacobsen *apud* S. N. Kramer, *JCS* **4** (1950).

to the earth, but is accompanied by a number of heartless demons, or *galla*'s as they are known in Sumerian, with instructions to bring her back to the lower regions if she fails to provide another deity to take her place. Surrounded by these ghoulish constables, Inanna first proceeds to visit the two Sumerian cities Umma and Bad-tibira. The protecting gods of these cities, Shara and Lulal, terrified at the sight of the unearthly arrivals, clothe themselves in sackcloth and grovel in the dust before Inanna. Inanna seems to be gratified by their humility, and when the *galla*'s threaten to carry them off to the Nether World she restrains the demons and thus saves the lives of the two gods.

Inanna and the demons, continuing their journey, arrive at Kullab, a district in the Sumerian city-state of Erech. The king of this city is none other than her own husband, the shepherd-god Dumuzi, who, instead of bewailing the fact that his wife had descended to the Nether World where she had suffered torture and death, "put on a noble robe, sat high on a throne," that is, he was actually celebrating and rejoicing. Enraged, Inanna looks down upon him with "the eye of death" and hands him over to the eager and unmerciful demons to be carried off to the Nether World. Dumuzi turns pale and weeps. He lifts his hands to the sky and pleads with the sun-god Utu, who is Inanna's brother and therefore his own brother-in-law. Dumuzi begs Utu to help him escape the clutches of the demons by changing his hand into the hand of a snake, and his foot into the foot of a snake.

But then, right in the middle of Dumuzi's prayer, the available texts broke off, and the reader was left hanging in mid-air. Now, however, with the help of the new tablet from Ur which continues for more than thirty lines beyond the hitherto known text we learn the melancholy end. The tablet begins with the arrival of the *galla*'s, that is the Nether World demons, in Erech where they seize Inanna and demand of her that she descend to the Nether World from where she had presumably just returned, and that she do so without putting on her divine queenly garments and only after removing her crown. Inanna, terrified, turned over Dumuzi to the *galla*'s as her substitute. The *galla*'s then bound Dumuzi hand, foot, and neck, lacerated him with axes and tortured him cruelly. Whereupon Dumuzi raised his hand to his brother-in-law, the sun-god Utu, tells him what has happened, namely that his wife Inanna has turned him over to the *galla*'s as her substitute in the Nether World and pleads with him to transform his body so that like a *sag-kal* snake he might transverse the highland meadows, and bring his "soul" to the home of his sister Geštinanna.

All this we knew though, in a considerably variant form, from the earlier versions; now comes the hitherto missing denouement. Utu, the Ur text tells us, heeds Dumuzi's plea, transforms his body so that like a *sag-kal* snake he traversed the highland meadows and "like a bird fleeing the claws of the falcon" he carried his soul to the home of his sister. Upon seeing her unfortunate brother, Geštinanna gashes her face, rips her garments, and utters a bitter lament for him. The *galla*'s, those ruthless, cruel, friendless, loveless, amoral creatures now begin their wandering search for the escaped Dumuzi and arrive at Geštinanna's palace. They demand of the goddess that she point out to them where her brother is hiding, but though repeatedly tortured by the *galla*'s she refused to give them the information they want. Having failed to find Dumuzi in Geštinanna's palace, the *galla*'s decide to go to Dumuzi's "holy sheep fold" where once again they lacerate his body with axes and knives. The Ur text concludes with the sister Geštinanna wondering about in the city like a bird, and lamenting for her brother. Here now is a tentative translation of the new Ur tablet:[30]

1. The little *galla*'s open (their) mouths, say to the big *galla*'s:
2. "Come now, let us proceed to Inanna's holy lap."
3. The *galla*'s entered Erech, seize the holy Inanna:
4. Come, Inanna, get on ... your way—descend to the Nether World,
5. Go where your heart had led you—descend to the Nether World,
6. Go to Ereškigal's home—descend to the Nether World
7. Do not put on the holy *ma*-garment, the *pala*-garment, your garment of queenship—descend to the Nether World,
8. Remove from your head the holy crown, meet for words of greeting—descend to the Nether World,
9. Do not preen your face seductively—descend to the Nether World,
10. Do not ... your feet on a ... -dog
11. ...descend ... will not ...."
12. They pressed close (?) to the holy Inanna, they ....,
13. Inanna, terrified, gave Dumuzi into (their) hands:

[30] For a transliteration of the tablet see pp. 515–516.

14. "The lad—put his feet into fetters (?)
15. The lad—throw a noose (?) over him, put his neck into the neck-stock."
16. Hooks (?) awls (?), (and) long (?) needles (?) were lifted to his face,
17. They gash him with large axes,
18. The lad—they make him stand up, they make him sit down (saying):
19. "We(?) will(?) throw(?) the ... on his ..., will make stand..."
20. The lad—they bound his arms, they ... him,
21. They cover his face with a "garment of fear"
22. The lad raised his hands heavenward to Utu:
23. "Utu, I am your friend, me, the man, you know (?)
24. I took your sister to wife,
25. She descended to the Nether World,
26. Because she descended to the Nether World,
27. She turned me over to the Nether World, as her substitute.
28. Utu, you are a just judge, do not let me be carried off,
29. Change my hand, alter my form,
30. Let me escape the hands of my *galla*'s, let them not catch me,
31. Like a *sag-kal*-snake, I will traverse the highland meadows,
32. I will carry off my soul to the home of (my) sister Geštinanna."
33. Utu accepted his tears,
34. Changed his hands, altered his form,
35. Like a *sag-kal*-snake he traversed the highland meadows.
36. Dumuzi—his soul left him like a hawk flying towards a (mother) bird,
37. He carried off his soul to the home of Geštinanna.
38. Geštinanna looked at her brother,
39. Scratched at her cheeks, scratched at her mouth,
40. Lowered (?) her face to her side, ripped her garments,
41. Uttered a bitter lament for the suffering lad:
42. "Oh my brother, Oh my brother, the lad whose days are not ..,
43. Oh my brother, the shepherd Amaušumgalanna, the lad whose days, whose ...are not ...,
44. Oh my brother, the lad who has no wife, has no child,
45. Oh my brother, the lad who has no friend, has no companion,
46. Oh my brother, the lad who brings no comfort to his mother."
47. The *galla*'s sought out Dumuzi, surrounded him,
48. The little *galla*'s say to the big *galla*'s:
49. "Your *galla*'s who have no mother, have no father, sister, brother, wife, son,
50. Who ever (?) flutter (?) over (?) heaven and earth as (?) chief constables,
51. You *galla*'s who [stick close (?)] to a man's side,
52. Who show not kind favor, who know not good (from) bad,
53. Who has (ever) seen (living) in peace the soul of one who is ... (and) terrified!
54. Let us not go to the home of his friend, let us not go to the home of his brother-in-law,
55. Let us proceed (in search of) the shepherd to the home of Geštinanna."
56. The *galla*'s clapped their hands, went searching for him,
57. With cries which ceased not from their(?) mouths,
58. The *galla*'s proceeded to the home of Geštinanna:
59. "Show us where your brother is," they said to her, (but) she told them not,
60. Heaven (?) was brought close, Earth was put in her lap, (but) she told them not,
61. Earth (?) was brought close, the ... scraped at ..., (but) she told them not,
62. The ... was brought close, they ...tore (?) at her garments (but) she told them not
63. Pitch (?) was poured on her lap, (but) she told them not,
64. They found not Dumuzi in Geštinanna's house.
65. The [little] *galla*'s say to the big *galla*'s:
66. "Come, let us proceed to the holy sheepfold."
67. They seize Dumuzi [by (?) the holy] sheepfold,
68. They surrounded him, they [sei]ze him, they seek him out, they stare at him,
69. Against the lad was wielded (?) the ... (and) ax,
70. They gashed (his) lap with knives (?), they surrounded him.
71. The sister, because of her brother, wandered about in the city (?) like (?) a bird (?):
72. "Oh my brother, let me go (?) to (?) the great, evil ..., let me bring ...".

## THE SACRED MARRIAGE TEXTS:

## PREMARITAL COURTING

### 1. UM 29-16-37 (Figs. 1 and 2)

#### *Transliteration*[31]

1. ama-me-da-nu-me-a sila-a mi-edin-na i-èm-mi-in-sar-re
2. šul-e ama-me-da-nu-me-a sila-a mi-edin-na i-èm-mi-in-sar-re

[31] There is as yet no reasonable and formal consensus among Sumerologists on transliteration procedures; the transliterations used throughout this study follow by and large the suggestions outlined in *AS* **12**: pp. 6–8. As for the translations, they assume on the part of the reader, a thorough acquaintance with, and critical understanding of, the Sumerological contributions of Thureau-Dangin, Poebel, Deimel, Landsberger, Falkenstein, Jacobsen, and the present writer, as well as those of the younger generation such as van Dijk, Sollberger, Gordon, Sjöberg, Civil, and Edzard. The works of these scholars have been used constantly in the preparation of this study, and except in unusual cases, the cuneiformist who is well versed in them will have no difficulty in following the grammatical and lexicographical basis for the translation, in spite of the numerous irregularities, idiosyncrasies, and uncertainties. In the transliteration two dots are for one broken or illegible sign, three dots are for two such signs; four dots are for three or more such signs. In the translation two dots are for one missing word, three dots are for two missing words, four dots are for three or more missing words; words in brackets are restorations, words in parentheses are not in the Sumerian but are added in the English for the sake of clarity.

3. ama-mu-$^{d}$ga-ša-an-gal-da-nu-me (sic!) sila-a mi-edin-na i-èm-mi-in-sar-re
4. $^{d}$ga-ša-an-gi-kù-ga-da-nu-me-a sila-a mi-edin-na i-èm-mi-in-sar-re
5. a-a-$^{d}$zuen-da-nu-me-a sila-a mi-edin-na i-èm-mi-[in-sa]r-re
6. šeš-mu-$^{d}$utu-da-nu-me-a sila-a mi-edin-na i-èm-mi-[in-sa]r-re
7. lú-ki-sikil $du_{14}$-gim na-an-mú-mú-un
8. $^{d}$inanna inim-gim ga-àm-me-en-dè-en
9. $^{d}$inanna $du_{14}$-gim na-an-mú-mú-un
10. $^{d}$nin-é-gal-la ad-gim ga-àm-$gi_4$-dè-en
11. a-a-mu a-a-zu-gim in-ga-dím
12. $^{d}$inanna inim-gim ga-àm-me-en-dè-en
13. [ama-mu] ama-zu-gim in-ga-dím
14. $^{d}$nin-é-gal-la ad-gim ga-àm-$gi_4$-dè-en
15. $^{d}$geštin(?)-an-na $^{d}$... -nu- .. -gim in-ga-dím
16. $^{d}$inanna inim-gim ga-àm-me-en-dè-en
17. mà-e $^{d}$utu-gim in-ga-dím-me-en
18. $^{d}$nin-é-gal-la ad-gim ga-àm-$gi_4$-dè-en
19. $^{d}$en-ki $^{d}$zuen-gim in-ga-dím
20. $^{d}$inanna inim-gim ga-àm-me-en-dè-en
21. $^{d}$sír-tur $^{d}$nin-gal-gim in-ga-dím
22. $^{d}$nin-é-gal-la ad-gim ga-àm-$gi_4$-dè-en
23. inim bí-in-eš-a inim-ḫi-li-eš-àm
24. $du_{14}$(?)-mú-mú-da(?)-a ḫi-li-šà-ga-na-$ke_4$
25. $^{na_4}$šuba-$ke_4$ $^{na_4}$šuba-$ke_4$ $^{na_4}$šuba na-$ur_x$-ru
26. $^{d}$ama-ušumgal-an-na $^{na_4}$šuba-$ke_4$ $^{na_4}$šuba na-$ur_x$-ru
27. $^{[na_4]}$šuba-$ke_4$(?) $^{na_4}$šuba ....
28. $^{[na_4]}$šu[ba-$ke_4$(?)] $^{na_4}$šuba ....
29. ... [a-ùr]-ra-lá-lá a-ùr-ra mu-na-ab-lá-[lá]
30. ... [a-bàd]-da-lá-lá a-bàd-da mu-na-ab-lá-lá
31. da[m-a-ni nu-$u_8$-gig-e] $^{[d]}$ama-ušum-gal-an-na-ra gù mu-na-dé-[e]
32. $^{na_4}$šuba [$ur_x$]-ru $^{na_4}$šuba $ur_x$-ru a-ba-a mu-na-$ur_x$-ru
33. $^{d}$ama-ušumgal-[an-na $^{na_4}$šuba] $ur_x$-ru a-ba-a mu-na-$ur_x$-ru
34. $^{na_4}$šuba-[na] $^{[n]a_4}$šu[ba-na(?)] tur-tur-bi igi-PA-ág-me-lám-a
35. $^{na_4}$šuba-na $^{na_4}$šu[ba-na(?)] gal-gal-bi gaba-kù-me-lám-a
36. $^{d}$ama-ušum-gal-an-na nu-$u_8$-gig-ra inim mu-ni-ib-$gi_4$-$gi_4$
37. nu-$u_8$-gig-ga-àm dam-mu nu-$u_8$-gig-ga-àm
38. kù-$^{d}$inanna-$ke_4$ nu-bar-ra e-ne-er mu-na-$ur_x$-ru
39. $^{na_4}$šuba-na-$ke_4$ $^{na_4}$šuba-na-$ke_4$ $^{na_4}$šuba na-$ur_x$-ru
40. $^{d}$ama-ušumgal-an-na-$ke_4$ $^{na_4}$šuba-na-$ke_4$ $^{na_4}$šuba na-$ur_x$ru
41. $^{na_4}$šuba $ur_x$ru $^{na_4}$šuba $ur_x$-[ru] a-ba-a mu-na-$ur_x$-ru
42. $^{d}$ama-ušumgal-an-na $^{na_4}$šuba $ur_x$-ru a-ba-a mu-na-$ur_x$-ru
43. ma-ab-dù-da-a-mà ma-ab-dù-da-a-mà $su_6$-a-ni $^{na_4}$za-gìn-na
44. me-a am an-né ma-ab-dù-da-a-mà $su_6$-a-ni $^{na_4}$za-gìn-na
45. ..-e $su_6$-a-ni $^{na_4}$za-gìn-na $su_6$-a-ni $^{na_4}$za-gìn-na
46. dur-gar-$^{d}$inanna-kam
47. gi-dub-ba gi-ta-sar-ra[32]

[32] The text contains two glosses: ú - r a (?) - a n (?) - n i (?) (line 1), and b a - a - n i - i (line 43).

*Translation*

1. "Without my mother, you would be driven into street (and) ..-plain,
2. Young man, without my mother, you would be driven into street (and) ..-plain,
3. Without my mother Ningal, you would be driven into street (and) ..-plain,
4. Without the 'Lady of the Holy Reed' you would be driven into street (and) ....-plain
5. Without Father Sin, you would be driven into street (and) ..-plain,
6. Without my brother Utu, you would be driven into street (and) ..-plain."
7. "Young lady, do not start a quarrel,
8. Inanna, let us talk it over,
9. Inanna, do not start a quarrel,
10. Ninegalla let us take counsel together.
11. My father is as good as your father,
12. Inanna, let us talk it over;
13. My mother is as good as your mother,
14. Ninegalla, let us take counsel together;
15. Geštinanna(?) is as good as ...,
16. Inanna, let us talk it over;
17. I am as good as Utu,
18. Ninegalla, let us take counsel together;
19. Enki is as good as Sin,
20. Inanna, let us talk it over;
21. Sirtur is as good as Ningal,
22. Ninegalla, let us take counsel together."
23. The word they had spoken, it is a word of desire,
24. With the starting of a quarrel (?) comes (?) the desire of her heart.
25. He of the *šuba*-stones, he of the *šuba*-stones, plows the *šuba*-stones,
26. Amaušumgalanna, he of the *šuba*-stones, plows the *šuba*-stones,
27. He of the *šuba*-stones ....,
28. He of the *šuba*-stones ....,
29. ... who fills the water of the roof, fills for her the water of the roof,
30. ... who fills the water of the walls, fills for her the water of the walls.
31. [His] wife, [the hierodule], says to Amaušumgalanna:
32. "[Plow] the *šuba*-stones, plow the *šuba*-stones, who (else) will plow them for her?
33. Amaušumgalanna, plow the *šuba*-stones, who (else) will plow them for her?
34. Of the [*na*]-*šuba*-stones, of the [*na-šuba*-stones], their small ones on the ..-face of (?) the *melam*,
35. Of the [*na-šuba*-stones, of the *na-šuba*-stones(?)], their large ones are the holy breast of (?) the *melam*."
36. Amaušumgalanna answers the hierodule:
37. "Who is a hierodule, my wife who is a hierodule,
38. Holy Inanna, he who is not .. will plow them for her."
39. He of the *na-šuba*-stones, he of the *na-šuba*-stones plows the *šuba*-stones,
40. Amaušumgalanna, he of the *na-šuba*-stones plows the *šuba*-stones.
41. "Plow the *šuba*-stones, plow the *šuba*-stones, who (else) will plow them for her?

42. Amaušumgalanna, plow the *šuba*-stones, who (else) will plow them for her?
43. Of him who was made for me, of him who was made for me, his beard is lapis lazuli,
44. Who was made by An for me, his beard is lapis lazuli;
45. ... his beard is lapis lazuli, his beard is lapis lazuli."
46. It is a *durgar* of Inanna.
47. Written with a tablet reed, with a reed.

### *Commentary*

This poem which consists largely of a dialogue between Inanna and Dumuzi begins with a boastful address by the goddess intended to impress her husband-to-be with the importance of her family for his well-being (lines 1–6). Dumuzi's answer, gentle but firm, is that his family is as good as Inanna's (7–22). But this little quarrel serves only to arouse their passion for each other and they proceed to indulge their love (23–30). There follows a tender and poetic tète-a-tète between the two which seems to further stimulate their love, but the passage is allusive and metaphorical in character, and its meaning is far from clear (lines 31–45). As the cuneiformist will readily perceive, the translation of the poem is extremely difficult and the meanings chosen are those which seem to me best justified by the context, but not a few will no doubt turn out to be erroneous. Note especially the following: Ninegalla, "queen of the palace" (lines 10 ff.) is an epithet of Inanna. In line 15, Dumuzi is probably speaking about his sister Geštinanna and comparing her to Inanna's sister (the name is only partially preserved), although Inanna had not mentioned this lady when boasting of her family. Lines 23–24, if the translation is correct, contain what seems to be a proverbial comment on the psychological value of a lovers' quarrel. The obscure references to plowing the *šuba* stones (line 25 ff.) and the *na-šuba*-stones are probably metaphorical expressions for sexual intercourse. In lines 32, 33, 38, 41, 42 the "her" probably refers to Inanna, although it is the goddess who is speaking, and we might therefore have expected "me" instead. Lines 41–45 are all assumed to be part of Inanna's speech and her queries (lines 41–42) therefore remain unanswered by Dumuzi. For the *durgar* genre of poetic compositions *cf.* line 620 of Proto Lú, Landsberger manuscript as completed by M. Civil. The subscription contained in line 47 is unique, as far as I know.

## 2. *TRS* No. 70

### *Transliteration*

1. ...-šed$_7$-šed$_7$-e šed$_7$(!?) RI ....
2. kù-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ ú-BU-BU-RI BU RI ....
3. lú-su$_{11}$-lum-ri-ri-ge mu-nim-mar AN ...
4. kù-$^{d}$inanna-ra lú-su$_{11}$-lum-ri-ri-ge mu-nim-mar ...
5. a ḫé-en-na-túm a ḫé-en-na-túm numun-šè gig-ga
6. $^{d}$inanna-ra a-da(?) DU$_6$ ḫé-en-na-túm numun-šè babbar-ra(!)
7. lú na-túm lú na-túm DU$_6$ za-pàd-šè na-túm
8. ki-sikil-$^{d}$inanna lú na-túm DU$_6$ za-pàd-šè na-túm
9. DU$_6$-ra GABA-bi-a za-gìn-na bí-ib-ri-ri-ge
10. $^{d}$inanna-ra DU$_6$-ra GABA-bi-a za-gìn-na bí-ib-ri-ri-ge
11. nunuz-dúr-ra in-pàd-dè dúr-ra-na mu-un-gá-gá
12. $^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ nunuz-sag-gá in-pàd-dè sag-gá-na mu-un-gá-gá
13. $^{na_4}$lagab-za-gìn-a-ru in-pàd-dè gú-bar-ra-na mu-un-gá-gá
14. níg-sal-la-guškin in-pàd-dè síg-sag-gá-na mu-un-gá-gá
15. guškin-pi-pi-sal-la in-pàd-dè geštug-na mu-un-gá-gá
16. zabar-ág-su(!)-ub-ag-a in-pàd-dè ús-geštug-ga-na mu-un-gá-gá
17. níg-lál-dirig-dirig-ga(!) in-pàd-dè igi(!)-ni-a mu-un-gá-gá
18. níg-é-nun-bar-ra in-pàd-dè kiri$_3$-ni-a mu-un-gá-gá
19. é-giš-BAD-dirig in-pàd-dè KA-kuš-na mu-un-gá-gá
20. li(!?)-taškarin-giš-šag$_5$-ga in-pàd-dè li-gú-ra-na mu-un-gá-gá
21. pú-lál-a-dùg-ga in-pàd-dè íb(?)-íb(?)-a-ni mu-un-gá-gá
22. $^{na_4}$giš-nu$_{11}$-gal-zalag-ga in-pàd-dè ḫaš$_4$-na mu-un-gá-gá
23. giš-BU-PÚ-gig-ga in-pàd-dè SAL-la-na mu-un-gá-gá
24. GÙB(?)-GÙB-bé(?)-du$_7$-a in-pàd-dè gìr-ru-na mu-un-gá-gá
25. sa-gíd-da-àm
26. lú-DU$_6$-ra-$^{na_4}$za-gìn-ri-ri-ga-ra en gaba-na mu-ri
27. $^{d}$inanna-DU$_6$-ra-$^{na_4}$za-gìn-ri-ri-ga-ra $^{d}$dumu-zi-da mu-ri
28. li(?)-dur(?)-an-na é-$^{d}$en-líl-lá en gaba-na mu-ri
29. é-an-na na-kada-$^{d}$en-líl-lá $^{d}$dumu-zi gaba-na mu(!)-ri
30. $^{giš}$ig-$^{na_4}$za-gìn-na-gi$_6$-par$_4$-ra-gub-ba en gaba-na mu-ri
31. $^{giš}$ig-SAL-é-uš-gíd-da-é-an-na-ka-gub-ba $^{d}$dumu-zi gaba-na mu-ri
32. DU$_6$-ra GABA-bi-a im-mi-in-gur-ru-a
33. $^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ DU$_6$-ra GABA-bi-a im-mi-in-gur-ru-a
34. munus-e níg-i-lu-lam-ma-na im-šu-tag ba- ....
35. ki-sikil-e ... -dug$_4$-ga-ni-a a-a-ni-ra(!) lú mu-un-gi$_4$
36. $^{d}$inanna ki-e-ne-di-ba-ni(!?)-a a-a-ni-ra(!) lú mu-un-gi$_4$
37. ma-mu ma-mu a-ne ma-ab-gíd-dè
38. ga-ša-an-mèn ma-mu ma-mu a-ne ma-ab-gíd-dè
39. ma-gi$_6$-par$_4$-ra-mu a-ne ma-ab-gíd-dè
40. $^{giš}$ná-gi$_4$-rin-na-mu uku na-ab-gub-bu-dè

41. ú-za-gìn-a-ru-mu dè-ma-ab-dag-ge-ne
42. me-e mu-[lu]-šà(!)-ba-mu dè(!)-ma-ni-ib-ku$_4$-ku$_4$-dè
43. $^{d}$ama(!)-ušumgal-an-na-mu dè-ma-ni-ib-ku$_4$-ku$_4$-dè
44. šu-ni šu-mu-ta dè-mà(!)-da-ma-ma-dè
45. ša-ba-ni(!) šà-ab-mu-ta dè-mà-da-ma-ma-dè
46. šu-šu(!?)-šè(?) [ma]-al-la-na ù-ku(!?)-bi zé-ba-an-ga
47. šà-šà-ba tab-ba-na ḫi-li-bi ku$_7$-ku$_7$-da-an-ga[33]

Subscription: illegible.

*Translation*

1. ....,
2. Holy Inanna .....
3. He who gathers the dates, ... the date palm,
4. Who gathers the dates, ... the date palm for Inanna,
5. He brought her water, he brought her water, for the seed, the black,
6. He brought Inanna a heap(?) (of precious stones) by(?) the water for the seed, the white.
7. He brought her, he brought her, he brought her a heap of (precious) stones to pick from,
8. He brought the maid Inanna, he brought her a heap of (precious) stones to pick from,
9. Of the heap—he gathers the lapis lazuli (stones) onto its "breast,"
10. Of the heap, for Inanna he gathers the lapis lazuli (stones) onto its "breast."
11. She picks the buttocks-stones, puts them on her buttocks,
12. Inanna picks the head-stones, puts them on her head,
13. She picks the *duru*-lapis lazuli stones, puts them on her nape,
14. She picks ribbons(?) of gold, puts them in her hair of the head,
15. She picks the narrow gold earrings, puts them on her ears,
16. She picks the bronze eardrops, puts them on her ear-lobes,
17. She picks "that which drips honey," puts it on her face,
18. She picks "that which covers(?) the princely house," puts it on her nose,
19. She picks "the house which ...," puts it on her ...,
20. She picks cypress (and) boxwood, the lovely wood, puts them on her navel,
21. She picks a sweet "honey well" puts it about her loins,
22. She picks bright alabaster, puts it on her anus,
23. She picks black .. willow, puts it on her vulva,
24. She picks ornate sandals, puts them on her feet.
25. It is a *sagidda*.
26. For whom the heap of lapis lazuli stones had been gathered—the *en* met her,
27. Inanna for whom the heap of lapis lazuli stones had been gathered—Dumuzi met her,
28. In the "navel(?) of heaven," the house of Enlil, the *en* met her,
29. In the Eanna, Enlil's herdsman Dumuzi met her,
30. Who was standing at the lapis lazuli door of the *gipar*—the *en* met her,
31. Who was standing by the narrow(?) door of the storehouse of Eanna—Dumuzi met her.
32. When to the "breast" of the heap she returned them,
33. When Inanna, to the "breast" of the heap, she returned them,
34. The woman .... her *ilulamma*-song.
35. The maid, singing, sent a messenger to her father,
36. Inanna, dancing, sent a messenger to her father:
37. "My house(?), my house(?), let him make it 'long' for me,
38. I the queen—my house(?), my house(?) let him make it 'long'for me,
39. My *gipar*-house(?) let him make it 'long' for me,
40. The people will set up my fruitful bed,
41. They will cover it with plants (the color of) *duru*-lapis lazuli,
42. I will bring there my sweetheart,
43. I will bring there Amaušumgalanna,
44. He will put his hand by my hand,
45. He will put his heart by my heart,
46. His putting of hand to hand—its sleep(?) is so refreshing,
47. His pressing of heart to heart—its pleasure is so sweet.

*Commentary*

This narrative poem is divided into two stanzas by the rubric s a - g í d - d a - àm (line 25), literally perhaps "the long string." The first six lines are quite obscure; the remainder of the first stanza is taken up with a detailed account of Inanna's bedecking the various parts of her body with precious stones, jewels, and ornaments, which she selects from what seems to be a treasure-heap brought to her by a "date-gathering" devotee. The second stanza tells of the meeting between the bejewelled Inanna and Dumuzi in the Eanna of Erech, a meeting which so fills Inanna with desire and passion that she sends a special messenger to her father (no doubt the god Sin) with the request that he (that is, perhaps, her father) make her house "long" so that she and her lover can take their pleasure in it. In detail, note the following: the word represented by the sign D U$_6$ (line 6 ff.) seems to end in an *r*; in line 14, "ribbons" attempts to render n í g - s a l - l a, perhaps literally "narrow things"; in line 16, "eardrops" attempts to render á g - s u - u b - a g - a, "that which presses"; the objects mentioned in lines 18 and 19 cannot be identified from the literal meaning of the descriptive phrases used for them; the meaning of lines 32–35 is obscure; the

[33] The text contains the following glosses: p a - d u - ú r (?) (line 15), *U R* (?) - .. (line 17), z a (?) - d ù - ú and g i$_4$ (line 23), $^{su}$e - s í r (line 24), illegible traces of a gloss (line 27).

rendering "house" (lines 37 ff.) assumes that m a is a variant reading for g á.

## 3. *SLTN* No. 35

### *Transliteration*

*obv., col. i*

1. .... NE(?)-gim ....
2. .... -gim ÁB ....
3. .... é-gal-la li-bi-ir-si-zu-en-me-eš
4. .... nunuz-dúb-dúb-gim ....
5. .... li-bi-ir-si-zu-en-me-eš
6. .... -DI di-ša-àm
7. .... níg(?)-a-EL(?) min-àm
8. ....
9. .... -àm ....
10. [šu-H]A-dè mu- ... mu-gi-a šà-ga-bi
11. ... $su_8$-ba-šè mu-lu da-an-$gi_4$-$gi_4$
12. ... -sag kaš-sag SAL-NE-GÁ nun(?)-bi
13. ... mu-..-šè mu-lu (da-an-$gi_4$-$gi_4$)
14. .... -e SAL-NE-[GÁ] (nun(?)-bi)
15. .... sa-dù-ná-a-šè
16. ... -DU mu-lu (da-an-$gi_4$-$gi_4$)
17. .... SAL-NE-(GÁ nun(?)-bi)
18. š[u-H]A-dam giš-gi-.. -dù-a-ni-šè
19. .... -DU mu-lu (da-an-$gi_4$-$gi_4$)
20. suḫur$^{kua}$-gur-gur-ra SAL-NE-(GÁ nun(?)-bi)
21. li-bi-ir-[si] ... níg-a-rá im-DU
22. mušen zag-ga mušen-dù mu-un-túm
23. suḫur$^{kua}$ ... šu-HA-dè mu-un-túm
24. nin-mu ... ba-an-da-ab-$dug_4$
25. lú-sipad-dè ìa šu-šé mu-un-lá
26. $^{d}$dumu-zi-dè ìa-[ga] zag-šè mu-un-lá
27. ìa-ga NIG-bàn-da zag-šè mu-un-lá
28. ga-kaš .. giš-ra zag-šè mu-un-lá
29. [en-m]u é-e gù ba-an-dé
30. $^{d}$dumu-zi-dè ....
31. [é]-gál-lu nin-mu é-[gál-lu]
32. ....

*obs., col. ii*

1. $nu-u_8$-gig-ge ....
2. ama-[u]gu-ni gìr mu-un-gub-[gub]
3. .. i-lu(?)-zu mu-un- ....
4. i-g[$i_4$-in] šul(?) NI-MUŠ-dam- ....
5. i-$gi_4$-i[n šu]l ....
6. i-$gi_4$-in [šul] e-ne za-ra ....
7. i-$gi_4$-in šul(!) a-a-zu na-[nam]
8. i-$gi_4$-in šul(!) ama-zu na-nam
9. ama-ni ama-zu-gim in-ni- ....
10. a-a-ni a-a-zu-gim in-ni-.. -dè-en
11. é gál-lu nin-mu é gál-lu
12. $^{d}$inanna $dug_4$-ga-ama-na-šè
13. a mu-un-$tu_5$ ìa-dùg-ga mu-un-šéš
14. $^{túg}$pala$_2$-maḫ bar-ra nam-mi-in-dul
15. .. mu-lu-ug-ga-ni šu ba-an-ti
16. $^{na_4}$za-gìn gú-a si bí-íb-sá-sá-e
17. $^{na_4}$kišib šu-ni-a ba-ni-in-$du_8$
18. in-nin$_9$-e gìr-ni mu-un-gub-gub
19. $^{d}$dumu-zi-dè $^{giš}$ig im-ma-ni-in-ús
20. é-e $id_4$-gim im-ma-na-ra-è
21. igi mu-un-ši-bar mu-un-na-ḫúl-la
22. gú-da mu-ni-in-lá

*rev., col. iii*

1. ....
2. $^{d}$dumu-zi-dè ....
3. en-$^{d}$dumu-zi ....
4. lugal-mu mà-e(?) ....
5. lugal-mu ....
6. $^{d}$dumu-zi-dè lú(?)-.. nu(?)-...
7. lugal-mu é ...-ra-na-ni
8. $su_8$-ba-$^{d}$dumu-zi-dè nitalam-a-ni-ir gù mu-na-dé-e
9. nitalam-mu ... -è-ni
10. $^{d}$inanna .... é-dingir-mà
11. é-dingir-mà-šè mu-e(?)-túm-en
12. igi-dingir-mà-šè ì-e(?)-ná-en
13. zag-gu-la-dingir-mà-ka $^{d}$inanna mu-da-tuš-ù-dè-en
14. ḫur-gim ḫu-mu-na-ab-bé-a-ka
15. .... -ka im-ma-an-tuš
16. .... šu ....
17. .. -ra gìr im-ma-an-[gub-gub]
18. ... a-ra-zu mu-na-ab-bé
19. ....
20. ....
21. ....
22. ....
23. .... NE
24. ...[l]i-bi-ir-si ....

*rev., col. iv*

1. ....
2. ... igi-z[a] ....
3. ... ušumgal-mu $^{giš}$má [ba-e-dè-ri]
4. .. in-nin$_9$-ra gú-ab-[ba-šè]
5. .. ušum[gal]-mu $^{giš}$má(!) ba-e-dè-ri
6. [urú ukkin]-na-àm urú-zu urú ukkin-na-àm
7. urú(?) ukkin-e im-ma-ni-ib-$dug_4$-e-en
8. urú-zu .... urú ukkin-àm
9. za-e .... ba-ni-ib-$dug_4$-e-en
10. ama-mu ... la-ba-ni-ib-$dug_4$
11. šeš-[mu] .. UR-sar-ra la-ba-ni-íb-$dug_4$
12. nin$_9$-mu $^{d}$geštin-an-na la-ba-ni-íb-$dug_4$
13. za-e ... -a- .. ba-ni-ib-$dug_4$-e
14. nitalam-mu šu na-ma-tag-tag-an
15. .... -mu na-[m]a-nu-nu-un
16. .... na-ma-ni-íb-dù-un
17. .... [na-ma-ni-íb]-ŠUL-ŠUL-an
18. .... -nun-na
19. .... [na-ma-ni-ib]- ... -an
20. ....
21. níg-nam ....
22. $^{d}$nin-é-gal-la ....
23. am-$^{d}$dumu-zi ....
24. .... še-er-zi kù-$^{d}$
25. ... -na-mu an-né še-er-zi ...
26. ... ba- ....
27. ....[34]

[34] This text contains a large number of glosses, thus in col. i: i š - t e - n a - a - .. (line 6), q í - i r - b i a - p i - i m (line 10), illegible traces of a gloss (line 11), a n - n i - a - a m (line 12), .. - m a n - s i - t u m š u - n u - l a - a t - s ú (line 15), illegible traces of a gloss (line 22), i š - t a - k a - a n (line 24), i (?) - ... n a - š i (line 25), i - n a ... - š u (?) (line 26), illegible traces of a gloss (line 27); in col. ii: i - n a SAL - m i - š a .... (line 2),

*Translation*

*obv., col. i*

1. .... like ....,
2. .... like ....,
3. .... in the palace they are Sin's(?) "brides-men."
4. .... like those who break eggs ....,
5. .... they are Sin's "brides-men,"
6. .... being one,
7. .... being two,
8. ....,
9. .....
10. "The fisherman .... in the midst of the cane-brake,
11. To the ... of the shepherd .. I would return him;
12. Best .., best beer, that ...,
13. To the .... (I would return) him;
14. .... that ....,
15. To the .... lying at the ..,
16. .... (I would return) him;
17. ...., that ...,
18. The fisherman, to his .. canebrake,
19. .... (I would return) him."
20. The .. -*suḫur*-fish, that ...,
21. The "brides-man" brought(?) ....,
22. The birds at (his) side, the hunter brought,
23. The *suḫur*-fish ..., the fisherman brought.
24. My queen placed .....
25. The shepherd carried fat by(?) hand,
26. Dumuzi carried fat (and) milk at the side,
27. He carried fat (and) milk in small pitchers at the side,
28. He carried milk (and) beer in ... at the side,
29. M[y lord] speaks by the house,
30. Dumuzi ....:
31. "Open the [house], my queen, [open] the house,
32. ....."

*obv., col. ii*

1. The hierodule ....
2. Directed her feet to the mother who gave birth to her.
3. "Your ....,
4. Lo, the youth(?) ....,
5. L[o, the you]th ....
6. Lo, the [youth], he .... for you,
7. Lo, the youth, he is your father,
8. Lo, the youth, he is your mother,
9. His mother has ... like your mother,
10. His father has .. you like your father,
11. Open the house, my queen, open the house."
12. Inanna, at the command of her mother,
13. Bathed, anointed herself with goodly oil,
14. Covered her body with the noble *pala*-garment
15. Took .., her dowry,
16. Arranged the lapis lazuli about (her) neck,
17. Grasped (her) seal in her hand.
18. The lady directed her step,
19. Opened the door for (?) Dumuzi,
20. In(?) the house she came forth to him like the light of the moon,
21. Gazed at him, rejoiced for him,
22. Embraced him ....

*rev., col. iii*

1. ....,
2. Dumuzi ....,
3. The lord Dumuzi ....,
4. "My king, I (?) ....,
5. My king (?) ....,
6. Dumuzi ....,
7. My king, his(?) .. the house ...."
8. The shepherd Dumuzi says to his wife:
9. "My wife, .... his coming forth,
10. Inanna, .... the house of my god,
11. I will bring you to the house of my god,
12. You will lie before my god,
13. You, Inanna(?) will sit at the seat of honor of my god."
14. When he had thus spoken,
15. He seated ....,
16. ....,
17. [Directed] his foot to ..;
18. Uttered a prayer .. to him,
19. ....
20. ....
21. ....
22. ....
23. ....
24. ... the "brides-man" ....

*rev., col. iv*

1. "....,
2. ... before you ....,
3. ... my *ušumgal*, [directed] the boat
4. .. for the lady [at] the bank of the sea,
5. My *ušum*[*gal*] directed the boat,
6. It is an [assembly city], your city is an assembly city,
7. I have put you in charge over the assembly city(?)
8. Your city ...., it is an assembly city,
9. I have put you in charge ....,
10. I did not put my mother .. in charge of it,
11. I did not put [my] brother .. in charge of it,
12. I did not put my sister Geštinanna in charge of it,
13. It is you ... whom I have put in charge of it.
14. Do not lay a hand on my wife,
15. Do not ....,
16. Do not build ....,
17. Do not ....,
18. ....,
19. [Do not] ....,
20. ....,
21. Whatsoever ....,
22. Ninegal ....."
23. Dumuzi, the wild ox, ...,
24. ... the brilliant, the holy, ....,
25. My .. brilliant in(?) heaven ...,
26. ....
27. .....

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....-n u ú-z a-a z (line 3), illegible traces of glosses (lines 4, 9, 21), i-n a ..-i š-t a ... (line 17), i š-...-m a (line 18), i p-t e-.. (line 19), i š (?)-.... (line 20); col. iii: illegible traces of glosses (lines 3, 13, 17, 18); col. iv: ... l u-..-b i (line 6), i-i k-k a l-.... (line 7), m a (?)-.... (line 8), illegible traces of glosses (lines 9, 11, 13, 16), ....-š u m (line 18).

*Commentary*

The beginning of this highly significant Dumuzi-Inanna myth is fragmentary, and little can be made of its contents; it seems to begin with an account of a marriage ceremony (col. i, 1–9; note the repetition of the word "bridesmen"), and continues with an address of obscure meaning in the Emesal dialect by a female deity, presumably Inanna (col. i, 10–19). The narrative seems to begin again with col. i, 20, but it is not until line 25 that the text becomes intelligible, we then learn that Dumuzi has come to Inanna's house with gifts of fat, milk, and beer, and pleads for admittance (col. i, 25–32). Following a break of uncertain size, we find Inanna going for advice to her mother who urges her strongly to "open the house" for Dumuzi since he will be like a father and mother to her (col. ii, 1–11). Whereupon Inanna prepared herself to meet Dumuzi as befits a Sumerian queenly bride, washing, anointing and bedecking herself, and not failing to take along her dowry and seal (col. ii, 12–17); she opens the door for Dumuzi and they embrace and cohabit (col. ii, 18–22). Following another break in the text we find Dumuzi addressing Inanna and inviting her to accompany him to his god's house where she will be treated with great honor. What follows then is entirely unknown since the remainder of col. iii and much of col. iv are largely destroyed, except for a passage in which Dumuzi is addressing some individual or deity whom he is placing in charge over a city described as an "assembly" city, with instructions to refrain from certain actions (presumably) harmful to his wife.

In detail note the following: In col. i, lines 3 and 5, the translation assumes that z u - e n is for the usual $^{d}$E N . Z U ; in col. i, line 28, the partially destroyed second complex should be parallel in meaning to N Í G - b à n - d a of the preceding line; in col. i, line 30, the illegible verb should have a meaning parallel to g ù b a - a n - d é of the preceding line; col. ii, line 9 might have been expected to end in - e n (parallel to the final - e n of the following line), but the traces do not point in this direction; in line 19, the translation assumes that the first complex should have ended in - r a (rather than - d è); in col. iv, line 10, the second complex might have been expected to contain the name of Dumuzi's mother, but the traces do not point in this direction; in col. iv, line 11, the second complex might be expected to contain the still unknown name of Dumuzi's brother; in line 22 $^{d}$n i n - é - g a l - l a should refer to Inanna.

## 4. *TMH, N.F. III*, No. 25

*Transliteration*

*obv.*

1. ga-ša-an-mèn ša-ga-ma-ta $u_4$-zal-la-mu-dè
2. ga-ša-an-an-na-mèn ša-ga-ma-ta $u_4$-zal-la-mu-dè
3. $u_4$-zal-la-mu-dè e-ne-di-da-mu-dè
4. $u_4$-zal $gi_6$-di-a-šè li-du $dug_4$-ga-mu-dè
5. gaba mu-un-ri gaba mu-un-ri
6. ù-mu-un ku-li-an-na gaba mu-un-ri
7. ù-mu-un-e šu-ni-a šu im-ma-an-dù
8. $^{d}$ušumgal-an-na gú-mà-a gú-da ba-an-lá
9. me-a am šu-ba-mu-$u_8$ é-me-šè da-gen
10. ku-li-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl-lá šu-ba-mu-$u_8$ é-me-šè da-gen
11. ama-[mu] lul-la-šè ta-mu-na-ab-bé-en
12. ama-mu $^{d}$ga-ša-an-gal-e lul-la-šè ta-mu-na-ab-bé-en
13. mà-e ga-ri-ib-zu-zu mà-e ga-ri-ib-zu-zu
14. $^{d}$inanna lul-la-munus-e-ne mà-e ga-ri-ib-zu-zu
15. ma-la-mu sila-ùr-ra e-ne mu-di-ni-ib-díb- . .
16. šèm- . . -FA e-ne-di-da GÙB mu-di-ni-in-túm
17. i-lu-ni zé-ba-àm ad mu-ši-ib-$sa_4$
18. ḫúl-ḫúl-e zé-ba-àm $u_4$ mu-di-ni-ib-zal-e
19. ama-ugu-zu-úr lul-la-šè za-e gub-bu-na-da
20. me-en-dè $id_4$-šè e-ne-sù-ud-bi-da-e
21. ki-ná-kù-dùg-nun-na . . ga-mu-ra-[ab]-. .
22. $u_4$-dùg nam-ḫé-a ḫúl-la ḫu-mu-e-dè-zal-e(?)
23. sa-gíd-da-àm
24. . . . sikil-mèn sila-sír-ra . . .
25. . . . . -da $u_4$-da mu-e-da- . . .
26. . . . . -im . . . .

*rev.*

1. . . . .
2. . . . .
3. . . .-ra-sù-ud(?) mu-un-ni-. . .
4. ká-ama-me-da nam-mi-DU
5. me-e ḫúl-la-ta (sic !) ì-di-[di]-dè-en
6. ká-ga-sa-an-gal-la-da(?) nam-mi-DU
7. me-e ḫúl-la-da(sic !) ì-di-di-dè-en
8. ama-mu-ra mu-lu e-ne-èm ḫu-mu-na-ab-bé
9. $u_5$(?)-šu-ur-me-a ki bí-sù-e
10. ama-mu-ga-ša-an-gal-ra mu-lu e-ne-èm ḫu-mu-ra-ab-bé
11. $u_5$(?)-šu-ur-me-a ki bí-sù-e
12. ki-tuš-a-ni ir-bi zé-ba-àm
13. e-ne-èm-mà-ni ám-ḫúl-ḫ[úl]-la-àm
14. ù-mu-un-mu úr-kù-ge ḫé-$du_7$
15. $^{d}$ama-ušumgal-an-na mí-ús-sá-$^{d}$zuen-na
16. en-$^{d}$dumu-zi úr-kù-ge ḫé-$du_7$
17. $^{d}$ama-ušumgal-an-na mí-ús-sá-$^{d}$zuen-na
18. ù-mu-un-mu ḫé-ma-al-zu zé-ba-àm
19. edin-na ú-šim-zu $ku_7$-$ku_7$-dam
20. $^{d}$ama-ušumgal-an-na ḫé-ma-al-zu zé-ba-àm
21. edin-na ú-šim-zu $ku_7$-$ku_7$-dam
22. sa-gar-ra-àm tigi-$^{d}$inanna-kam[35]

[35] This text contains the following glosses, thus obv: i š - t u a m - š a - l i i - n a š u m - z u - l i - a (line 1), i - n a š u m - . . - š i ù - š u m - . . . . (line 4), . . . . - z i (?) - i n - n a - a n - n i (line 7), m i - n a m i m - z a - . . - z i (line 11), l u (!) - . . . . - k i (!) (line 13), i - n a r i - b i -

*Translation*

*obv.*

1. Last night, as I, the queen, was shining bright,
2. Last night, as I, the queen of heaven, was shining bright,
3. As I was shining bright, as I was dancing about,
4. As I was uttering a song at the brightening of the oncoming (?) night,
5. He met me, he met me,
6. The lord Kuli-Anna met me,
7. The lord put his hand into my hand,
8. Ušumgalanna embraced me.
9. "Come now(?), wild bull, set me free, I must go home,
10. Kuli-Enlil, set me free, I must go home,
11. What shall I say to deceive my mother!
12. What shall I say to deceive my mother Ningal!"
13. "Let me inform you, let me inform you.
14. Inanna, most deceitful of women, let me inform you:
15. 'My girl friend took me with her to the public square,
16. She entertained(?) me(?) there with music(?) and dancing,
17. Her chant, the sweet, she sang for me.
18. In sweet rejoicing I whiled away the time there'—
19. Thus deceitfully stand up to your mother,
20. While we by the moonlight indulge (our) passion,
21. I will [prepare] for you a bed pure, sweet, (and) noble
22. Will while away the sweet time (?) with you in joyful fulfillment."
23. It is a *sagidda*.
24. I, the maid, .. in the .. street,
25. .... by day, I ....,
26. ....,

*rev.*

1. ....,
2. ....,
3. ....,
4. I have come to our mother's gate,
5. I, in joy I walk,
6. I have come to Ningal's gate,
7. I, in joy I walk.
8. To my mother he will say the word,
9. He will sprinkle cypress oil on the ground,
10. To my mother Ningal he will say the word,
11. He will sprinkle cypress oil on the ground,
12. He whose dwelling is fragrant,
13. Whose word brings deep joy.
14. My lord is seemly for(?) the holy lap,
15. Amaušumgalanna, the son-in-law of Sin,
16. The lord Dumuzi is seemly for(?) the holy lap.
17. Amaušumgalanna, the son-in-law of Sin.
18. My lord, sweet is your increase,
19. Tasty your plants(and) herbs in the plain
20. Amaušumgalanna, sweet is your increase,
21. Tasty your plants (and) herbs in the plain.
22. It is a *sagarra*. A *tigi*-song of Inanna.

*Commentary*

The formal structure of this tender and ardent love song is rather unusual—it consists of two soliloquies by the goddess separated from each other by a brief *tête-a-tête* between the goddess and her lover Dumuzi; the first soliloquy and its ensuing *tête-a-tête* make up the first stanza, designated by the scribe as a *sagidda*, while the second soliloquy takes up the entire second stanza, designated by the scribe as a *sagarra*. In Inanna's first soliloquy the goddess relates that one night, while she was innocently singing and dancing about, presumably in heaven, Dumuzi met her, held her hand, and embraced her. There follows a brief dialogue between them consisting of Inanna's plea to Dumuzi to let go of her since on coming home she will have to deceive her mother and she does not know how, and Dumuzi's suggestion to tell her mother that she whiled away the hours with a girl friend in the public square, an excuse that will enable them to spend the night making love by the moonlight. Inanna's second soliloquy which is rather elliptical and allusive, begins with an exulting pronouncement of her arrival at the "gate" of her mother Ningal accompanied by Dumuzi who "will say the word" to her, that is, no doubt, ask for her daughter's hand; it concludes with an ecstatic eulogy of her husband-to-be and the fertility insured by their sacred marriage.

In detail note the following: The first complex in line 4 is difficult and the suggested translation is not very satisfactory. Starting with line 6, we find Dumuzi called by different names, thus: Kuli-Anna (line 6), Ušumgalanna (line 8), Kuli-Enlil (line 10), and Amaušumgalanna (lines 15, 17, 20). In line 9, the translation "Come now" for m e - a is a guess based on the context. To judge from line 14, Inanna had a long-standing reputation for deceit, a fact which might be surmised from Gilgameš' characterization of the goddess in Tablet VI of the Akkadian Epic of Gilgameš. The meaning of line 16 is quite uncertain and the translation is highly dubious. In line 20, the words "indulge (our) passion" attempts to render e - n e - sù - u d - b i - d a - e, a complex (or perhaps two com-

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t i m and i m - làl - l i - .. - k i (?) (line 15), i - n a .... - m e i - n a m e - l u - u l - t i m (line 16) .... - t i m i - n a a z (?) - z a - t i m (line 17), i - n a .. - l i - t i m (line 18), i - n a r i - š a - t i m i - i š - m e - l i (?) - ... (line 20), ... - u š (?) - d a - t i ... d i - n i - ... (line 21), l i - .... (line 22), ... - k i - .. (line 24); rev.: .. - z a .. - l i - n u (line 9), š a - .. - d i - a .... - m a (line 13).

plexes) which is difficult to analyze grammatically. In rev., line 4, it is difficult to see why the poet uses m e "our" instead of - m u "mine," in the first complex.

## THE SACRED MARRIAGE TEXTS: RITE AND RITUAL

### 5. *CT XLII*, no. 4

#### *Transliteration*

*obv., col. i*

1. . . . gaba(?)-íl . . . .
2. é-urú-zé-ba šu-si-sá-a-b[i]
3. é-$^{d}$zuen-na(!)-ka $u_4$-zalag-ga-bi
4. é-an-na-ka urù-dù-a-bi
5. é-sag-bi-šè hé-rig
6. é-zi-da-mu dugu-ge i-im-dirig
7. mu inim-gar-$šag_5$-ga in-ga-àm
8. ki-ná-gi-rin-na zagin-sì-ga-àm
9. $^{d}$gibil èš-gal-la mu-ra-an-kù-kù-ga
10. mu-lú nam-ga-ša-an-e šu-gal-dù-a
11. ù-mu-un-na-ni mu-ra-an-si
12. é-gi-si-a-na mu-ra-ab-kù-ga šu-luḫ mu-ra-gá-gá
13. $u_4$ ba-an-ná $u_4$ ba-an-$dug_4$
14. $u_4$ ki-ná-a i-bí kár-kár-dam
15. $u_4$ ù-mu-un-e mí zi-zi-i-dam
16. ù-mu-un-ra nam-ti zé-èm-mà-a
17. ù-mu-un-ra $buru_x$ šibir sì-mu-na-ab
18. al ba-an-$dug_4$ al ba-an-$dug_4$ ki-ná al ba-an-$dug_4$
19. ki-ná-šà-húl-la al ba-an-$dug_4$ ki-ná al ba-an-$dug_4$
20. ki-ná-úr-zé-ba al ba-an-$dug_4$ ki-ná al ba-an-$dug_4$
21. [k]i-ná-nam-lugal-la al ba-an-$dug_4$ ki-ná al ba-an-$dug_4$
22. [ki]-ná-nam-nin-a al ba-an-$dug_4$ ki-ná al ba-an-$dug_4$
23. [zé-b]a-ni-da zé-ba-ni-da ki-nà-zé-ba-ni-da
24. [ki-ná]-šà-húl-la zé-ba-ni-da ki-ná-zé-ba-ni-da
25. [ki-ná]-úr-zé-ba zé-ba-ni-da ki-ná-zé-ba-ni-da
26. [ki-ná-n]am-lugal-la zé-ba-ni-da ki-ná-zé-ba-ni-da
27. [ki-ná-nam]-nin-a zé-ba-ni-da ki-ná-zé-ba-ni-da
28. [. . . ki-ná] mu-un-na-dag-ge ki-ná mu-un-na-
29. dag-ge
30. [. . . ki-ná mu-u]n-na-dag-ge ki-ná mu-un-na-
31. dag-ge

*obv., col. ii*

1. l[ugal] . . . .
2. ki-ág ki-ná-zé-ba-ni-šè gù mu-un-na-dé-e
3. inim-ti inim-$u_4$-$su_x$-rá gù mu-un-na-dé-e
4. ga-ša-an-šubur-ra sukkal-zi-é-an-na-$ke_4$
5. um-me-zi-da-na im-ma-an-díb
6. úr-ga-ša-an-na-šè ḫi-li-a mu-ni-$ku_4$
7. ù-mu-un-e ám-šà-ge ba-e-pà-da-zu
8. lugal-e nitalam-ki-ág-zu úr-kù-níg-dùg-zu $u_4$ ḫa-ba-ni-ib-$su_x$-e-dé
9. bala-$šag_5$-ga pa-è sì-mu-na-ab
10. $^{giš}$gu-za-nam-lugal-la suḫus-ge-na-ba sì-mu-na-ab
11. gidri-ukù-si-sá $buru_x$ šibir sì-mu-na-ab
12. aga-zi men-na-sag-dalla-a sì-mu-na-ab
13. $^{d}$utu-è-ta $^{d}$utu-šú-šè
14. $tumu_x$-ulù-ta $tumu_x$-mir-ra-a-šè
15. a-ab-ba-igi-nim-ta a-ab-ba-sig-šè
16. $^{giš}$ḫa-lu-úb(!)-ta $^{giš}$erin-na-šè(!)
17. ki-en-gi ki-uri-a $buru_x$-šibir sì-mu-na-ab(!)
18. sag-gíg-dúr-ru-na-bi nam-sipad-bi ḫé-ak-e
19. e-ne engar-gim gán ḫé-gá-gá
20. sipad-zi-gim amaš ḫé-im-mi-lu-lu
21. gu ḫé-en-da-gál še ḫé-en-da-gál
22. íd-da a-$gu_4$ ḫé-en-da-gá!
23. a-šà-ga še-gu-nu ḫé-en-da-gál
24. ambar-ra $ku_6$ mušen KA ḫu-mu-da-ra-ra
25. mu-gi-e gi-sun gi-ḫenbur ḫé-en-da-an-mú
26. an-edin-na $^{mu}$maš-gúr ḫé-en-da-mú
27. tir-tir-ra $šeg_9$-$šeg_9$-bar ḫé-en-da-lu
28. pú-$kiri_6$ làl kurun ḫé-en-da-íl
29. mú-sar-ra ḫi-$is^{sar}$ zà-ḫi-$li^{sar}$ ḫe-en-da-mú
30. é-gal-la zi-sù-$u_4$-gál ḫé-en-da-an-gál

*rev., col. iii*

1. $^{id}$idigna(!)-$^{id}$buranun-na a-$u_5$-ba ḫu-mu-ni-ib-t[ú]m
2. gú-gú-ba ú ḫu-mu-ta-mú-mú a-gàr ḫé-en-si
3. $gur_7$-$du_6$-$gur_7$-maš kù-ga-ša-an-NIDABA-$ke_4$(!) gú ḫu-mu-
4. ni-gur-gur
5. ga-ša-an-mu nin-an-ki nin-an-ki-šú-a
6. ùr-[zu-šè] $u_4$ ḫa-ba-ni-ib-sù-e
7. lugal-[úr-kù-šè s]ag-íl-la mu-un-gen-né
8. úr-g[a(!?)-ša-an-na-k]a-šè sag-íl-la mu-un-gen
9. lugal [sag-í]l-la gen-né
10. nin(!)-mu-[ra sa]g-íl-la gen-né
11. . . . . -ka-ta
12. mu(?)-g[$i_6$(!?)-ib(?) . . . . gu-da mu-un]da-lá[36]

#### *Translation*

*obv., col. i*

1. ". . . .
2. Of the house of Eridu—its guidance,
3. Of the house of Sin—its radiance,
4. Of the Eanna—its habitation(?);
5. The house—it has been presented (to you).
6. (In) my enduring house which floats like a cloud,
7. (Whose) name in truth, is a goodly vision,
8. (Where) a fruitful bed, lapis-bedecked,
9. Gibil had purified for you in the great shrine,
10. He who is well-suited for 'queenship,'
11. The lord has erected(?) his altar(?),
12. In his reed-filled(?) house which he has purified for you, he performs your rites.
13. The sun has gone to sleep, the day has passed(?),
14. As in bed you gaze (lovingly) upon him,
15. As you caress the lord,
16. Give life unto the lord,
17. Give the staff and crook unto the lord."
18. She craves it, she craves it, she craves the bed,
19. She craves the bed of the rejoicing heart, she craves the bed,
20. She craves the bed of the sweet lap, she craves the bed,
21. She craves the bed of kingship, she craves the bed,
22. She craves the bed of queenship, she craves the bed.
23. By his sweet, by his sweet, by his sweet bed,
24. By his sweet bed of the rejoicing heart, by his sweet bed,

[36] For the glosses in this text, *cf.* now Adam Falkenstein's review of the volume, *OLZ* (1961): 370.

25. By his sweet bed of the sweet lap, by his sweet bed,
26. By his sweet bed of "kingship," by his sweet bed,
27. By his sweet bed of "queenship," by his sweet bed,
28–29. He covers [the bed] ... for her, covers the bed for her,
30–31. He covers [the bed] ... for her, covers the bed for her.

*obv., col. ii*

1. [To] the k[ing] ....,
2. The beloved(?) speaks on his sweet bed,
3. Speaks to him words of life, words of "long days."
4. Ninšubur, the trustworthy vizier of the Eanna,
5. Took him by his right forearm(?),
6. Brought him blissfully to the lap of Inanna:
7. "May the Lord whom you have called to(your) heart,
8. The king, your beloved husband, enjoy long days at your holy lap, the sweet,
9. Give him a reign favorable (and) glorious,
10. Give him the throne of kingship on its enduring foundation,
11. Give him the people-directing scepter, the staff (and) the crook,
12. Give him an enduring crown, a diadem which ennobles(?) the head,
13. From (where) the sun rises, to (where) the sun sets,
14. From south to north,
15. From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea,
16. From (where grows) the *halub*-tree to (where grows) the cedar,
17. Over all Sumer and Akkad give him the staff (and) the crook,
18. May he exercise the shepherdship of the black-heads (wherever) they dwell,
19. May he make productive the fields like the farmer,
20. May he multiply the sheepfolds like a trustworthy shepherd,
21. Under his reign may there be plants, may there be grain,
22. At the river, may there be overflow,
23. In the field may there be late-grain,
24. In the marshland may the fish (and) birds make much chatter(?),
25. In the canebrake may the 'old' reeds, the young reeds grow high,
26. In the steppe may the *mašgur*-trees grow high,
27. In the forests may the deer and the wild goats multiply,
28. May the watered garden produce honey (and) wine,
29. In the trenches may the lettuce and the cress grow high,
30. In the palace may there be long life,

*rev., col. iii*

1. Into the Tigris and Euphrates may flood water be brought,
2. On their banks may the grass grow high, may the meadows be covered,
3–4. May the holy queen of vegetation pile high the grain heaps and mounds,
5. Oh my queen, queen of the universe, the queen who encompasses the universe,
6. May he enjoy long days [at your holy] lap."
7. The king goes with lifted head [to the holy lap],
8. He goes with lifted head to [the holy] lap [of Inanna],
9. The king going with [lifted head],
10. Going to my queen with lifted head,
11. From ....,
12. Embraces the hierodule .....

*Commentary*

This poem is an epithalamion in the Emesal dialect which is in some respects a companion piece to the last stanza of the Inanna hymn that celebrates the hieros gamos between Iddin-Dagan and goddess (see p. 490). The poet begins with an address, probably to the goddess Inanna, informing her that Gibil had purified for her "the great shrine" in her Eanna temple, and that the king had erected an altar and carried out the lustration rites for her (col. i, lines 10–12); this is followed by a prayer that in the evening when "the day had gone to sleep," and it was time for the goddess "to caress the lord" in the favored sleeping place, she should give the king life and the staff and crook (col. i, lines 13–17). The poet then sings of the preparation of the "sleeping place" of kingship and queenship which "rejoices the heart" and "sweetens the lap" (col. i, lines 18–31). After a break we find the king speaking "words of life, words of long days" to (probably) Inanna (col. ii, lines 1–3). Following which Ninšubur takes him by his right forearm(?), leads him to Inanna's lap, and asks her to bless him with everything essential for the well-being of the king and his people: a good reign, a firmly founded throne, a well-governing scepter, a staff and crook for the control of Sumer and Akkad and the lands beyond (col. ii, lines, 4–18); she should grant him, too, that "he (the king) like a farmer set the fields in order, like a faithful shepherd multiply the sheepfolds" (col. ii, lines 19–20); and that under his reign, the land should have all it needs: plants and grains, overflow by the rivers, late grain in the fields, fish and birds in the marshes, fresh and mature reeds in the canebrake, *mašgur*-trees in the plains, deer and wild-goats in the forest, honey and wine in the well-watered gardens, vegetables in the trenches (between the furrows), long life in the palace, high water brought by the Tigris and Euphrates to make verdant their banks and watered acres, grain heaps and mounds

piled high by the goddess Nidaba (col. ii, lines 18–col. iii, line 3). Following a further request by Ninšubur that the king be allowed to spend a long time in Inanna's lap (col. iii, lines 4–6), the king proceeds with "lifted head" to the lap of Inanna and is embraced by her (col. iii, lines 7–12). The remainder of the composition, which strangely enough, ends up in Akkadian (col. iv, line 1-end), has only the ends of the lines preserved, and little can be said about its contents.

## 6. *CT XLII*, No. 13

1. [di]-da-mu-[dè] di-da-mu-[dè]
2. ga-ša-an-ir$_9$-ra mu-lú-ù-?-šè mu-lu-ù(?)-dè
3. ga-ša-an-mèn abzu-šè di-da-mu-dè
4. ga-ša-an-na-mèn abzu-šè di-da-mu-dè
5. abzu é-nun-šè di-da-mu-dè
6. uru-zé-eb$^{ki}$-zé-eb-šè di-da-mu-dè
7. é-engur-ra-šè di-da-mu-dè
8. é-an-na-é-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl-lá-šè di-da-mu-dè
9. NE-. . -u$_4$-NE-šà-ge-a-ru-šè di-da-mu-dè
10. bur-gal-gal-an-ne-súg-ga-šè di-da-mu-dè
11. bur-. .-sikil-e . . . -ág-gá-šè di-da-mu-dè
12. a. .-a-zi . . šu-è-ba-šè di-da-mu-dè
13. [ù-mu]-un-$^{d}$am-an-ki šu-è-ba-šè di-da-mu-dè
14. $^{d}$dam-gal-nun-na . . šu-è-ba-šè di-da-mu-dè
15. $^{d}$asar-lú-ḫi . . šu-è-ba-šè di-da-mu-dè
16. ur mu-da-ri [pi]rig(?) mu-da-ri
17. $^{giš}$taškarin mu-da-ri $^{giš}$ḫa-lu-úb mu-da-ri
18. ga-ša-an-an-na-mèn tu$_{15}$-tur-tur-e šu i-im-ti
19. e-re$_7$-da-mu-dè e-re$_7$-da-mu-dè
20. a-è me-e gen-na a-è me-e gen-na
21. ga-ša-an-[mèn] ambar-ra di-da-mu-dè
22. ambar-ra . . . -BU-ḪU-bi me-e gen-na
23. ka-mè-ka di-da-mu-dè
24. u$_4$-u$_4$-u$_4$ è-a-bi gen-na
25. igi-mè-ka di-da-mu-dè
26. u$_4$-u$_4$ è-a-bi gen-na
27. egir-mè-ka ús-sa-mu-dè
28. IŠ(?)-. . -ḫul-gú(?)-zé-šè(?) gen-na
29. é-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl-lá ku$_4$-ra-mu-dè
30. munus-kur-ra dirig(!)-ga-bi gen-na
31. kur-kur-ra inim-me-ri ba-ni-in-ne
32. mu-u$_4$-da-na-mu igi-mà ba-e-tuš
33. é-di[ngir]-dingir(?)-re(?)-ne a-da-man mu-un-dè-ne
34. $^{d}$utu-dè $^{d}$nanna-dè a-da-man mu-dè-ne
35. $^{d}$sud aš a-ab-. . . kù-bi-ta a-da-man mu-dè-ne
36. íd-dè íd-dè íd-dirig-gim dam(?)-gim zé-eb uru-gim zé-eb ḫur-gim zé-eb nu-gál
37. íd-dè íd-nun-e íd-dirig-gim
38. íd-dè íd-buranun-na íd-dirig-gim
39. . . . íd-buranun-na-ke$_4$(?) íd-dirig-gim
40. . . . . LI . . . .
41. . . . mu-lu . . . . da-. .-gim(?)
42. [dam(?)-gi]m zé-eb uru-gim zé-eb ḫur-gim zé-eb nu-gál
43. [$^{d}$am]-an-ki am-uru-zé-ba im-da-gen-na-gim
43a. [nin]-é-maḫ-a $^{d}$dam-gal-nun-na im-da-gen-na-[gim]
44. $^{d}$asar-lú-ḫi dumu-uru-zé-ba im-da-gen-na-gim
45. $^{d}$mu-ul-líl-le mu-un-kú-a-gim mu-un-nag-a-gim
46. . . . dam(?)-gim zé-eb uru-gim zé-eb ḫur-gim zé-eb nu-gál
47. a- . . -NE-en šà-mu ba-ma-al
48. a- . . zi-dè šu-e-ba-šè
49. a- . . -lú-zi-dè šu bí-in-è-ba-a-šè
50. mu-lu-bi é-šà-ga $^{mu}$ná-gi-rin-NE bí-in-ag
51. é-an-na-ka qada-lá-e na ba-e-na-ág
52. ù-mu-un-ra a mu-un-ma-al mu-na-ab-bé-ne
53. ninda mu-un-ma-al mu-un-na-ab-bé-ne
54. é-gal-la im-te-en mu-un-na-ab-bé-ne
55. $^{d}$dumu-zi é-e-àm ki-àm zalag-zalag-ga
56. ama-$^{d}$inanna ama-$^{d}$inanna du$_6$-zu DU-zu
57. ama-$^{d}$inanna $^{d}$inanna-dingir-an-na túg-zu túg-zu
58. túg-gig-zu túg-babbar-zu
59. mu-lu-é-a-gen-na-mu te-e-àm
60. i-lu te-àm ad-ša$_4$-šà-ba
61. me-e-bi te-àm me ba-tuš-ù-ne
62. ki-bi te-àm ki àm-gub-bu-ne
63. àm-mi-in-gub-bu-ne àm-mi-in-gub-bu-ne
64. $^{d}$mu-ul-líl ki-ùr-ra àm-mi-in-gub-bu-ne
65. am-igi-ka-na-ág-gá mu-lú-bi dè-en-ti
66. ág-ní-bi ág-ní-bi dè-ag
67. lú-bi é-nun-na inim-si-sá dè-bí-in-ag
68. a-bi é-gal-lá-ka inim-si-sá IM-bi-en-na
69. in-nin$_9$ ubur-zu gán -né-zu ḫé-a
70. $^{d}$inanna ubur-zu gán-né-zu ḫé-a
71. gán-né-dagal-e gu-dé-a-zu
72. gán-né-dagal-e še-dé-a-zu
73. a-bala-a an-ta mu-lú ninda-a an-ta
74. a-bala-bala-a an-ta mu-lú ninda-ninda-a an-ta
75. mu-lu-dug$_4$-ga-ra ù-na-e-ni- . .
76. ne-en ga-ra-nag-[na]g

Subscription

sìr-nan-šub-$^{d}$inanna-[kam][37]

### *Translation*

1. When I proceeded, when I proceeded,
2. . . . ,
3. When I, the queen, proceeded to the Abzu,
4. When I, the queen of heaven, proceeded to the Abzu,
5. When I proceeded to the Abzu, the princely house,
6. When I proceeded to Eridu, the goodly,
7. When I proceeded to the *E-Engurra*,
8. When I proceeded to Enlil's house, Eanna,
9. When I proceeded to . . . .,
10. When I proceeded to the large jars reaching heavenward,
11. When I proceeded to the . . jars . . . . by the pure . .,
12. When I proceeded to the . . . .,
13. When I proceeded to Enki who . . . .,
14. When I proceeded to Damgalnunna who . . . .,
15. When I proceeded to Asarluḫi who . . . .,
16. I brought along a dog, brought along a lion(?),
17. I brought along boxwood, brought along *halub*-wood,
18. I, the queen of heaven, took along (?) the light winds.
19. When I go forward, when I go forward,
20. As one who brings forth water, I come, as one who brings forth water, I come.

[37] This text contains but one gloss: i - r a (line 2).

21. [I] the queen, as I proceed to the marshland,
22. Of the marshland as its . ., I come.
23. When I proceeded to the "mouth" of the battle,
24. As one who brings forth its brightest light, I come.
25. When I proceeded to the front of the battle,
26. As one who brings forth its bright light, I come.
27. When I take my stand at the rear of the battle,
28. As one who . . . ., I come.
29. When I enter Enlil's house,
30. As its outstanding "woman of the *kur*", I come.
31. I uttered angry words against the foreign lands,
32. Seated my husband before me,
33. Uttered a challenge in(?) the house of the gods(?),
34. Uttered a challenge against Utu, against Nanna,
35. Uttered a challenge against Sud . . . .
36. The river, the river—good like the vast river, like the . ., good like the city—there is nothing so good,
37. The river, the princely river—(good) like the vast river,
38. The river, the Euphrates—(good) like the vast river
39. The . . of(?) the Euphrates—(good) like the vast river,
40. . . . .,
41. . . . who . . . like(?) . .,
42. Good like the . ., good like the city, there is nothing as good,
43. Like when Enki, the wild bull of Eridu has come with her,
43a. [Like] when the queen of the noble house, Damgalnunna has come with her,
44. Like when Asarluḫi the son of Eridu has come,
45. Like when Enlil has eaten, has drunk,
46. . . . good like the . ., good like the city, there is nothing so good.
47. ". . . . is in(?) my heart,
48. (When I had proceeded) to the . . . .,
49. (When I had proceeded) to the . . . .,
50. Its lord prepared a fresh(?) fruitful bed in the midst of the house."
51. In Eanna the "linen-wearers" prepared an altar for him,
52. Water was placed (there) for the lord, they speak to him,
53. Bread was placed (there), they speak to him,
54. He was refreshed in the palace, they speak to him:
55. "Dumuzi, radiant, in the palace (and) on earth,
56. Mother Inanna, mother Inanna, your (treasure) heap, your (treasure) heap(?),
57. Mother Inanna, goddess of heaven, your garment, your garment,
58. Your black garment, your white garment,
59. Oh my lord who has come to the house—approach her,
60. Approach her with a chant, a heart (moving) melody,
61. Approach their . ., the . . where they are seated,
62. Approach their place, the place where they are standing,
63. (Where) they have stationed, they have stationed,
64. (Where) they have stationed Enlil in the Kiur."
65. "Oh wild bull, 'eye' of the Land,
66. I would fulfill(?) all its needs(?),
67. Would make its lord carry out justice in the princely house,
68. Would make its seed . . justice in the palace."
69. "Oh lady, your breast is your field,
70. Inanna, your breast is your field,
71. Your wide wide field which 'pours out' plants,
72. Your wide field which 'pours out' grain,
73. Water flowing from on high—(for) the lord—bread from on high,
74. Water flowing, flowing from on high—(for) the lord—bread, bread, from on high,
75. [Pour(?)] out for the 'commanded' lord,
76. I will drink it from you."
77. A *nam-šub*-song of Inanna.

### *Commentary*

This rather obscure and heterogenous composition designated as a sìr-nam-šub $^{d}$inanna-kam, is divided into four sections of uneven length. In the first, which consists entirely of a monologue by Inanna (lines 1–19), the goddess speaks of journeying to the Abzu, and to Eridu and its shrines and gods, bringing with her animals and trees. The second section, too, is a monologue by Inanna (lines 20–35). In it the goddess boasts of her prowess in battle and of uttering a challenge to Utu, Nanna, and Sud. The third section (lines 36–46) seems to be a narrative passage concerned primarily with the Euphrates whither Enki, Damgalnunna and Asarluḫi had gone, presumably with Inanna, and where Enlil was eating and drinking. But it is the fourth section (lines 47–76) which, obscure as it is, is of no little significance for the Dumuzi-Inanna marriage ceremony. Following what seems to be a brief soliloquy by Inanna, concerned with the preparation of a marriage bed, presumably by the king (lines 47–50), the "linen wearers" address the king, before whom food and drink had been placed, as Dumuzi, announce to him in riddle-like phrases the presence of Inanna, and invite him to approach the goddess, as well as the place in the *kiur*-shrine where Enlil seems to have been stationed (lines 51–64). Inanna then seems to pronounce a prayer for the life and rule of the king (lines 65–67). The composition closes with a plea to Inanna, perhaps by the king himself, to give him her breast from which he will drink as a symbol of the fertility of the land (lines 69–76).

In detail, note the following: Line 2 is too obscure for a reasonable guess at the meaning. In line 8, the Eanna of Enlil seems to refer to a shrine located in Eridu, not in Erech. Line 12 is almost identical with lines 48–49; the first

complex should be an epithet of a deity, since it parallels the first complexes of the following lines. The meaning of š u - è / e - b a - š è (lines 12, 13, 14, 15, 48; *cf.* also line 49 where the complex seems to appear in the fuller form š u - b í - i n - e - b a - š è) is obscure. Line 19, which ends the section, strangely enough, has no finite verbal form. The second section of the composition parallels to some extent *CT XLII*, No. 22, col. i, lines 1–15, which is also a s ì r - n a m - š u b of Inanna, and in which Inanna speaks of journeying to the Abzu, of her entering the house of Enlil, and of her prowess in battle. The meaning and implication of the third section are quite obscure, and it is difficult to relate it to what precedes and follows. The same is true of the fourth section where the assumed shift of speakers (Inanna for lines 47–50; the "linen wearers" for lines 55–64; Inanna for lines 65–68; the king for lines 69–76) is far from assured, not to mention the numerous lexical and grammatical uncertainties which pervade the passage.

## 7. Ni 9602 (Figs. 3 and 4)

### *Transliteration*

*obv., col. i*

1. .... kù-ga-a-àm
2. .... si-sá(?)-sá me-e
3. .... SAL-la .... -àm
4. .... -du$_7$ nam-nun-na .. -an-du$_7$
5. .... -GAM-e
6. .... igi-gá-gá
7. .... si-sá(?)-sá [me]-e
8. .... šu ba-....
9. ....
10. ....
11. .... -mu SAL-la-mu ma(?) ...
12. .... an-e ba-ab-du$_7$-a-mu
13. .... dúr(?)-ra-mu(?)
14. .... -ir-tab-dar-a(?)-mu
15. .... zé(?)-dúr(?)-ra-mu
16. .... -e mar-ra-mu
17. .... dug$_4$-ga(?)-mu
18. .... é-gal-me-te-mu
19. ... -ma-za u$_4$-zal-la-mu
20. SAL .. -PA-za gìr-tag-ga-àm
21. $^{d}$dumu-zi ...-a é(?)-e mi-ni-in-ga-ga
22. uku-šár-re-da i-bí-mu mu-ma-al
23. $^{d}$dumu-zi nam-dingir-kalam-ma-šè mu-pàd
24. $^{d}$dumu-zi ki-ig-ga-ág-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl-lá-ra
25. ama-mu sag-uš mu-na-kal
26. ad-da-mu di-e-eš mu-un-na-e
27. a mu-ši-tu$_5$ na-ma mu-ši-su-ub
28. kuš(?)-a-tu$_5$-a kada ù-mu-ši-túm
29. túg-mu túg-ág-kalag-ga-gim si ba-sá-e
30. $^{túg}$pala$_2$-maḫ mu-na-kalag-ge-en
31. ... [zag]-è-bi-šè ma-ma-ma-an
32. .... búr-búr-re-šè
33. .... ba(?) ...
34. ....

(about 7 lines destroyed)

*obv., col. ii*

1. nin(?) ....
2. ... bar é(?) ... za-gìn AN ....
3. é(?)-èš-mu a-ra-zu(?)-a mu-ni- ...
4. kù a-ra-zu-a mi- ....
5. ... lirum$_2$-ga-ša-an-an-na me-[e]
6. gala-e sìr-ra mu-ni-íb-[pàd(?)-dè]
7. nar-e li-du .. mu-ni-íb-[túm(?)]
8. mu-ud-na-mu mu-da-an-[ḫúl(?)-le(?)]
9. am-$^{d}$dumu-zi mu-da-an-[ḫúl(?)-le(?)]
10. KA an-tuku-e KA KA ki ....
11. .. AN .. -tur mu-ni-í[b] ..
12. .... -zi-zi nibru(!)$^{[ki]}$ ....
13. .... -mar dumu $^{d}$n[in]- ....
14. kur(?)- .. nin-e ... di-e-[eš mu-un-na-e]
15. gala-e sìr-ra m[u-ni-ib-pàd(?)-dè]
16. $^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ di-e-eš [mu-un-na-e]
17. SAL-la-ni sìr-ra mi-ni- ...
18. SAL-la níg- .. ne-en KAK ....
19. si-gim $^{giš}$mar-gal-e ....
20. má-an-na ne-en eše-lá- ....
21. u$_4$-sar-gibil-gim ḫi-li- ....
22. ki-gal$_8$ ne-en edin-na ....
23. a-šà(?) uz$^{mušen}$ ne-en uz$^{mušen}$ ba(?)- ....
24. a-šà(?)-an-na ne-en a-ma-ra-mu
25. ma-a SAL-la-mu du$_6$-du$_3$-du$_8$-a ma-a-ra
26. ki-sikil-mèn a-ba-a ur$_x$-ru-a-bi
27. SAL-la-mu ki-duru$_5$-.. a-ma-ra
28. ga-ša-an-mèn gu$_4$ a-ba-a bí-íb-gub-bé
29. in-nin$_9$ lugal-e ḫa-ra-an-ur$_x$-ru
30. $^{d}$dumu-zi lugal-e ḫa-ra-ur$_x$-ru
31. [SAL-la]-mà ur$_x$-ru mu-lu-šà-ab-mà-kam
32. ... úr-kù-ge a ba-an-tu$_5$-tu$_5$
33. [$^{d}$nin-é-gal] kù-ga-àm ....
34. ....

(about 3 lines destroyed)

*rev., col. iii*

1. $^{d}$nin-é-gal kù-ga-à[m] ....
2. .... -mà ....
3. .... nun-bi(?) ....
4. .... -e dam(?) ....
5. .... -la- ....
6. ....
7. egir-bi ....
8. .. -bi(?) pa-pa-al- ....
9. úr-lugal-la-kam erin(?)-zi-ga ...
10. gu mu-un-da-zi še mu-un-da-zi
11. GABA-a-kiri$_6$ kiri$_3$-zal-gim mu-un-da-ab-si
12. é-nan-ti-la é-lugal-la-ka
13. nitalam-a-ni ul-la mu-un-da-an-tuš
14. é-nam-ti-la é-$^{d}$dumu-zi-da-ka
15. $^{d}$inanna ul-la mu-un-da-an-tuš
16. $^{d}$inanna é-a-ni ḫúl-la-e
17. lugal-ra ù-gul mu-na-gá-gá
18. ga sig$_7$-a-ma-ab mu-ud-na-mu ga sig$_7$-[a-ma-ab]
19. mu-ud-na-mu me-e ga-NE e-da- ...
20. am-$^{d}$dumu-zi-dè ga sig$_7$-a(!)-ma-[ab]
21. mu-ud-na-mu me-e ga-NE e-[da]- ....
22. ga -uz-da-ke$_4$ amaš ....

23. nin-HAR-ra $^{duk}$šakir-kù-mà sù-. . .
24. $^{d}$dumu-zi ga- . . nin(?)-HAR-ra-an(?)-[na(?)]
25. . . -nin-HAR-ra-an-na ga-bi . . .
26. $u_5$-kaš-bi-zé-ba-àm . . .
27. ù-mu-un-$^{d}du_5$-mu-zi-[dè]
me-e ga-NE e-d[a]-. . .
27. ù-mu-un-$^{d}du_5$-mu-zi-[dè] me-e ga-NE e-d[a]-. . .
28. nitalam-mu $ama_5$-níg-dùg-ga tù[r(?)]- . . .
29. $^{d}$inanna me-e a-ra-ab-gub-[bé-en]
30. é-nam-ti-la-za mu-e-ni-íb-[gub-bé-en]
31. sù-du-ág ki-$u_6$-di-kalam-ma-[kam]
32. é-nam-kur-kur-ra-tar-ra-na
33. uku-zi-gál-la si-sá-e-dam
34. $^{d}$nin-é-gal me-e a-ra-ab-gub-bé-[en]
35. é-nam-ti-la-za igi mu-e-ni-ib-gub-[bé-en]
36. é-nam-ti-la $ama_5$-zi-sù-ud-gál

*rev., col. iv*

1. [$^{d}$inanna me-e a-ra-ab]-gub-[bé-en]
2. [é-nam-ti-la-za igi mu-e-ni-ib-gub-bé-en]
(about four lines destroyed)
7. šà . . . .
8. é-nam-[ti-la-za igi mu-e-ni-ib-gub-bé-en]
9. ga-ša-an-gal-e zi-dè-[eš na-e]
10. nam-ti $u_4$-sù-du-aš $du_5$-mu-ra-ab-zé-em
11. $^{d}$dumu-zi $^{d}$inanna ḫi-li-ki-ga-ág-bi-im
12. $^{d}$inanna-me a-ra-ab-gub-bé-en
13. é-nam-ti-la-za mu-e-ni-gub-bé-en
14. é(!) me-lám-bi kalam-ma-dul-la
15. é šà-bi-ta šu-luḫ-kù-ga-àm
16. é . . -bi-ra gal-bi-túm-ma
17. . . . . $u_5$-kaš-ḫar-ìa-ta
18. . . . . ma-ra-ni-íb-gub-bé
19. . . . . -la-šè . . . [ba]-an-ši-ag-e
20. . . . . -la si-a-na
21. . . . . -nin-a-na
22. . . . . [ki-ig-g]a-ág-bi
23. . . . . [kal]ag-ga-ba
24. . . . . -ga-ba
25. . . . . -la
26. . . . . -e
27. . . . .
28. [bal(?)-bal(?)-e(?)]-$^{d}$inanna-kam[38]

## *Translation*

*obv., col. i*

1. ". . . . the holy,
2. I am she who directs . . . .,
3. . . . . the vulva . . . .,
4. . . . . princeship . . .,
5. . . . .,
6. Who examines . . . .,
7. [I] am she who directs . . . .,
8. . . . .
9. . . . .
10. . . . .

[38] This text contains illegible traces of glosses in col. i, lines 2, 4, 15; in line 23 there is a Sumerian line in small characters under the main text of the line, which reads: . . mu-ni-. . . nam mu-ni-tar (perhaps this should be included as part of the main text; *cf.* col. iii, line 19 which is also a line written in small characters—presumably it had been omitted inadvertently by the scribe).

11. My . . . ., my vulva . . .,
12. My . . . . which has been fitted out by An,
13. My (?) . . . . which has been . . . .,
14. My . . . . which has been . . . .,
15. My . . . . which has been . . . .,
16. My . . . . which has been established by . . . .,
17. My . . . . which has been . . . .,
18. My . . . . which adorns(?) the palace,
19. My . . who spends the days in your . .,
20. In your . . . where(?) the foot . .,
21. Dumuzi I place(?) in . . ., at the house(?),
22. I gazed on all the people,
23. Called Dumuzi to the godship of the Land.
24. Dumuzi, the beloved of Enlil,
25. My mother holds ever dear,
26. My father exalts(?) him.
27. I bathed, scoured myself with soap,
28. (And) after putting a linen cloth over the (freshly) bathed skin(?),
29. I arranged my garments as the garments of power,
30. I make fast for him the noble *pala*-garment,
31. . . . .,
32. Toward the . . . .,
33. . . . .
34. . . . .
(about 7 lines destroyed).

*obv., col. ii*

1. The queen(?) . . . .,
2. . . . the house(?) . . . lapis lazuli . . . .,
3. My house(?) (and) shrine in prayer(?) . . . .,
4. In holy prayer, . . . .,
5. I am . . . the queen of heaven,
6. The *gala* chants there (his) song,
7. The singer brings (his) . . hymn,
8. My bridegroom [rejoiced] by my side,
9. The wild bull Dumuzi [rejoices(?)] by my side."
10. Who has . . .,
11. The little . . . .,
12. . . . . Nippur . . . .
13. . . . . the son of . . . .
14. The . . ., the queen . . . ex[alts(?) him],
15. The *gala* [chants there] (his) song,
16. Inanna exa[lts] him,
17. [Composes(?)] a song about her vulva:
18. The vulva, it is . . .,
19. Like a horn it . . . . at the large wagon,
20. It is the "Boat of Heaven," fastening ropes . . . .,
21. Like the new crescent, passion . . . .,
22. It is fallow land, in the plain . . . .,
23. It is a field(?) which the *uz*-bird. . . . the uz-bird,
24. It is a high(?) field(?), my . . . .
25. As for me(?), my vulva is a . . hillock,—for(?) me(?),
26. I, the maid, who will be its plower?
27. My vulva is . . wet ground for(?) me(?),
28. I, the queen, who will station there the ox?"
29. "Lady, the king will plow it for you,
30. Dumuzi, the king, will plow it for you."
31. "Plow my vulva, my sweetheart."
32. [Inanna] bathed (her) holy lap,
33. Ninegal, the holy . . . .,
(about three lines destroyed)

*obv., col. iii*

1. Ninegal, the holy ....,
2. ....,
3. .... its(?) prince ....,
4. .... the wife(?) ....,
5. ....,
6. ....,
7. Its back(?) ....,
8. Its(?) .., the young shoot ....,
9. At the lap of the king, the high-standing cedar ...,
10. The plants stood high by (his) side, the grain stood high by (his) side,
11. The .. garden flourished luxuriantly by his side.
12. In the house of life, the house of the king,
13. His wife dwelt by (his) side in joy,
14. In the house of life, the house of the king,
15. Inanna dwelt by (his) side in joy.
16. Inanna rejoicing in his house,
17. Utters a plea to the king:
18. "Make yellow the milk for me, my bridegroom, make yellow the milk [for me],
19. My bridegroom, I will [drink] with you the fresh(?) milk.
20. Wild bull Dumuzi, make yellow the milk for me,
21. My bridegroom, I will [drink with you] the fresh(?) milk.
22. The milk of the goat [make flow(?) in] the sheepfold for me,
23. With the .. cheese fill(?) my holy churn,
24. Dumuzi, the milk .., the ... 'cheese of heaven,'
25. Of the .. 'cheese of heaven,' its milk ....,
26. Its cream is good beer ....,
27. Lord Dumuzi, I will [drink] with you the fresh(?) milk.
28. My husband, the goodly storehouse, the sheepfold(?) ...,
29. I, Inanna, will preserve for you,
30. I will [watch] over your house of life.
31. The brilliant, the place which enraptures the Land,
32. The house where the fate of all the lands is decreed,
33. Where the breath of life is ordained for the people,
34. I, Ninegal, will preserve it for you,
35. I will watch over your house of life.
36. The house of life, the storehouse which gives long life,

*obv., col. iv*

1. [I, Inanna will] preserve [for you],
2. [I will watch over your house of life]."

(four lines destroyed)

7. The heart ....,
8. The house ....,
9. Ningal speaks up with authority (saying):
10. "I will give you life unto distant days;'
11. Dumuzi, the desire and love of Inanna,
12. I will preserve it for you,
13. I will watch over your house of life.
14. The house whose awesomeness covers the land,
15. The house in whose midst are the holy rites,
16. The house whose ... are most becoming,
17. .... with cream, beer, cheese, (and) fat,
18. .... I will station for you there."
19. She acts (?) .... at ....,
20. In her filling ....,
21. .... of his queen,
22. The beloved of ....,
23. .... in its might,
24. ....
25. ....
26. ....
27. ....
28. [A *balbale*(?)] of Inanna.

*Commentary*

The contents of this myth, inscribed on a four-column tablet of which little more than half is preserved, may be tentatively sketched as follows: The text begins with a long monologue by Inanna in which, following a fragmentary, obscure passage (col. i, lines 1–21), she proceeds to recount her appointment of Dumuzi to the "godship" of Sumer, her bridal preparations for the ensuing marriage, and the singing and rejoicing which accompanied their union (col. i, line 22–col. ii, line 9). The text continues with a brief and fragmentary narrative passage ending with a statement by the poet that Inanna composed a song to her vulva (col. ii, lines 9–17). The song itself follows (col. ii lines 18–28); Inanna compares her vulva to, among other things, fallow land, a field, and a hillock, and ends by asking who will plow it for her. To this query comes the answer given probably by Dumuzi himself, that it is he, the king Dumuzi, who will plow it for her (col. ii, lines 29–30), and, accordingly, in the very next line Inanna urges him to do so. Following another fragmentary passage pertaining to the sexual union of the couple (col. ii, lines 32 ff.) comes a detailed description of the ensuing vegetation (col. iii, lines 1(?)–11). After which, Inanna, now dwelling joyfully by Dumuzi's side in the palace, "the house of life," utters a plea to the king to supply her with rich fresh milk, cheese, and cream, and makes him the reassuring promise, reiterated again and again, that she will watch over and preserve the palace and its prosperity (col. iii, line 12–col. iv, line 18; note especially that Ninegal in col. ii, line 33, col. iii, lines 1 and 34, refers to Inanna, while Ningal in col. iv, line 9, refers to Inanna's mother, who is presumably pronouncing a blessing on Dumuzi, although it is difficult at present to fit this into the context; note also the seemingly unjustified omission of i g i in col. iii, line 30 and col. iv, line 13). The myth ends with what is probably

a narrative passage, but the text is fragmentary and unintelligible.

## THE SACRED MARRIAGE TEXTS: LOVE SONGS

### 8. N 3560 and N 4305 (Fig. 5)

#### *Transliteration*

*obv.*

1. síg-mu ḫi-is$^{sar}$-àm a im-[ma-an-dug$_4$]
2. ḫi-is-u(?)-mun(?)$^{sar}$-àm a im-[ma-an-dug$_4$]
3. su-ḫu-uḫ-PÚ-bé ba-tag-tag-[ge]
4. umme-da-mu maḫ mu-un- ...
5. síg-mu a-a-lum im-mi-in-ag
6. mùš-tur-tur-bi mu-un-dub-dub
7. ḫe-im-du-mu si im-sá-sá-e
8. ḫé-im-du síg-mu ḫi-is$^{sar}$ sar-šag$_5$-šag$_5$-ga-àm
9. šeš-e igi-bar-lú-ti-la-na im-ma-ni-in-ku$_4$-re-en
10. $^{d}$šu-$^{d}$zuen ... lú-šag$_5$-ga im-ma-ni-in-pàd-dè-en
11. .... nu-[til(?)]-le-dam
12. .... -re-dam

*rev.*

(about 5 lines destroyed)

18. ù-mu-un-me ḫé-me-en ù-mu-un-me hé-[me]-en
19. kù-$^{na4}$za-gìn-na ù-mu-un-me ḫé-me-en
20. mu-un-kar še(?)-maḫ-gub(?)-me ḫé-me-en
21. igi-mà làl-bi-im šà-mà ḫi-(is)$^{sar}$-bi-im
22. u$_4$-nam-ti-la ḫé-en-na-è $^{d}$šu-$^{d}$zuen-mu ....
23. bal-bal-e-$^{d}$inanna-kam[39]

#### *Translation*

1. My hair is lettuce, [planted(?)] by the water,
2. It is *umun*-lettuce [planted(?)] by the water,
3. Its ... is ..,
4. My nurse has .. high,
5. Has made my hair into(?) a ..,
6. Has piled up its small locks (?),
7. My attendant(?) arranges it,
8. The attendant(?) (arranges) my hair which is lettuce, the most favored of plants.
9. The brother brought me into his life-giving gaze(?),
10. Šu-Sin has called me to (his) refreshing ..,
11. .... without [end(?)],
12. ....

*rev.*

(about 5 lines destroyed)

18. You are our lord, you are our lord,
19. Silver (and) lapis lazuli—you are our lord,
20. Farmer who makes the grain stand high—you are our lord
21. For him who is the honey of my eye, who is the lettuce of my heart,
22. May the days of life come forth, [may] my Šu-Sin ...
23. A *balbale* of Inanna.

[39] This text contains but one gloss: r i - u m - .. - u n (?) - z a (line 3).

#### *Commentary*

This text which is based primarily on N 3560 (N 4305 has only the initial signs of the first three lines, *cf.* obv. lines 10–12) is probably a song chanted by a *lukur*-priestess to Šu-Sin, such as the texts listed in note 23. For the tentative restoration of the verb in lines 1–2, *cf.* text No. 9, lines 1 ff. (note that in line 2, N 4305 seems to omit - i s - u (?) - m u n (?) after ḫ i -). In line 5, the meaning of the word a - a - l u m (assuming that the word division is correct) is unknown. In line 7, the translation "attendant" for ḫ é - i m - d u , assumes a literal translation "let him come." In lines 9–10, note the epithet "brother" for Šu-Sin, instead of a word such as "bridegroom" or "lover." In line 10, the second complex should end in - n a if the tentative translation is correct. In line 19, Šu-Sin seems to be identified metaphorically with silver and lapis lazuli.

### 9. *TRS XV*, No. 20 and *UET VI*, No. 121

#### *Transliteration*

1. ba-lum ba-lum-lum ḫi-is$^{sar}$-àm a ba-an-dug$_4$
2. kiri$_6$-MI-edin-na-gú-gar-gar-ra-na šag$_5$-ga-AMA-na-mu
3. še-ab-sín-ba-ḫi-li-a-dirig-mu ḫi-is$^{sar}$-àm a ba-an-dug$_4$
4. $^{giš}$ḫašḫur-ám-sag-gá-gurun-íl-la-mu kiri$_6$-àm a ba-an-dug$_4$
5. lú-làl-e lú-làl-e mà-a mu-ku$_7$-ku$_7$-dè-en
6. en-mu lú-làl-e-dingir-ra šag$_5$-ga-AMA-na-mu
7. šu-ni-làl-e gir-ni-làl-e mà-a mu-un-ku$_7$-ku$_7$-dè-[en]
8. à-šu-gìr-ni-làl-ku$_7$-ku$_7$-dam mà-a mu-un-ku$_7$-ku$_7$-[dè-en]
9. li-dur(?)-šu-nigin-tukun-ku$_7$-ku$_7$-mu š[ag$_5$-ga-AMA-na-mu]
10. ḫaš$_4$-šag$_5$-šag$_5$-AMA(?)-na(?)-e-ru-mu ḫi-is$^{sar}$-àm [a ba-an-dug$_4$]
11. 2 bal-bal-e-$^{d}$inanna-[kam]

#### *Translation*

1. He has sprouted (?), he has burgeoned (?) he is lettuce planted (?) by (?) the water,
2. My (?) well-stocked garden of the ... plain, my favored of the womb (?),
3. My grain proliferous in its furrow—he is lettuce planted (?) by (?) the water,
4. My apple tree which bears fruit up to (its) top—he is lettuce planted (?) by (?) the water.
5. The "honey-man," the "honey-man" sweetens me ever,
6. My lord, the "honey-man" of the gods, my favored of the womb(?),
7. Whose hand is honey, whose foot is honey, sweetens me ever,

9. My sweetener of the ... navel (?), [my favored of the womb(?)]
10. My .... of the fair thighs, he is lettuce [planted by the water]
11. 2 *balbale* of Inanna.

*Commentary*

The text is based on *TRS XV*, No. 20; *UET VI*, No. 121 begins perhaps with line 4, but seems to omit lines 5 and 9. The recognizable variants are: m à - e for m à - a in lines 5, 7, 8; d a for - d è - e n at the end of lines 5, 7, 8; l à l - e for l à l and - d è for - d a m in line 8; ḫ i$^{sar}$ (sic! not ḫ i - i s$^{sar}$) for ḫ a š$_4$ (?)- and ḫ i - i s$^{sar}$ in line 10. In this song, the goddess Inanna, or one of her *lukur*-priestesses seems to identify Dumuzi, or more probably the king Šu-Sin, in the role of Dumuzi, with the lettuce plant, in particular, and productive vegetation in general. In line 1, *TRS* XV, No. 20 erroneously omits the second - l u m in the second complex. In line 2, the translation assumes that the - n a at the end of the first complex is a scribal error for - m u , and that A M A is probably to read a g a r i n . In line 6, the - e of l ú - l à l - e seems quite unjustified, and the transliteration and translation of the complex may well be erroneous. In line 11, note that the number 2 refers to the fact that *TRS* XV, No. 20 is inscribed with two *balbale*-poems, one is a hymn to the goddess Ninkasi (lines 1–65), and the other is our "lettuce" song (lines 65–75).

## 10. UM 29–16–8 and Ni 4552 (Figs. 6, 7, and 8)

*Transliteration*

(about 11 lines destroyed)

12. ....-[à]m
13. ....-[m]u
14. ....-[s]ig$_7$-sig$_7$-dè-en
15. ....
16. ....-mu-dè
17. ....-mu-dè
18. é ....[da-mu-dè]
19. ....
20. ....[ma]-ra-an-daḫ
21. ....ḫi-li-ág-ku$_7$-ku$_7$-dam
22. kù-ga-ša-an-na-mu ág-šè ma-ra-an-ba
23. ki-ga-i-bí-mu ma-ra-mu-dè
24. mu-lu ki-ig-ág-mu gaba im-ma-an-ri
25. ḫi-li mu-e-ši-in-te aš mu-e-da-ḫúl
26. šeš-e é-ni-a im-ma-ni-in-ku$_4$-re-en
27. $^{mu}$ná-lál-PÚ-ba bí-in-ná-e
28. zé-ba-kal-la-mu šà-ab-mu a-ba-ná
29. aš-aš-ta eme-ag aš-aš-ta
30. šeš-i-bí-šag$_5$-šag$_5$-mu 50-àm mu-un-ag
31. lú-si-ga-gim mu-na-dè-DU
32. ki-ta-TUKU$_4$-e-da SI.A mu-na-ni-in-gar
33. šeš-mu íb-ba-na šu gub-bu-dè
34. zé-ba-kal-la-mu u$_4$ mu-un-di-ni-ib-zal-e
35. šu-ba-àm-mu-u$_8$ nin$_9$-mu šu-ba-àm-mu-u$_8$
36. DU nin$_9$-ki-ág-mu é-gal-la ga-du
37. igi ad-da-mu dumu-tur ḫé-me-en
38. .. -ba-.. lú ḫa-ba-zu šu ba-e(?)-ri-ši-bar-re
39. bal-bal-e-$^{d}$inanna-kam

(This line seems to be followed by two scratched in signs which probably have no relation to our text)

*Translation*

(about 11 lines destroyed)

12. "....,
13. [M]y ....,
14. I shall beautify .....
15. ....,
16. When I ....,
17. When I ....,
18. When I ....,
19. ....,
20. Have added ....,
21. ...., sweet allure,
22. My holy Inanna, I presented to you."
23. "As I .. the beloved of my eye,
24. My beloved met me,
25. Took his pleasure of me, rejoiced together(?) with me.
26. The brother brought me to his house,
27. Made me lie on its .. honey bed,
28. My precious sweet, having lain by my heart,
29. In unison, the "tongue-making" in unison,
30. My brother, of fairest face, made 50 times.
31. I .. for him like a weakling(?)
32. I set it up for him in the .. together with ... from the earth,
33. My brother who .. in his anger,
34. My precious sweet is sated with me."
35. "Set me free, my sister, set me free,
36. Come, my beloved sister, I would go to the palace,
37. You will be a little daughter before my father,
38. I(?) will set free for you ....."
39. A *balbale* of Inanna.

*Commentary*

The transliteration is based primarily on UM 29–16–8; Ni 4552 begins with line 26, and has the following variants: - e n for - e , (the last sign in line 27); m u - l ú for l ú and [m u - u] n - for m u - (line 31); m u - u n - for m u - (line 32); in line 35 read: n i n - m u š u - b a - m u - u$_8$ š u - b a - [m u - u$_8$]; é - m e - š è for é - g a l - l a (line 36); - m à for - m u (line 37); in line 38 there seems to be nothing missing between - b a and l ú. This poem consists of several speeches, but is quite uncertain where each begins and ends. Thus line 22 seems to end the address of some deity to Inanna. Lines 23–34, on the other hand, seem to contain a sililoquy uttered by Inanna in which she de-

scribes her meeting with the brother-lover (that is presumably Dumuzi), and their prolonged love-making. Lines 35–38 seem to contain an address by the "brother" to Inanna in which he begs her to let go of him so that he might return to the palace and (presumably) his royal duties. Unfortunately, the text contains many ambiguous and obscure passages, and the interpretation here presented may turn out to be completely erroneous.

## 11. *UET VI*, Nos. 121 and 122, N 4305 (plate 5) and Ni 4569 (Fig. 9)

### *Transliteration*

1. . . -lam-lam-ma . . . .
2. šà(!) i-bí-šag$_5$- . . . . ad mu . . . .
3. šeš-me ḫé-me-en . . -[me] ḫé-[me-en]
4. šeš-dag-é-gal-la ḫé-[me-en]
5. ù-mu-un-si-má-gur-me ḫé-m[e-en]
6. nu-banda-$^{gi\check{s}}$gigir(!)-ra-me ḫé-me-en
7. ıš-$^{gi\check{s}}$gigir(!)-sar-ra-me ḫé-me-en
8. ad-da-uru-di-ku$_5$-ru-me ḫé-me-en
9. mí-ús-sá-ad-da-me ḫé-me-en
10. šeš mí-ús-sá-ad-da-me ḫé-me-en
11. mí-ús-sá gú-zi-bi-me ḫé-me-en
12. ama-me níg-zé-ba ḫé-me-da-ab-dug$_4$
13. im-ma-gen-na-zu na-ám-ti na-nam
14. é-ku$_4$-ra-zu ḫé-gál-la
15. da-ná-da ḫúl-la-dirig-mu
16. zé-ba-mu ba-ná-[da] zé(!)-ba-an-zé-èm-i-NE- . . .
17. bal-bal[$^{d}$inanna-kam]

### *Translation*

1. . . . .
2. The heart (?) of . . . .,
3. You are our brother, [you are our] . .,
4. [You are] the . . brother of the palace
5. You are our *ensi* of the *magur*-boat,
6. You are our *nubanda* of the chariot,
7. You are our . . of the . . chariot,
8. You are our city father and judge,
9. You are the son-in-law of our father,
10. Brother, you are the son-in-law of our father,
11. You are our most prominent of the sons-in-law,
12. Our mother provides you with all that is good,
13. Your coming is life,
14. Your entering the house is abundance,
15. Lying with you is the greatest joy,
16. My sweet, . . . .
17. A *balbale* of Inanna.

### *Commentary*

The text of this poem is based primarily on *UET VI*, No. 122, a small tablet inscribed with this poem only; lines 3–14 are duplicated by *UET VI*, No. 121 (obv), a tablet which had contained at least two different songs (*cf.* Text No. 9); lines 3–16 are duplicated by Ni 4569, a tablet in the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient (copied by Muazzez Çığ of the Istanbul Museum) which had originall con-y tained a collection of (probably) four different poems; lines 9–17 are duplicated by N 4305 (plate 5) obv. col. ii, lines 1–9. The textual variants are: GIR$_5$ in *UET VI*, No. 121 for NE-DU in line 9 (note that in Ni 4569 this line is probably to be restored to read [mí-ús-sá ninda 5 mí]-ús-sá ninda 10; for the expressions ninda 5 and ninda 10, *cf.* e.g. *SRT* No. 5 lines 23–24); in line 12, N 4305 inserts e-ne after ama-me; the verb ḫé-me-da-ab-dug$_4$ is found only in Ni 4569 (*UET VI*, No. 122 has ḫu-mu-gál . . .); in line 13, N 4305 omits the -na- preceeding -zu, *UET VI*, No. 121 has nam- for na-ám-; in line 14, N 4305 adds -a after é-, and Ni 4569 has ḫé-ma-al-la for ḫé-gál-la; in line 16 Ni 4569 reads: . . . -ni-ib- . . -bé-en-dè-en for the unintelligible zé (?) ba-an-zé-èm-i-NE . . . of *UET VI*, No. 122; the subscription bal-bal-[$^{d}$inanna-kam] is found only in N 4305.

The poem seems to consists of a song chanted by a group of *lukur*-priestesses in the palace probably to Šu-Sin, although the name of the king is not mentioned in the text. In lines 3–4 note that the king is called "brother," although he is described as "son-in-law" in lines 9 ff. Lines 5–7 are presumably titles describing the activities of the king in connection with certain religious rites. In line 10, "our father" would refer to the god Sin, if the singers are speaking for the goddess Inanna. In line 12 "our mother" may refer to Sin's wife, Ningal.

## NEW TEXTS FOR "INANNA'S DESCENT TO THE NETHER WORLD"

The tablets and fragments which have become available since 1951 are as follows: Ni 4187 and Ni 9838 (see plates 8 and 9), *TMH N.F. III*, No. 2 (see plates 10 and 11), *CT* XLII, No. 2, *UET VI*, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11 (see below), 3 NT 211, 400, 499 (unpublished).[40] Of these, the

[40] 3 NT 211 is a small fragment which duplicates lines 66–81 of the myth; 3 NT 400 is a tablet whose obverse duplicates lines 288–317 and whose reverse duplicates lines 324–355; 3 NT 499 is a small tablet whose obverse duplicates lines 79–93, and whose reverse duplicates lines 114–120. Except for some minor variants, however, these pieces add nothing to the text of the myth.

two small fragments Ni 4187 and Ni 9838 are of very special importance since they join Ni 4200 and Ni 2762 respectively,[41] and the resulting fuller text, when combined with the recently published fragment *CT XLII*, No. 2,[42] the closing lines of *TMH N.F. III*, No. 2,[43] and the relevant parts of *UET VI*, Nos. 8 and 10, helps to restore practically in their entirety lines 224–263, which were still missing in large part in the 1951 edition of the myth. Following is a transliteration and translation of this now restorable passage:

### 1. *Transliteration*[44]

224. gen-na-an-zé-en gìr kur-šè ná-ba-an-zé-en
225. $^{giš}$ig num-gim ù-mu-un-dal-dal-zé-en
226. za-ra-a ŠID-gim ù-mu-un-gur-gur-re-en-zé-en
227. ama-gan-a nam-dumu-ne-ne-šè
228. $^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la-ke$_4$ ì-ná ku$_4$-ra-àm
229. ḫur-kù-ga-ni kada nu-un-búr
230. gaba-ni bur-šagan-gim nu-un-BU
231. . . . -ni $^{urudu}$ul-bi-gim an-da-gál
232. síg-ni garaš$^{sar}$-gim sag-gá-na mu-un-tuku-tuku
233. ù-u$_8$ a-šà-mu dug$_4$-ga-ni
234. [kúš]-ù-me-en nin-me a-šà-zu [dug$_4$-ga-na-ab-zé-en]
235. [ù-u$_8$] a-bar-mu dug$_4$-ga-ni
236. [kúš-ù-me-en n]in-me a-bar-zu dug$_4$-ga-na-ab-zé-en
237. [a-ba-àm] za-e-me-en-zé-en
238. šà-[mu-ta] šà-zu-šè bar-mu-ta bar-[zu-šè ba-e-NE]-dug$_4$-[en(?)-zé-en]
239. [dingir-ḫé-me-en-zé-en] inim ga-mu-[ra-an-dug$_4$-en-zé-en]
240. [lú-lu$_6$ ḫé-me-en-zé-en nam-zu ga-mu-ri]-ib-tar-[en-zé-en]
241. [zi-an-na zi-ki-a p]àd-bé-[en-zé-en]
242. . . . -[na]-ab-zé-en
243. [íd a-ba mu-u]n-na-ba-e-ne šu nam-[ba]-bu-i-en-zé-en

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[41] For these two fragments, *cf. PAPS* **85**, 3 (1942): plate 8. The "join" of Ni 4187 to Ni 4200 was recognized by F. R. Kraus in the course of cataloguing the Nippur material in the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient where he was curator of the tablet collections for a number of years before the Second World War; the "join" of Ni 9838 to Ni 2762 was recognized by the writer when he copied the piece in Istanbul about ten years ago.

[42] The first two lines on this fragment correspond to lines 221–222 of the myth; line 3, however corresponds, strangely enough, to line 244, while there is no line corresponding to line 223.

[43] This is a four-column tablet which originally contained the first 233 lines of the myth: col. i = lines 3–38; col. ii = lines 55–94; col. iii = lines 121–168; col. iv = lines 183–233. The text has a number of variants; for the most important, *cf. TMH N.F. III* pp. 9–10; others are mentioned in connection with the discussion of the restored passage and the *UET VI* texts discussed later.

[44] The text of the passage has been restored as follows: Ni 4187+Ni 4200 (=A), obv. 17-end of rev. = lines 224–247; *TMH N.F. III*, No. 2 (=B), col. iv = lines 224–233; *CT XLII*, No. 2 (=C) obv. 5–8 = lines 224–227, rev. = lines 247–251; Ni 9838+Ni 2762 (=D) obv. 1–17 = lines 247–263; *UET VI*, No. 10 (=E) obv. 1–8 = lines 253–263; *UET VI*, No. 8 (=F) rev. 3–11 = lines 257–263. In detail, note the following: In line 224, C inserts k a l a - t u r - k u r - g a r - r a following g e n - n a - a n - z é - e n. In line 225 the text is based on B; A has -a following $^{giš}$i g and d a l - d a l - [e - b] í - e n - z é - e n as the verb while C reads d a l - d a l - b í - i b - z é - e n (there is another - e n in the copy, but this is quite unjustified). In line 226 B omits -a in the first complex; the verbal form is based on B (A has g u r - g u r - r e - b í - [e] n - z é - e n, and C has g u r - g u r - m u - . . . .). In line 229, A has - n a for - n i in the first complex. In line 230, A has - n a for - g i m in the second complex. In line 234, the restoration of the verb is based on line 236. In line 235 the restoration of the first complex is based on line 233. In line 237 a - b a - à m is restored from line 259 (note that the traces in A, however, do not point to - à m). The verbal form in line 238 is difficult to restore from the extant traces, it is probably identical with that of line 260, and we can therefore utilize not only A which has at this point only the sign KA followed by what looks like É, but also D which has b a - e - NE - . . . . - e n, E which has . . . . - b i (?) . . - a b - . . . ., and F, which seems to have . . . . - b í - e n - z é - e n. For lines 239–240 see comment to lines 261–262. For line 241 *cf.* comment to line 263, but note that the traces in A do not point to this restoration, and that moreover A seems to insert here another line which has no counterpart in the passage describing the execution of Enki's instruction (that is, there seems to be no such line following line 263). In line 243 the restoration í d a - b a was chosen, although at this point A has a [íd - b i] (*cf.* also E obv. 9), in order to keep it parallel to a - š à š e - b a of the line following. In line 249 the - z é - e n of the verb is no doubt an error for - e š (the text is based on C); in D, too, some error is involved since the verbs seem to have the form of an imperative reading [d a l - d a l - b] í - i b - z é - e n and g u r - g u r - r e - b í - i [b - z é - e n]. Between lines 254 and 255 E inserts one double line which is largely illegible, and another double line corresponding to lines 231 and 232. In lines 255 and 257, the first complex is restored to correspond to lines 233 and 235, but note that E has u$_4$ instead. In the same lines E has b í - i n - d u g$_4$ - g a - à m for d u g$_4$ - g a - n i (note that lines 255 and 256 seem to have no counterpart in F, to judge from the preserved traces of the ends of the first two lines of its reverse), while in line 257, F inserts - a - before - n i. In lines 256 and 258 the verbal forms seem to have a variant in E, to judge from the preserved . . . . - b i - n e - . .; in F the verb is m u - n a - a n - e š. In line 260, E probably omits the - t a of the first and third complex, and seems to have - m u - instead of - z u - in the second; F, too, seems to have - m u - for - z u - in the fourth complex from which, moreover, it omits the final - š è. In line 261 E omits the - e n - z é - e n of the verb, while F seems to have g a - m u - r i - . . . - NE. In line 262, F omits the - e n - z é - e n of the verb, while E seems to read b í - i b - . . . - r e (?). In line 263, note that the verb seems to be written erroneously as an imperative in D and F (in F, the last two signs on the line are quite unintelligible; note, too, that following line 263, D has another line ending in - z é - e n which does not correspond to line 264, *cf.* comment to line 242).

244. a-šà še-ba mu-un-na-ba-e-ne šu nam-ba-bu-i-en-zé-en
245. uzu-nig-sìg $^{giš}$kak-ta-lá-a sì-me-ab $dug_4$-ga-na-ab-zé-en
246. diš-àm ú-nam-ti-la diš-àm a-nam-ti-la ugu-na šub-bu-bí-en-zé-en
247. $^{d}$inanna ḫa-ba-gub
248. kala-tur-kur-gar-ra inim-$^{d}$en-ki-ga(!)-šè sag-kèš ba-[ši-in]-ag-eš
249. $^{giš}$ig num-gim mu-un-dal-dal-zé-en
250. za-ra-[a] ŠID-gim mu-un-gur-gur -zé-en
251. [am]a-ga[n-a] nam-dumu-ne-ne-šè
252. [$^{d}$ereš-ki]-gal-la-$ke_4$ ì-ná $ku_4$-ra-àm
253. [ḫur-kù-ga]-na kada nu-un-búr
254. [gaba-ni] bur-šagan-[gim] nu-un-BU
255. [ù-$u_8$] a-šà-mu $dug_4$-ga-ni
256. kúš-ù-me-en nin-me a-šà-zu in-na-an-[ne]-eš
257. [ù-$u_8$] a-bar-mu $dug_4$-ga-ni
258. k[úš]-ù-me-en nin-me a-bar-zu in-na-an-[ne]-eš
259. a-ba-àm za-e-me-en-zé-en
260. šà-mu-ta šà-zu-šè bar-mu-ta bar-zu-šè ba-e-NE-$dug_4$-en(?)-zé-en
261. dingir ḫé-me-en-zé-en inim ga-mu-ra-an-$dug_7$-en-zé-en
262. lú-$lu_6$ ḫé-me-en-zé-en nam-zu ga-mu-ri-ib-tar-en-zé-en
263. zi-an-na zi-ki-a mu-ni-in-pàd-dé-eš

*Translation*[45]

224. "Go, 'lay' the feet towards the Nether World,
225. Fly about the door like flies,
226. Circle about the door-pivot like . . ,
227. The birth-giving mother, because of her children,
228. Ereškigal is lying ill,
229. Over her holy body no cloth is spread,
230. Her holy chest, like a *šagan*-vessel, is not . . ,
231. Her . . , like a copper . . , is at (her) side,
232. Her hair, like leeks she wears on her head;
233. (When) she says: 'Woe! Oh my inside!'
234. [Say to her]: 'You who are sighing, our queen, Oh your inside!'
235. (When) she says: [Woe]! Oh my outside!'
236. Say to her: 'You who are sighing, our queen, Oh your outside!'
237. 'Whoever you are,
238. [From my] inside to your inside, from my outside to your outside, . . . . .
239. [If you are gods] I shall [command a (good) word for you],
240. [If you are mortals, I shall] decree [a (good) fate for you];'
241. [Sw]ear [by Heaven and Earth],
242. . . . .
243. [Of the river] they will present you [its water]—do not accept it,
244. Of the field, they will present you its grain—do not accept it,
245. 'Give us the corpse hung from the nail,' say to her,
246. One (of you) sprinkle upon her the food of life, the other, the water of life.
247. Inanna will arise."
248. The *kalatur* and the *kurgarra* gave heed to the word of Enki,
249. They flew about the door like flies,
250. They circled about the door-pivot, like . . ,
251. The birth-giving [moth]er, because of her children,
252. [Ereški]gal lay ill,
253. Over her [holy body] no cloth is spread,
254. Her chest [like] a *šagan*-vessel is not . . ;
255. (When) she said: "Woe! Oh my inside!"
256. They said to her: "You who are sighing, our queen, Oh your inside!"
257. (When) she said: Woe!, Oh my outside!"
258. They said to her: "you who are sighing, our queen, Oh your outside!"
259. "Whoever you are,
260. From my inside to your inside, from my outside to your outside, . . . .,
261. If you are gods, I shall command a(good) word for you,
262. If you are mortals I shall decree a (good) fate for you."
263. They swore by Heaven and Earth.

[45] In the translation note especially that lines 237–240 and the corresponding lines 259–262 are assumed to be words spoken by Ereškigal to the *kalatur* and the *kurgarra*, although there are no introductory statements to this effect (lines 238 and 260 are especially difficult to fit into the context). It is further assumed that lines 241–242 and the corresponding lines 263 and the line which follows it in D (see end of preceding note) contain the words of Enki to his two creatures, although again there is no introductory line to indicate the shift of speakers.

As noted above, two of the Ur tablets published in *UET VI* (Nos. 8 and 10) played a role in the restoration of the text of an important passage of the myth. In fact all four of the Ur pieces contribute in one way or another to the restoration of the composition as a whole, as the following detailed analysis of their contents will show, thus:

## 2. *UET VI*, No. 8

This is a fragment inscribed with the remains of the last two columns of the obverse and the first column of the reverse of a tablet which may originally have contained eight columns of text. Col. 1 of the extant fragment has only the very ends of 18 lines, and most, but not all, of these can be identified with corresponding lines in the myth. Thus lines 1 and 2 seem to have no corresponding lines, line 3 corresponds to line 112 of the myth, which can now be seen to read: $u_4$-ba $^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la-$ke_4$ ḫáš bar-bi-šè bí-in-ra KA bí-in-DU KA šá-šè ba-ti; line 4 corresponds to line 113, but has the variant inim.mu-na-ab-e for gù mu-na-dé-e; line 5 corresponds to line 114, but omits -kur-ra after ì-$du_8$-gal; line 6, to judge from the four extant signs, does not correspond

to line 115, but may have been a variant of it; line 7 corresponds to line 116 (the last sign is probably -uš); lines 8–9 to judge from the preserved signs, do not correspond to lines 117–118; line 11 is practically entirely destroyed.

The second column of the obverse which has 21 lines preserved wholly or in part, corresponds by and large to lines 156–177 of the myth. Line 1, which reads: tú-NUN-NUN-ma-ni lú ma-[da-an-zi-ir] and which must have been preceded by a line reading: ká-gal-imin-kam-ma $ku_4$-$ku_4$-da-ni-ta corresponding to line 156 of the myth has no exact equivalent in the text, but a line closely corresponding to it actually following a line reading: ká-[gal]-imin-kam-ma $ku_4$-$ku_4$-da-ni-[ta] is *TMH N.F. III*, No. 2, col. 3, 30 which reads: GAM-GAM-ma-ni tú(!)-N[U]N-N[U]N-m[a]-ni [lú ba-da-an-zi-ir]. Lines 2–4 correspond to lines 158–160. Line 5 which reads: GAM-GAM-ma-ni im-ma-da-an-te seems to be a variant of the still obscure line 161; the tú-NUN-NUN-ma, however, is not mentioned in this line, since this had already been removed (*cf.* line 1). Line 6 which reads: $nin_9$-a-ni $^{giš}$gu-za-ni-ta im-ma-da-an-zi has no corresponding line in the reconstructed text of the myth. Line 7 corresponds to line 162, but note especially the variant e-ne for $^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la-$ke_4$. Line 8 corresponds to line 163, where the verb should therefore have been restored to read: mu-un-da-$ku_5$-ru-ne (*cf.* also comment below to line 20 of No. 9). Line 9 corresponds to line 165 (note the variant bí-ne for i-bí-ne), and our Ur piece therefore has no line corresponding to line 164. Line 10 probably reads: [g]ù bí-in-dé(!?) LIPIŠ-gig-ga-àm and therefore corresponds in part to line 166. Line 11 which reads: [mu]-ni-in-ra uzu(!)-níg(!)-sìg-ga-šè(!) ba-an-$ku_4$ corresponds to line 167 where the reading of the first half of the line should be corrected accordingly. Line 12 probably reads: [$^{giš}$kak]-ta igi-ni lú mu-un-da-lá, and therefore corresponds to line 168 except for the omission uzu-níg-sìg-ga and the insertion of igi-ni. Line 13 which reads: [mu]-imin itu-imin $u_4$-imin ba-zal-la-ta and corresponds to line 169, provides us with one of the more significant variants of our text, since it points up the relative freedom of the mythographers in treating the specific details of current mythological motifs; thus we learn here that Inanna was dead for 7 years, 7 months, and 7 days (an obviously artificial but poetically attractive series of numbers) while according to line 24 of No. 9 (see below) she was dead for seven months, and according to the hitherto known versions, only three days and three nights. The first part of line 15 which reads: [su]kkal-a-ni $^{d}$nin-šubur-ra inim-nin-a-na-šè geštug ba-ši-in-gub, corresponds to line 170, which, however, omits the second part of the Ur line (the reconstructed text of the myth adds, however, two lines descriptive of Ninšubur which are omitted in the Ur piece). Lines 15–20 correspond to lines 173–178 except for minor variants.

Turning to the reverse col. 1 of our text, we note that line 12[46] is to be restored to read [íd a-ba] mu-ne-ba-e šu nu-um-BU-NE, and corresponds to line 265. Line 14 reads: [uzu]-níg-bar-bi-$^{giš}$RI-ta-RI-lá-a sì-me-eb in-na-an-ne-eš, and therefore corresponds to line 266, except for the obscure variant -bar-bi-$^{giš}$RI-ta-RI- for -sìg-ga $^{giš}$kak-ta. Line 15 corresponds to line 268 (the Ur piece therefore omits line 267 which introduces Ereškigal's speech) except for the unjustified omission of -zu- following -ga-ša-an-. Line 16 reads: ..-ir-me níg-nin(!)-me ḫé-me-a sì-me-eb in-na-ne-e[š] and therefore corresponds to line 269 except for the first complex which does not seem to agree in the two texts.

### 3. *UET VI*, No. 9

This is a small tablet whose contents correspond to lines 146–177 of the myth, but note that the following: The *tuditum* which is removed at the fifth gate according to line 2, is removed at the sixth gate according to line 152 of the myth. The verbal root -zi (lines 2, 7, and 12) is short for -zi-ir in the corresponding lines of the myth. Lines 3, 8, and 13 have the variant a-na-àm ne-e for ta-àm me-a of the corresponding lines of the myth. The verb in lines 5, 10, and 15 reads: na-bé-e a variant for na-an-ba-e (-en) of the corresponding lines of the myth. The beginning of line 6 is to be restored as [ká-gal-à]š-kam-ma and the beginning of line 7 as [ḫi-li] sag-ki-na, the object which is

[46] Rev., lines 3–11 were utilized for the restoration of the passage treated in note 44; lines 1–2 cannot be placed at present.

removed at the second gate according to one version of the myth, or is not mentioned as removed at all in the versions on which the reconstructed text is based. Line 12 corresponds to line 157, but omits the complex b a r - r a - n a . Lines 16 and 17 which read: g i r - g i r - m a - n i u g u - z a g (!) - g á l - š è z é - z é - m a - n i l ú m a - a n - t ú m seem to correspond to the still obscure line 161 of the myth. Line 18 is probably to be restored to read: n i n$_9$ - a - n i $^{giš}$g u - z a - n i (!) - t a (!) i m - m a - a n - z i - g a . Line 19 is probably to be restored to read: e - n e $^{giš}$g u - z a (!) - a - n i d ú r b í - i n - [g a r]. Line 20 is to be restored to read: [$^{d}$a - n u n - n a d i - k u$_5$] - i m i n - b i [i g i - š è] d i m u - u n - d a - k u$_5$ - r u - n e , and therefore corresponds to line 163 of the myth. Line 21 should probably be restored to read: i n [i m b í - i] n - è - a i n i m - g i g - g a i n - LU (?) and therefore corresponds at least in part to line 165, while line 22 corresponds to line 166; this Ur tablet therefore has no line corresponding to line 164. Line 23 which reads: n í g - s u (?) - RI - l á - g i m RI - l á l ú [b a - d a - a n - l á] . . b a - n i - i n - . . . . seems to be a variant for lines 166–167. Line 24 probably reads: i t u - i m i n - k a m - m a - z a l - l a - t a , and therefore corresponds to line 169. Line 25, which seems to have two indented parts, is to be restored to read: s u k k a l - a - n i $^{d}$n i n - š u b u r - r a - k e$_4$ i n i m - $^{d}$g a - š a (!) - a n - n a - k e$_4$ g e š t u g b a (!?) - š i - i n - g u b (!?). Line 26 corresponds to line 173, but has d u$_{11}$ - d u$_{11}$ - for d u$_6$ - d u$_6$ - , and (perhaps) b a - g a r - r a - [t] a for m u - u n - n a - g á - g á . Line 27 corresponds to line 174, but has g ù - for g ú - . Line 28 corresponds to line 175; and line 29 corresponds to line 176. Line 30 begins with k i (!) - l ú - d a n u - d i (!?), and therefore corresponds to line 177.

## *UET VI*, No. 10.

This is an unusually long and wide tablet—most of the lines correspond to two lines on the duplicates—which originally had contained the last 174 lines of the myth.[47] The obverse corresponds to lines 253–285 of the myth,[48] while the reverse provides us with its very last lines, as follows.

[47] So according to the colophon. It is to be noted, however, that the figure 174 probably does not refer to the number of lines on this tablet—if it did, these would correspond to about 250 lines of our myth—but to the number of lines inscribed on tablets of normal size. If so, we are in a position to calculate the number of lines of the myth as a whole, by adding 174 to 252 (since *UET VI*, No. 10 begins with line 253 of the myth) or 426 lines. And since we now have approximately 389 lines of the myth—359 lines as restored in *JCS V* (see note 27) plus the approximately thirty new lines from *UET VI*, No. 10 (still unplaceable is the reverse of CBS 15162—*cf. PAPS* 85, No. 3, plate 10)—there are still missing only about 38 lines. However, there is some possibility that the Ur version of the myth was considerably longer than that. For on top of *UET VI*, No. 10 we find two figures—169 and 174—unaccompanied by any text whatever, and it is not unlikely that these refer to the number of lines on the first and second tablets of the series of which *UET VI*, No. 10 is the third and last. If so, the total number of lines on the first two tablets would be 343 (that is 91 lines more than the 252 lines which they should have, since the third tablet begins with line 252). For the present, therefore, the total number of lines of the myth is still rather uncertain.

[48] Lines 1–8 have been utilized in the restoration of the passage treated in note 44. The remainder of the obverse reads:

9. a íd-bi ma-ra-[ba]-ne šu nu-um-bu-dè a-šà še-ba ma-ra-ba šu nu-um-bu-[dè]
10. uzu-níg-sìg-ga $^{giš}$[kak]-ta-lá sì-ma-ab-zé-en dug$_4$-ga-ma-ab-DU-zé-en
11. uzu-níg-sìg-ga ga-ša-an-ne-ne
12. níg-lugal-me-en ḫé-a níg-nin-bi ḫé-a sì-ma-zé-en dug$_4$-ga-ma-ab-DU-zé-en
13. uzu-níg-sìg-ga $^{giš}$kak-ta-lá-a im-ma-da-ab-sì-mu-zé-en
14. diš-àm ù-nam-ti-la diš-àm a-nam-ti-la ugu-ni ba-an-šub-bu-eš $^{d}$inanna- ba-gub
15. $^{d}$ereš-ki-gal kala-kur-gar-ra [gù mu-na-dé]-e
16. DU-mu-un-en-zé-en ga-ša-an-ne-[ne] . . . -zu (?)-ne-ne ba-dab$_5$
17. $^{d}$inanna inim-$^{d}$en-ki-[ka-ta] kur-ta e$_{11}$
18. $^{d}$inanna kur-ta-e$_{11}$-da-[ni] $^{d}$a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne ba-ab-ḫa-za-am (!?)
19. [a-ba-à]m lú kur-ta im-[ta]-e$_{11}$-dè kur-ta silim-ma-bi bí-in-e$_{11}$-dè
20. [u$_4$-da $^{d}$ina]nna kur-ta bí-e$_{11}$-[dè] sag-aš sag-gá-na ba-ab-sì-mu-dè
21. [lú igi-n]a (?) sukkal-nu-me-a $^{giš}$tukul [šu]-na bí-in-du$_8$
22. [bar-ra-na ra-gaba]-nu-me-a $^{giš}$[tukul úr]-ra bí-in-du$_8$
23. [galla-tur-tur $^{giš}$šukur-ra-gim galla-gal-gal] gi-dub-ba-an-na zag-ga-na um-dab$_5$ (!?)-[bé-eš]
24. [lú e-ne-ra in-ši-SÚG-eš-àm lú $^{d}$inanna-ra in-s]i-SÚG[-eš-àm]

In detail, note the following: Line 9 corresponds to lines 264–265 of the myth, but the- r a - for - n a - in m a - r a - [b a] - n e and m a - r a - b a (sic! there is no - n e following - b a -) seems to be unjustified. Line 10 corresponds to line 266, but note that the verbal form is an imperative instead of an indicative (this is also true of lines 12 and 13; it would seem that the scribe confused these verbal forms with the correctly used imperatives of lines 243 ff). Line 11 corresponds to line 268; the Ur text therefore omits the introductory line indicating that it is Ereškigal who is speaking (note, too, the omission of - z u - before - n e - n e). Line 12 corresponds to line 269; it has several variants, among which is the use of the imperative instead of the expected indicative. Line 13

*Transliteration*

1. ....
2. num-e ....
3. ki-sikil-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ ....
4. é-bi .. -zabar ... -a-ke$_4$ ḫu-mu(?)-ra(?)- ... -zé- ...
5. ur-mu(?) .... -ke$_4$-ne-gim nam-[ba-]ab- ...
6. ì-[bí-éš nam]-tar-ra-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ ḫur(?) [ḫé-en-nam-ma-àm]
7. .... ír im-[ma]-š[e$_8$-še$_8$]
8. [šu]l(?)-mu im-ma-DU šu-šè mu-da-ab- ...
9. ì-[bí-é]š me-li-e-a zi- ....
10. .. -zu mu-maš-àm nin$_9$-zu mu-maš-àm]
11. [u$_4$ .. -zu] al-di-di-e u$_4$-bi íb-ba(?)- ...
12. u$_4$ nin$_9$-zu al-di-di-e u$_4$-bi íb- ....
13. kù-$^{d}$inanna $^{d}$dumu-zi sag-bi-šè bí-in-sì-mu
14. kù-$^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la-ke$_4$
15. zà-sal-zu dùg-ga-àm

*Translation*

1. ....,
2. The fly(?) ....,
3. The maid Inanna .....
4. "Their(?) house of(?) bronze .... let it(?) be ....,
5. Do not .. my(?) dog(?) like ....."
6. [Now] in accordance with the decree of Inanna [so it came to pass].
7. ... weeps:
8. "My [yo]uth(?) has gone, he has .. by the hand,
9. Now, woe ....,
10. [Your] .. half the year, your sister, half the year,
11. [The day your] .. comes, that day ...,
12. The day your sister comes, that day ....."
13. Holy Inanna places Dumuzi at their head.
14. Oh Ereškigal,
15. Good is your praise.

*Commentary*

As is obvious from the translation, very little can be made of the meaning of this crucial but fragmentary passage. Thus the assumption that lines 4–5 contain the words of Inanna is most uncertain; so, too, are the suggested restorations in lines 6, 8, 10, and 11. In line 7 it is difficult to surmise the identity of the weeper. Line 10 seems to say that Dumuzi will have two visitors the year round in the Nether World; one is his sister (presumably Geštinanna) while the identity of the other is uncertain.[49] Finally the meaning of the crucial line 13, assuming that the transliteration is correct,[50] is quite obscure.[51]

corresponds to line 270, but again there seems to be some confusion in the verbal form. Line 14 coresponds to lines 270 and 271. Lines 15 and 16 have no corresponding lines in the known version of the myth (note that in line 15 the expected -t u r following k a l a- is omitted in the text). Line 17 probably corresponds to line 278. Lines 18–20 correspond to lines 273–277. Lines 21–22 correspond to lines 282–283. Line 23 corresponds to lines 279–281. Line 24 corresponds to lines 284–285.

[49] If the first comple is to be restored to read [a - a - z] u, it might refer to Enki who according to UM 29–16–37 (see pp. 20–24 of this study) is Dumuzi's father.

*UET VI*, No. 11

1. galla-tur ka ba-a-ši-bad-du galla-gu-la-ra gù mu-na-dè-e
2. gá-nam-ma-an-zé-en úr-kù-$^{d}$inanna-ka-šè ga-da-SÚG-en-dè-en
3. galla unu$^{ki}$-šè ba-ni-in-ku$_4$-re-eš kù-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ mu-ni-in-dab$_5$-bé-ne
4. gá-nu $^{d}$inanna kaskal-zu-šè ni-ba gen-na kur-šè e$_{11}$-dè
5. ki-šà-gi$_4$-du-a-zu-šè gen-na kur-šè e$_{11}$-dè
6. ki-$^{d}$ereš:ki-gal-la-šè gen-na kur-šè e$_{11}$-dè
7. $^{túg}$-ma$_6$-kù $^{túg}$pala$_2$-a túg-nam-nin-zu nam-ba-mu$_4$-mu$_4$-un kur-šè e$_{11}$-dè
8. men-kù me-te-inim-silim-ma sag-zu-a um-ta-gá-ar kur-šè e$_{11}$-dè
9. ḫi-li-a igi-zu šu la-ba-ni-in-du$_7$ kur-šè e$_{11}$-dè
10. ur-nu-banda gìr-zu .... -du$_8$-du$_8$ kur-šè e$_{11}$-eè
11. .. za-e e$_{11}$-dè .... nu-BU-BU
12. kù-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ mu-un-búr-búr-re-eš .... -ga(?)-dè-eš
13. $^{d}$inanna ní-te-na $^{d}$dumu-zi šu-šè ba-an-[sì]
14. guruš-e $^{giš}$maḫ-a gìr-ni im-ma-an-gar-re-en-dè-en
15. guruš-e $^{giš}$eš-ad šub-bu-dè-en-dè-en $^{giš}$gú gú-ni gar-re-en-dè-en
16. $^{urudu}$ḫenzir $^{urudu}$kibir $^{urudu}$šukur-maḫ-e igi-ni ba-an-ši-íb-íl-íl
17. $^{urudu}$ḫa-zi-in-gal-gal-la ù(?) . SAR(?) ì-ag-e-ne
18. guruš-e mu-ni-in-gub-bu-dè-eš mu-ni-in-tuš(?)-dè-eš
19. $^{túg}$GÚM na-ni šub-bu-dè-en-dè-en uš-gum gub-bu-dè-en-dè-en
20. guruš-e á-na mu-un-lá-e-dè-eš $^{túg}$eš-síg(?)-ḫul(?) mu-un-ši-in-ag-eš
21. túg-ní-te-na igi-na mu-ni-in-dul-ù-dè-eš
22. guruš-e $^{d}$utu-ra an-šè šù-ni ba-an-na-zi(!)
23. $^{d}$utu ku-li-zu mà-e-me-en šul-me-en za-e mu-zu(!?)
24. nin$_9$-zu nam-dam-šè ba-an-tuku-a
25. e-ne kur-šè e$_{11}$-dè
26. mu e-ne kur-šè e$_{11}$-dè
27. mà-e ki-gar-ra-bi-šè kur-šè ba-ab-sì-mu-dè
28. $^{d}$utudi-ku$_5$-nìg-sisá za-e-me-ennam-ba-tùm(?)-dè
29. šu-mà ù-me-e-kúr alam-mu ù-mu-e-bal
30. šu-galla-mu-ne ga-ba-e-da-an-zi-ir nam-mu-ḫa-a-za-aš
31. muš-sag-kal-gim šà-túm-ḫur-sag-gá mu-ni-in-bal-bal
32. ki-nin$_9$-$^{d}$geštin-an-na-šè zi-mu ga-ba-an-ši-in-túm
33. $^{d}$utu ír-na šu ba-an-ši-in-ti
34. šu-ni mu-ni-in-kúr-kúr alam-ma-ni mu-ni-in-bal-bal

[50] Note that -è - a might perhaps have to be restored after s a g - b i - š è .

[51] There follows an interesting colophon which reads: i m - g i d - d a - 3 - k a m - m a z a g - t i l - l a a n - g a l - t a k i - g a l - š è , that is, "The third extract, the final one (of the myth whose incipit is) "From the 'great above' to the 'great below,'" this is the incipit of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World."

35. muš-sag-kal-gim šà-túm-ḫur-sag-gá mu-ni-in-bal-bal
36. $^{d}$dumu-zi-dè mušen-šè súr(!)-dù$^{mušen}$-dal-a-gim zi-ni HUR-da ì-šub-ba(?)
37. ki-$^{d}$geštin-an-na-šè zi-ni ba-ši-in-túm
38. $^{[d]}$geštin-an-na šeš-a-ni igi ba-ni-in-du$_8$-àm
39. te-na mu-ni-in-ḫur-ḫur ka(!)-na mu-ni-in-ḫur-ḫur
40. igi-ni zag-ga-na mi-ni-in-du$_8$ túg-ni mi-ni-in-da-da-ra
41. guruš-ág-gig-ra i-lu-ág-gig-ga ḫu-mu-ni-íb-bé
42. a šeš-mu a šeš-mu guruš U$_4$-bi nu-um-[gur(?)]
43. a šeš-mu su$_8$-ba-$^{d}$ama-ušumgal-an-na guruš U$_4$-bi .. -bi nu-u[m]-gur(?)
44. a šeš-mu guruš dam-nu-tuku dumu-nu-tuku
45. a šeš-mu guruš ku-li-nu-tuku du$_{10}$-ús-sa-nu-tuku
46. a šeš-mu guruš ama-ni ša$_5$-ga-ni nu-du$_8$
47. galla $^{d}$dumuzi-dè mu-ni-in-kin-kin-ne mu-ni-in-nigin-na-eš
48. galla-tur galla-gu-la-ra gù mu-na-dé-e-ne
49. galla ama-nu-tuku ad-da(!)-ama-nin$_9$-šeš-dam-dumu-nu-tuku-me-eš
50. u$_4$-me-da gal-ukuš-gar-ra an-ki-ta RI(?)-a-bi
51. za-e-ne-ne galla-en-zé-en lú zag-ga-ni máš- ...
52. šu-gar-ša$_6$-ga nu-tuku-me-eš ša$_5$-ga-ḫul nu-zu-me-eš
53. lú-ù gán-nu ní-te-na zi-ni silim-ma a-ba-a igi mu-ni-in-du$_8$
54. ki ku-li-bi nu-um-ši-du-dè-en ki mí-ús-sá-bi nu-um-ši-du-dè-en
55. su$_8$-ba-ra ki-geštin-an-na-ka-šè ga-an-ši-SÚG-en-dè-en
56. galla-e e-ne šu-ta ba-ab-sìg-sìg-ge-me-eš mu-ni-in-kin-kin-ne-eš
58. i-lu-bi ka-ka-na nu-mu-un-til-la-àm
58. galla ki-$^{d}$geštin-an-na-šè ba-e-ši-SÚG-re-eš
59. ki šeš-zu lá-ma-ra-ab e-ne mu-ni-íb-bé e-ne inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-bé
60. an(!?) im-te ki úr-ra ba-ni-in-zé-èm inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-bé
61. ki(?) im-te ... -na ba-ni-in-ḫur-ḫur inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-bé
62. .. im-te .. TÚG-na ba-ni-in-bir$_6$(!)-bir$_6$(!) inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-bé
63. esir úr-ra-na ba-ni-in-dé-dé inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-bé
64. $^{d}$dumu-zi-dè é-$^{d}$geštin-an-na-ke$_4$ nu-um-me-ni-in-pàd-dè
65. gall[a-tur ga]lla-gu-la-ra gù mu-na-dé-e-ne
66. gá-na[m-ma-an-zé-en] amaš-kù-ga-šè(!) ga-an-ši-SÚG-dè-en
67. $^{d}$dumu-zi-dè amaš-[kù-ga-šè(?)] mu-ni-dab$_5$-bé-dè-eš
68. mu-ni-in-nigin-ne-eš [mu-ni-in-da]b$_5$-bé-dè-eš mu-ni-in-kin(?)-ne-eš igi ba-ni-in-du$_8$-àm
69. guruš-ra gán-nu na(?)-ma $^{urudu}$ḫa-zi(!)-in šu-gál ba-ši-in-ti
70. gír(?) ùr-ra mu-ni-in-sar-sar-re-eš mu-ni-in-nigin(!)-na-eš
71. nin$_9$-e na-ám-šeš-na-šè mà(?)-a- ... im-ma-an-nigin
72. šeš-mu ?-gig-ga-gal-šè(!?) ga-du(?) gàn-na me ga-an-ku$_4$(?)[52]

[52] As will be readily apparent to the Sumerologist, the text is full of grammatical irregularities and obscurities (note especially the seemingly unjustified verbal forms in lines 14, 15, and 19).

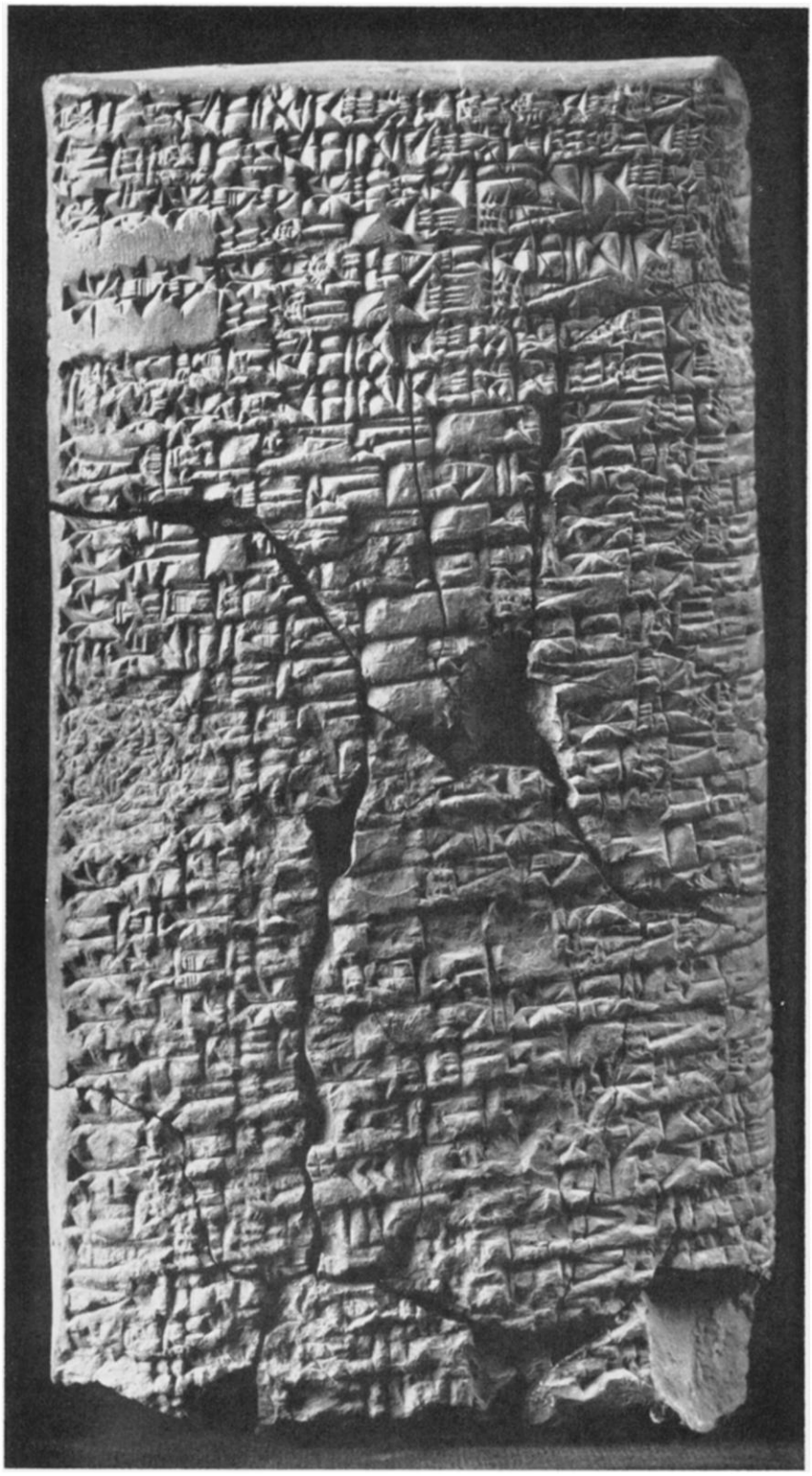

FIG. 1. UM 29-16-37 obv. From photograph prepared by the late Reuben Goldberg, photographer at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

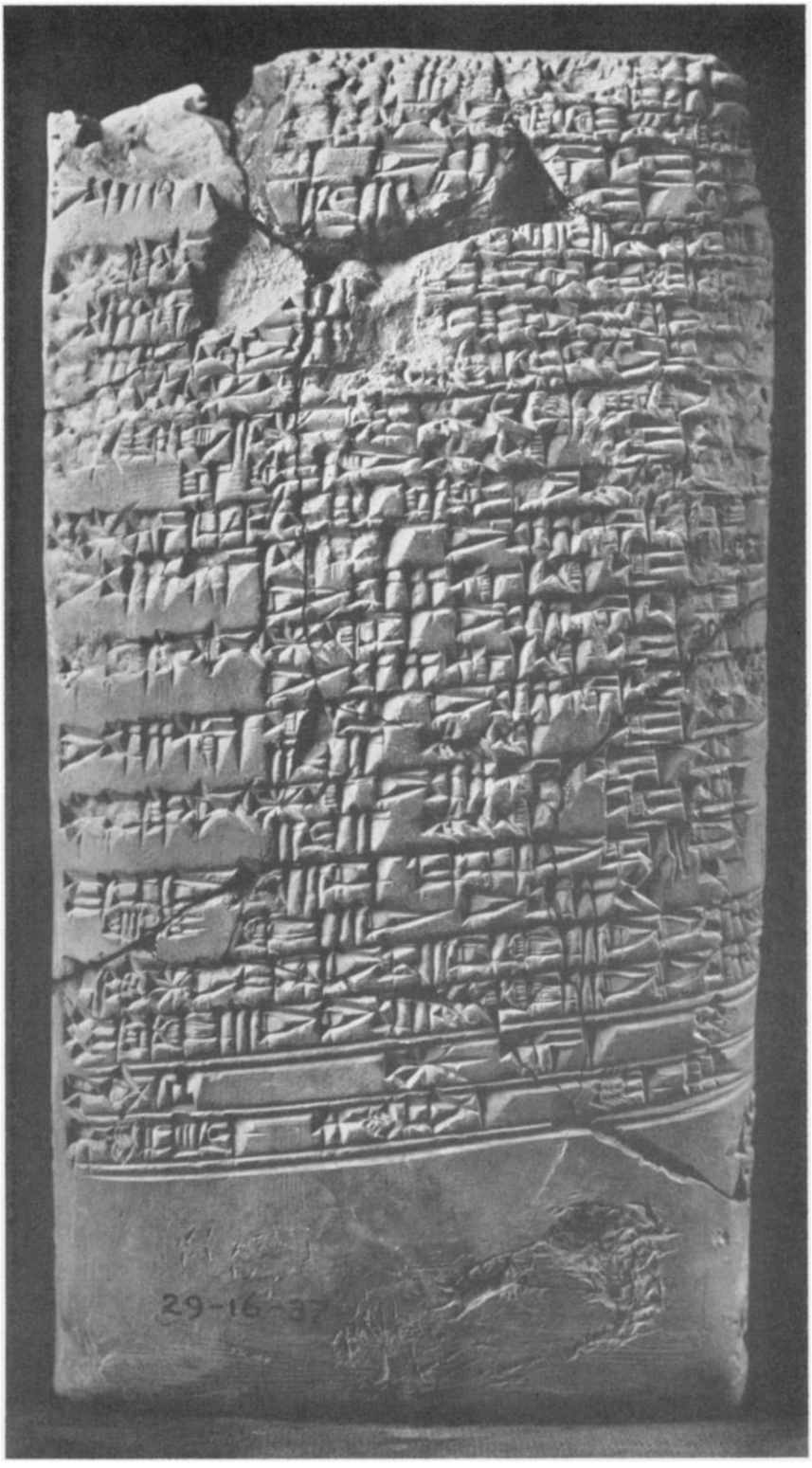


FIG. 2. UM 29–16–37 rev. From photograph prepared by the late Reuben Goldberg, photographer at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

FIG. 3. Ni 9602 obv. From copy by S. N. Kramer.

FIG. 4. Ni 9602 rev. From copy by S. N. Kramer.

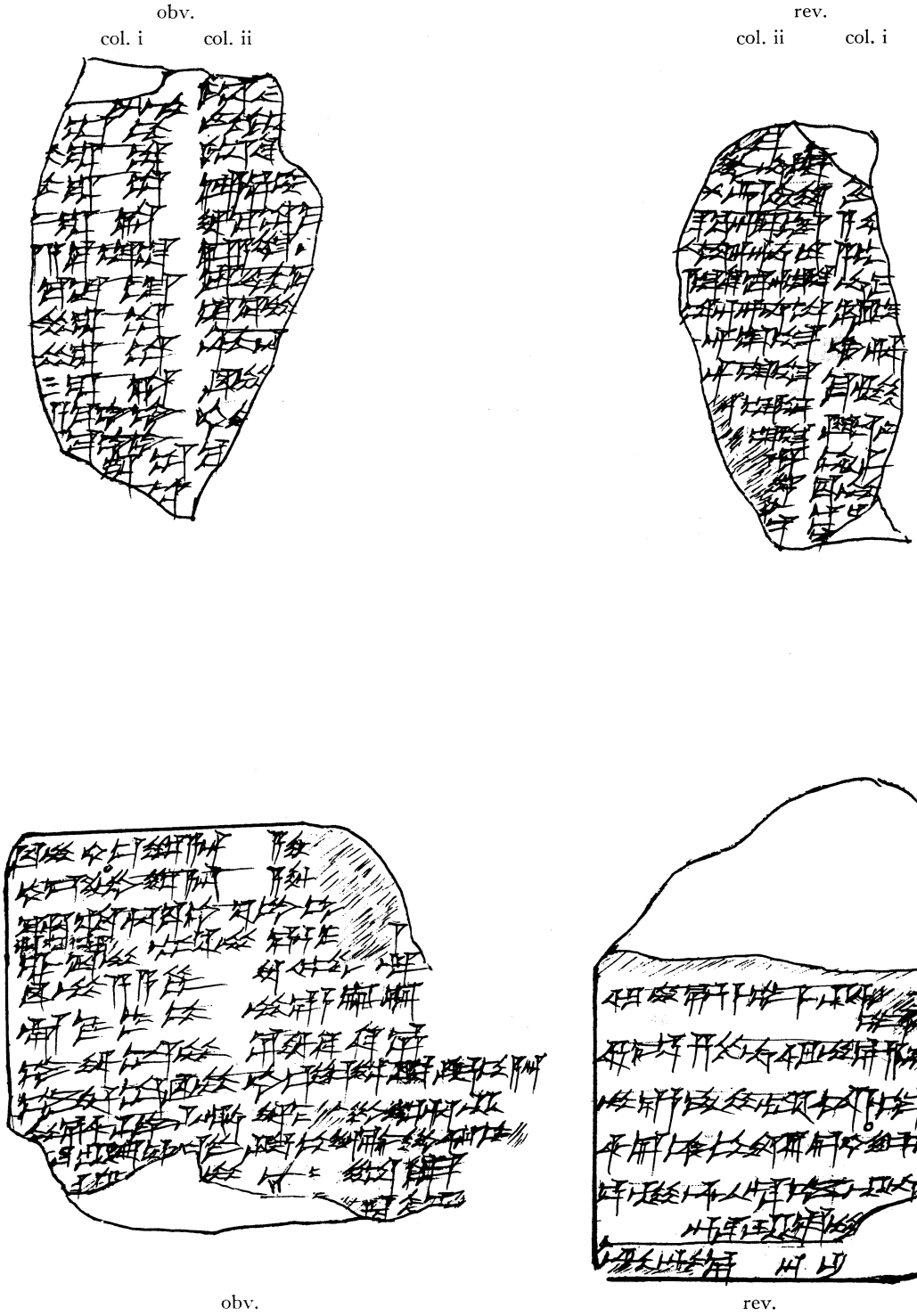


FIG. 5. N 4305 (top) obv. and rev. and N 3560 obv. and rev. From copies by Jane Heimerdinger, Research Assistant in the Near Eastern Section of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

FIG. 6. UM 29–16–8 obv. From photograph prepared by the late Reuben Goldberg, photographer at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

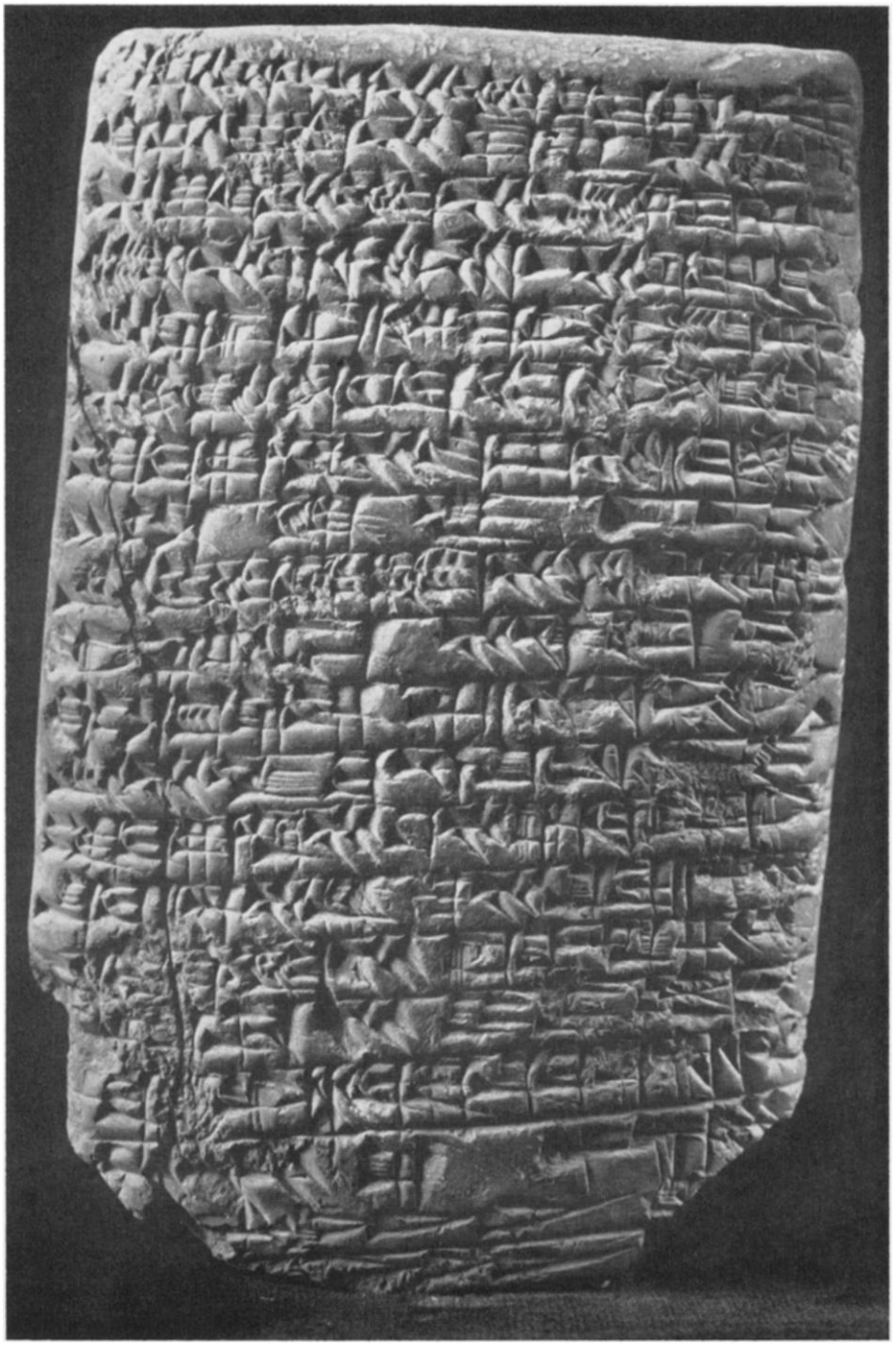

FIG. 7. UM 29–16–8 rev. From photograph prepared by the late Reuben Goldberg, photographer at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

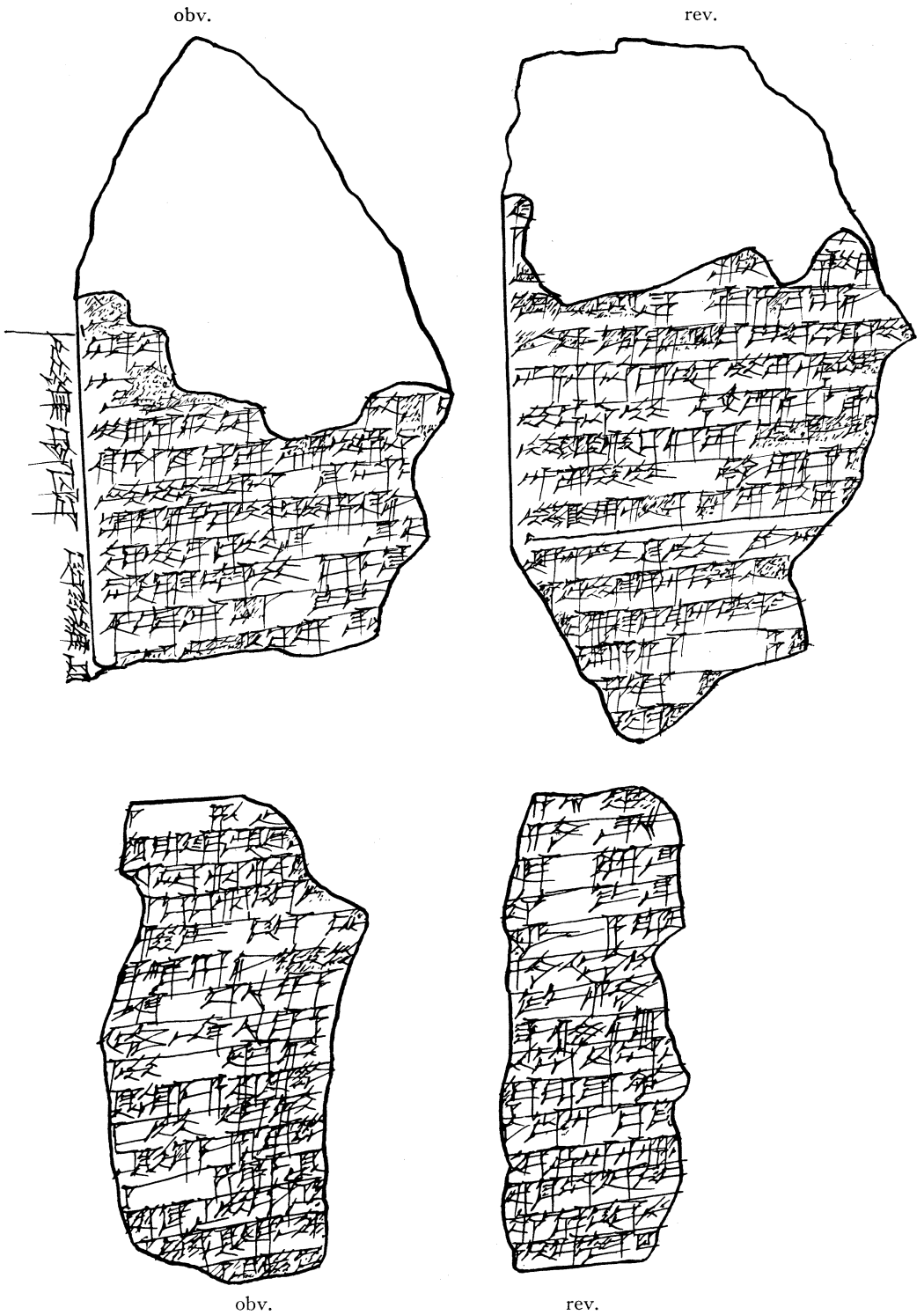


FIG. 8. Ni 4552 (top) obv. and rev. and Ni 9838 obv. and rev. From copies by S. N. Kramer.

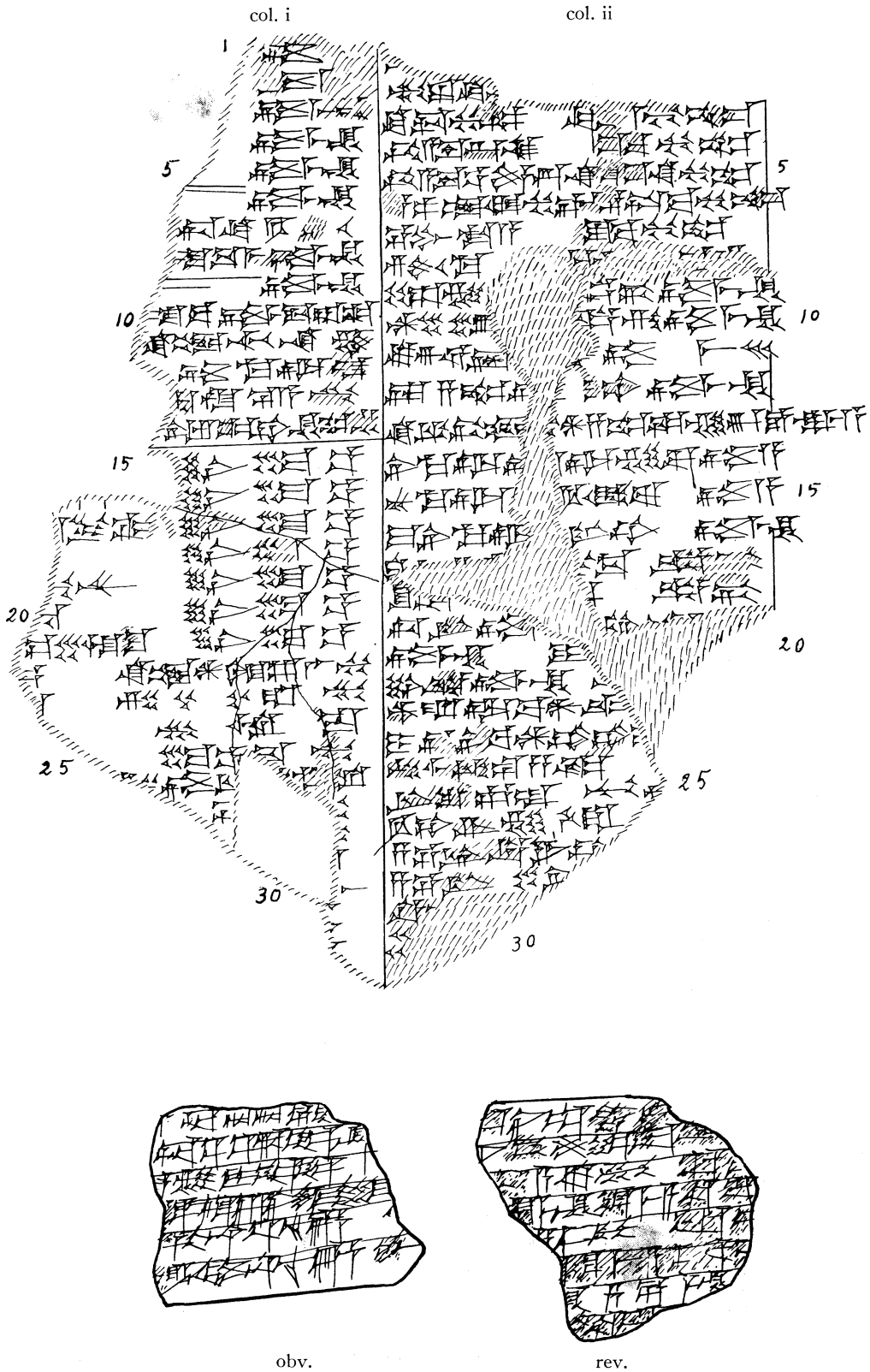


FIG. 9. Ni 4569 (top) obv. and Ni 4187 obv. and rev. Upper part from a copy by Muazzez Çığ, Curator of the Tablet Collection of the Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul. Lower part from copies by S. N. Kramer.

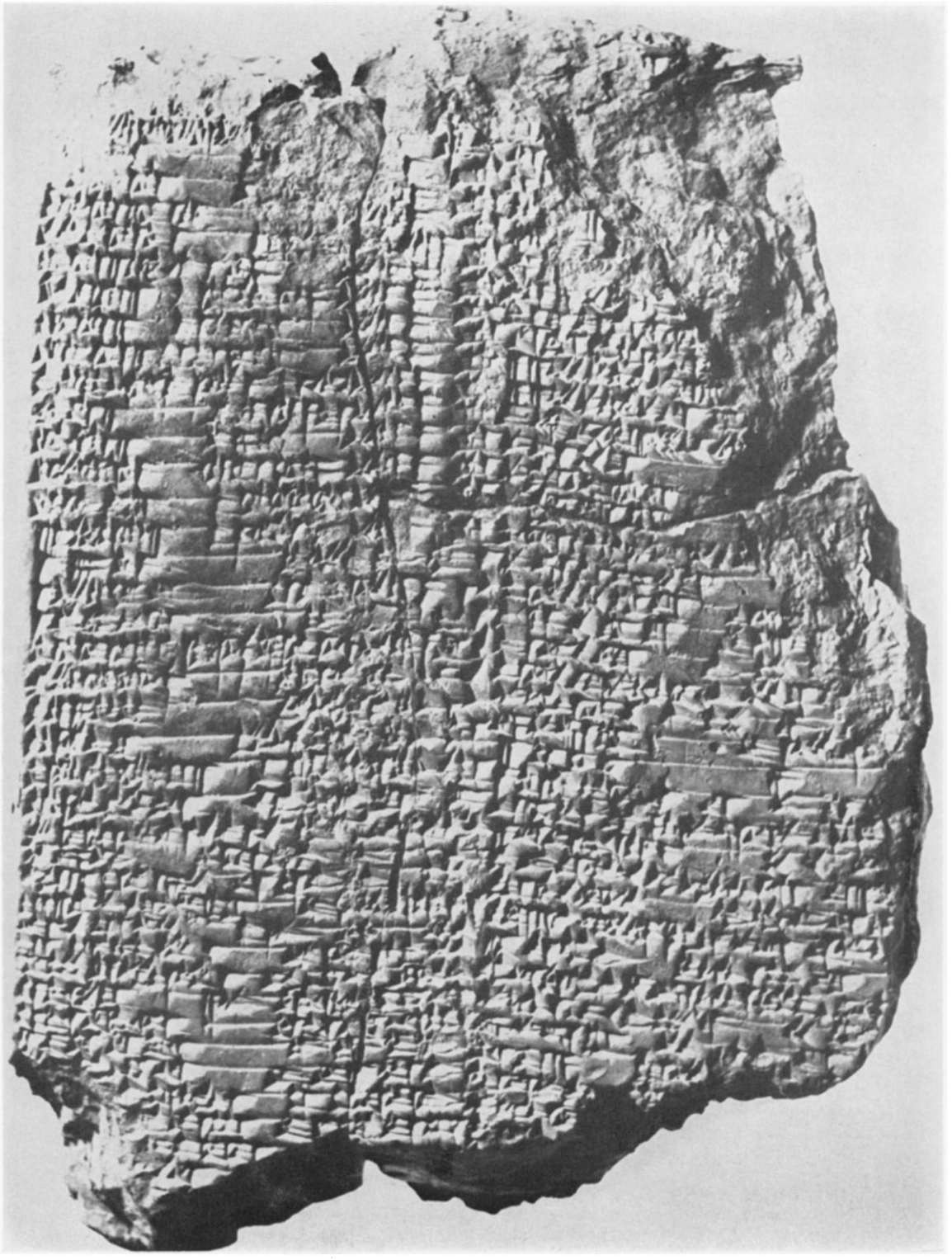

FIG. 10. *TMH N.F. III*, No. 2 obv. From photographs by the *Hochschulbildstelle* of the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena.

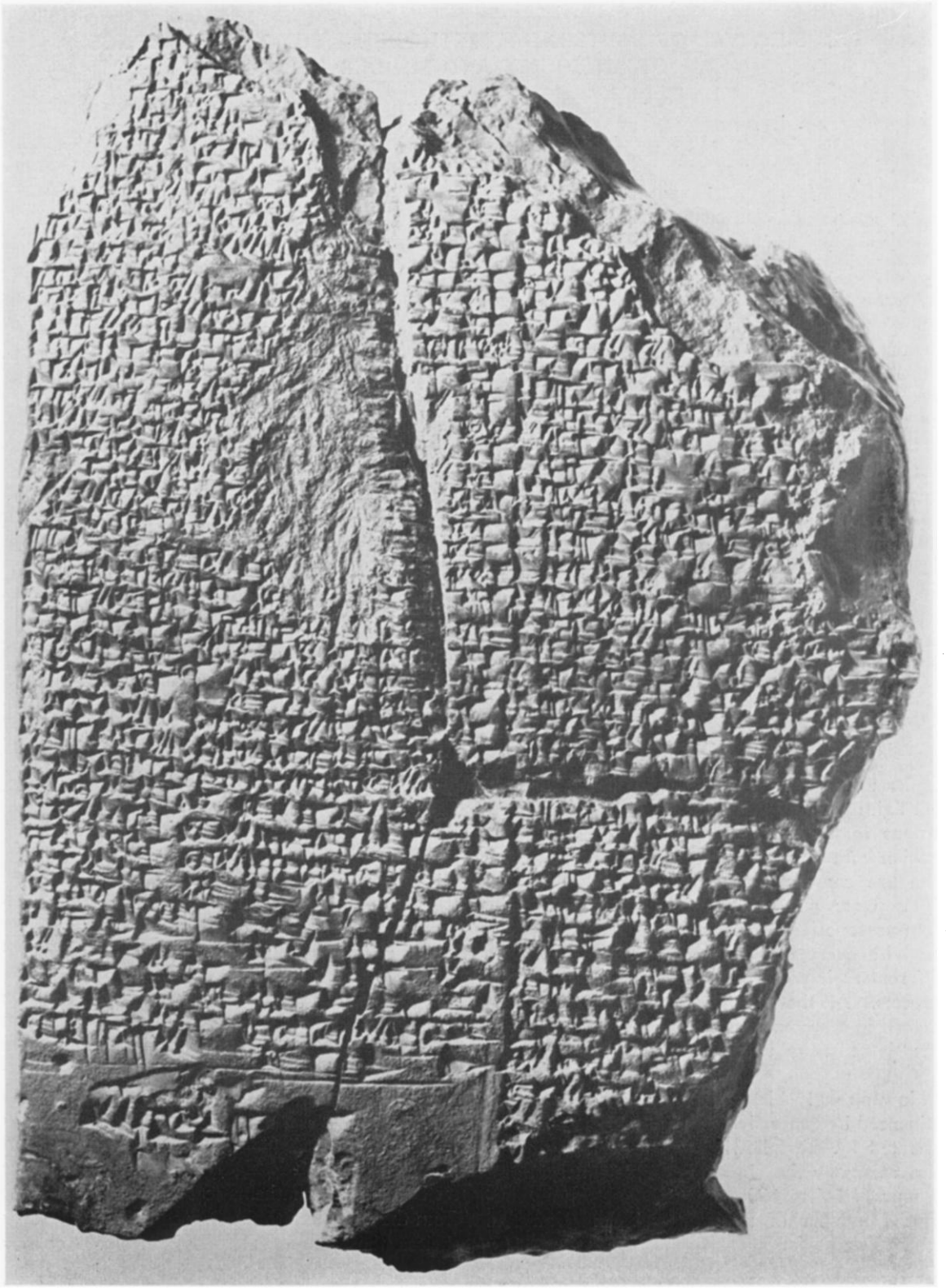

FIG. 11. *TMH N.F. III*, No. 2 rev. From photograph by the *Hochschulbildstelle* of the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena.

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# « VOX POPULI » AND THE SUMERIAN LITERARY DOCUMENTS

by SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

The "people's voice", it may be surmised *a priori*, rang out clear and strong in the cities of Sumer, at least on occasion. As I have tried to show some years ago, the Sumerian citizen with his penchant for contention and controversy tended to be aggressive, competitive, even belligerent — witness the extraordinary role that law and litigation played in Sumerian culture, as well as the popularity of the diverse literary compositions concerned with contest and rivalry, not to mention the constant bickering and feuding between the cities in their unremitting drive for preeminence and prestige[1]. It therefore seems not unreasonable to infer that the Sumerian tended to be an individualist by temperament, one who was conscious of his rights and prerogatives, and who would resent any encroachment on them whether by his equal, superior or even his ruler, and would not hesitate to express his resentment when the opportunity arose. It is hardly likely, however, that clear and unequivocal traces of such *vox populi* will be readily detected in the cuneiform inscriptions — certainly not in the innumerable administrative records that crowd the museum collections. But even the many literary works prepared, copied, studied, and preserved in the Sumerian *edubba* — an institution of learning not particularly noted for political derring-do — can hardly be expected to yield much significant information on the nature of popular protest and the history of popular rebellion in the cities of Sumer. Only rarely, and even then quite incidentally and casually, do we find a significantly suggestive episode in an epic tale, a revealing boast in a royal hymn, an inferential situation in a mythological setting. All of which hardly adds up to more than the faintest echo of the "people's voice", no matter how clear and loud its ancient ring.

Least of all would one expect to find any indication of popular grumbling and

1. For details cf. *SHCC* (KRAMER, *The Sumerians : Their History, Culture and Character*), Chapter Seven.

discontent in the votive inscriptions of the rulers and their satellites, those dedicatory documents prepared by the royal scribes and archivists that recorded the ruler's achievements in peace and war, in order to find favor with the gods and thus prolong his life and prosperity. But as fate would have it, it is just one of these votive documents that has turned out to be most informative and illuminating for our purpose. For, luckily for us, the royal archivists of Lagaš, starting at least with the reign of Eannatum I, were historically-minded as well as religiously-oriented, so that when composing a text to be inscribed on a stele, or statue, on boulder, cone, or brick, they included in it not only a cliché register of the divine gifts bestowed upon the ruler, and the expected description of the particular building or water construction that the document was intended to commemorate, but also a brief historical survey of the more noteworthy events that occurred during his reign, or even preceding it[1]. Usually it was, of course, the military victories and conquests that were so recorded. But in the case of at least one of the rulers of Lagaš, Urukagina, the city must have undergone a radical political and social change that made an extraordinary impression on his archivists, so much so, that instead of recording military achievements of any kind, they devoted most of the text of at least one of his commemorative inscriptions to a detailed résumé of the social and administrative reforms introduced by their king. In fact, it may turn out, that Urukagina and his court were pious pacifists, as well as social reformers ; only so can we account for another remarkable document, this one inscribed on a tablet, that records in great detail, not Urukagina's victories, but rather his total and utter defeat at the hands of Lugalzaggesi, then ruler of Umma, and it does so with profound religious conviction in the righteousness of Urukagina's cause, or as the ancient author puts it : "Because the Ummaite destroyed the bricks of Lagaš, he committed a sin against Ningirsu, and he (Ningirsu) will cut off the hands which had been lifted (?) against him. It is not the sin of Urukagina, the king of Girsu. May Nidaba, the (personal) goddess of Lugalzaggesi, the *ensi* of Umma, make him (Lugalzaggesi) bear all (these) sins"[2].

It may be of course that this propensity for recording significant sociological events on the votive documents was a literary development that took place only in Lagaš, a city that seemed to be somewhat of a maverick among the Sumerian city-states, and that no like documents will ever be found in the ruins of such cities as Umma, Ur, Nippur, Kish, etc. Even so there is little doubt that the Urukagina reform document reflects a socio-political situation that was not totally strange to Sumerian citizenry as a whole, and the bitter popular resentment against Lagaš's autocratic

1. Cf. *SHCC*, p. 52 ff.
2. For a translation of this document, cf. last, *SHCC*, pp. 322-323.

bureaucracy must have had its counterpart in more than one of Sumer's urban centers. In any case, let us be grateful for what we do have, and try to reconstruct the defiant mood and disaffected temper of those Lagašites who were Urukagina's associates and followers, as presumably was the author of the reform document. To be sure, because of its laconic phraseology and technical terminology, not to mention the usual difficulties of Sumerian vocabulary and grammar, the translation of the inscription, or rather of the several versions of the inscription, is still highly problematical and controversial. In the following sketch of its contents I shall therefore try to present only what is reasonably assured and more or less undebatable, not hesitating to include, however, what can be read between lines, since this is at times as informative as the written text itself[1].

The inscription begins, for our purposes, with the recording of an abuse prevalent in Lagaš, that consisted of the unwarranted seizure of possessions such as boats, donkeys, sheep, and fisheries. There is no clue in the text to the identity of the individuals so deprived, and it is a moot point whether these were private citizens or members of temple personnel, but in any case it is reasonably certain that it was the palace bureaucrats who were responsible for those arbitrary and tyrannical acts. It was these same palace bureaucrats who, our text next informs us, forced shepherds, surveyors, plowmen, brewers, *gala*'s, *agrig*'s, and *ugula*'s to pay considerable sums of money for the shearing of certain kinds of sheep and lambs, and while some, if not all of these artisans and functionaries were no doubt members of the temple personnel, their flocks were surely their private property, and this unjust and unjustifiable levy must have irritated and outraged them as private citizens rather than as temple adherents. True, it is the actual and very real confiscation of *temple* property that our ancient archivist then records in the vividly concrete, if somewhat roundabout assertion that "the oxen of the gods plowed the onion patches of the *ensi* ; the onion (and) cucumber fields of the *ensi* were located in the god's best field". But it is once again the private citizens of Lagaš who were outraged and embittered when, on mournfully burying their dead, they were forced to turn over large quantities of barley, bread, wine and even garments, beds and chairs, to sundry officials who no doubt belonged to the palace coterie. Similarly it was the private citizen who on divorcing his wife was mulcted for five shekels of silver by the *ensi*, and for yet another shekel by the *sukkalmaḫ*.

Now all these abuses — and the numerous others that I have omitted because the translation and interpretation of the relevant text are debatable — added up to a

1. For the difficulties involved, cf. e. g. DIAKANOFF, *RA*, LII, p. 1 ff. ; for a translation of the different versions of the Urukagina reform document based largely on Poebel's unpublished manuscript, cf. *SHCC*, pp. 317-322.

state of social injustice and bureaucratic despotism to which the citizens of Lagaš seem to have been unaccustomed and which they could not tolerate — at least so we may surmise from our archivist's report that the city was the scene of a political coup which brought the pious and god-fearing Urukagina on the throne. As far as we can tell at present, the coup seems to have been bloodless — at least there is no mention in the available documents of any physical struggle between Urukagina and his immediate predecessor on the throne. In any case there is little doubt that toppling of the old, detested regime and the coming of the new, brought no little joy and exultation to the Lagaš citizenry, or at least a large part of it. To be sure, the ancient author of our document tells the story of the reforms in what is sometimes known as a "dead-pan" style, which does not permit his emotions or those of his fellow citizens to intrude on the scene; thus he reports dryly and soberly that following the assumption of power by Urukagina, the various oppressive functionaries were removed from office, the temple property was returned to its rightful owners, the burial levies were considerably reduced, etc. Even so we can sense no little glee in his conscious choice of phraseology, when he first sums up some of the oppressive abuses with the reproachful assertion that "from the borders of Ningirsu to the sea, there was the *maškim-di*", and then proceeds to sum up the corresponding reforms with the reassuring contrasting words "from the borders of Ningirsu to the sea there was no one who was a *maškim*". And when our author informs us that Urukagina promulgated two laws that practically encourage a *šub-lugal* who, no matter what the meaning of the word turns out to be[1], was hardly an influential figure among the citizenry of Lagaš, to talk back to his *ugula* who wants to buy his donkey and to a "big man" who wants to buy his house, and demand a price that he deems fair and adequate, it is clear that even the lowliest of the Lagaš citizens felt that he had a right to make his voice heard when he thought himself mistreated by his superiors. It is hardly surprising to find, therefore, that in the oppressive pre-Urukagina days, some of the Lagašites had by no means complied with the dictatorial requisitions of the ruling bureaucrats, preferring imprisonment or slavery to docile submission, and as our document informs us, it was Urukagina who set them free[2].

As already stated, however, our document is strangely silent on the ways and means, the manner and method, by which Urukagina carried off his successful coup. Thus nowhere in the text do we find the term *ukkin*, the Sumerian word for "assembly", for which at a later period, the Akkadian word *puḫrum* is sometimes substituted. For

1. Cf. e. g. DIAKANOFF's discussion, in *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

2. The text is most laconic at this point, and it is difficult to decide just what it is he freed them from (the expression is ama-gi$_4$-bi e-gar).

the assembly and its *modus operandi* therefore, we must turn to the *ukkin* of Erech in the days of Gilgameš as reported poetically, and it is hoped, not too romantically, by the author or redactor of the Sumerian tale "Gilgameš and Agga of Kiš", the relatively short poem whose prime significance for the Sumerian political scene has been so penetratingly evaluated by Thorkild Jacobsen, in his article "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia"[1]. As most of you no doubt recall, the first part of the story runs as follows : Agga of Kiš had sent envoys to Gilgameš with the demand that Erech submit to Kiš or suffer the consequences. Gilgameš is determined to fight rather than submit, but feels it necessary to first obtain the approval of the citizens of Erech. He therefore goes before "the convened assembly of the elders of the city" with the urgent plea not to submit to Kiš but to take up arms and fight for victory. The elders, however, advise against this course ; they would rather yield to Kiš and enjoy peace. Disappointed, Gilgameš turns to "the convened assembly" of the *guruš* of the city, with the same identical plea, and sure enough these declare for war and independence, and so, our poet tells us, "his (Gilgameš's) heart rejoiced, his spirit brightened"[2]. It is thus reasonable to conclude, as Jacobsen has so well pointed out, that in the times of Gilgameš there was an assembly in Erech consisting of two houses, and that it was called into session from time to time, at least in days of serious crisis.

Unfortunately, the matter is not quite as simple as it looks at first glance. After all, "Gilgameš and Agga of Kiš" is an epic poem probably written down in its present form no earlier than the Third Dynasty of Ur — our extant text, in fact, is based on tablets inscribed in the Old Babylonian period ; it is therefore far from certain that this Gilgameš-Agga incident took place just as our poet reports it. Moreover we have other Gilgameš poems written in the same epic style, and these hardly point to the existence of an influential assembly in Erech in those early days. For example in the poem "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living"[3], we find that in his eagerness to get to this promising land, Gilgameš

*Mobilized his city like one man,*
*Mustered (its men) like twin companions :*
*"Who has a house, to his house !*
*Who has a mother, to his mother !*
*Let single males who would do as I do, stand at my side."*

1. Cf. *JNES*, II, pp. 159-172.
2. For the translation of the entire poem, cf. last, *SHCC*, pp. 187-190.
3. Cf. last, *SHCC*, pp. 190-197.

*"Who had a house, to his house !*
*Who had a mother, to his mother !*
*Single males who would do as he did, fifty, stood at his side."*

No thought of convening an assembly here, and indeed it is hardly likely that this episode ever took place except in the poet's imagination.

Similarly in "Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Nether World"[1], we learn that this noble and chivalrous hero, once he had been presented by Inanna with the *pukku* and *mikku*, did not hesitate to oppress the citizens of Erech ; so much so, that "because of the cry of the young maidens" the *pukku* and *mikku* fell into the Nether World — a mishap which brought about the death of Enkidu. Here, too, no trace of an assembly that might in some way moderate Gilgameš's despotic arrogance ; indeed in this case it seemed to be the young maidens who carried on the tradition of challenge and protest against their ruler's tyranny.

On the other hand, it is true that "Gilgameš and Agga of Kiš", which unlike the two epic tales just discussed, deals with mortals only and introduces no mythological motifs into its plot, may be relatively trustworthy in its report of an Erech assembly ; in fact it does seem rather improbable that the author could invent out of thin air an assembly of elders and of *guruš* ; even if the Gilgameš episode never took place, he must have known of the existence of an assembly of this kind some place, some time. But then what to do with the fact we find an altogether differently constituted assembly in an epic tale dealing with one of Gilgameš's predecessors in Erech, Enmerkar, and his rival *en*, Ensukušsiranna of Aratta ! This assembly — the Sumerian expression is *ukkin-gar-ra* just as in "Gilgameš and Agga" — which was convened by Ensukušsiranna in Aratta in order to advise him on what course to pursue against the threatening Enmerkar, consisted not of elders, or of *guruš*, but of *išib*'s, *lumaḫ*'s, *gulug*'s, and the *girsigga* of the *gipar* — in short all the *en*'s priestly associates and colleagues[2]. We thus see that the Sumerian epic poets knew of at least two types of assembly — all of which is rather confusing and even frustrating.

Be that as it may, there is little doubt than an assembly of some kind played a considerable role in the political life of the Sumerians from earliest days to the very end of Sumer's existence. Even in the days of the Third Dynasty of Ur, when, as is

1. Cf. last, *SHCC*, pp. 198-205.

2. This, be it carefully noted, is the assembly cited by Jacobsen in note 11 of his article "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia" (*ZA*, N.F. 18, pp. 91-140) ; it is therefore not an assembly of the citizenry of Aratta as might perhaps be inferred from a casual reading of the note.

generally agreed, the king was all powerful, and his authority supreme, we find none other than mighty Šulgi saying in one of his hymns[1] :

*In order to take noble counsel in the* puḫrum
*I gathered the people, the black-heads.*

(Note that if the translation is correct, and if this is not just poetic fancy, the *puḫrum* here is a sort of mass meeting.) And in another hymn we find him saying that he "knows" how[2]

*To take counsel, to speak eloquently,*
*To issue decrees in (?) the* puḫrum.

In fact, in Šulgi's days, there existed an assembly even in barbarous and troublesome Subir, as we learn from the correspondence between Šulgi and his emissary to that country, Aradmu, in which the wise men of the assembly are mentioned repeatedly — it seemed to have been one of Aradmu's major tasks to win over those "wise men of the assembly" and persuade them to take sides against a certain Awilla who was setting himself up as an independent princeling[3].

In conclusion, it is worth noting that membership in the assembly was no doubt a greatly sought-for honor. In the elegy inscribed on a Pushkin Museum tablet[4], we find a rather hyperbolic description of the accomplishments of the father of one Ludingirra, who had just taken sick and died, and one of these was the fact that he was *me-te-ukkin-na*, that is, "one highly qualified for the assembly". In fact it is not unlikely that the Sumerian theologians were convinced that the assembly was one of the institutions governed by the divine *me*'s, in the same way as e. g. were *en*-ship,

1. This text has been restored from a number of tablets and fragments by G. CASTELLINO who hopes to publish it in the near future. The two lines which are in a rather obscure context read :

pu-uḫ-ru-um$^{ki}$ ad-maḫ-gi$_4$-gi$_4$-da
ukù-sag-gi$_6$-ga gú-si-a-mu

2. For this text, cf. for the present *UET*, VI, Part 1, pp. 8-9. These two lines are part of a three-line passage that reads :

ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$-da inim-dùg-dùg-da
pu-uḫ-ru-um$^{ki}$ nam-tar-re-dè
sagub-e-ne ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ mu-un-zu inim-dùg-dùg mu-un-zu

Note that the *ukkin* is mentioned also in the Šulgi hymn, *CT*, XLII, and translated by FALKENSTEIN, in *Iraq*, XXII, pp. 139-150 ; it may there refer however to the divine assembly as does e. g. the *ukkin* in Gudea Statue B iii 3.

3. Cf. for the present *SHCC*, pp. 332-333 ; a transliteration and translation of these letters have been prepared by Dr. Fadhil ALI for his dissertation, "Sumerian Letters : Two Collections from the Old Babylonian Schools".

4. Cf. KRAMER, *Two Elegies in a Pushkin Museum Tablet* (Moscow, 1960), and note that *SEM*, 113, as Åke SJÖBERG was first to recognize (in an oral communication) is a duplicate of the first part of this composition.

kingship, the various priestly offices, the sundry crafts, etc.[1]. To be sure the assembly is not mentioned explicitly in the list of *me*'s which Inanna carries away with her in the "Boat of Heaven" from Eridu to Erech as a gift from the drunken Enki. But we do find there the compound word *ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$* "counsel"[2], and this is the expression commonly used alongside *ukkin*, since this was probably the major function of the assembly.

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1. Cf. last, *SHCC*, pp. 115-117 and 160-162.
2. Cf. e. g. *PBS*, V, No. 25, rev. col. 6, l. 16.

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# CT XLII: A REVIEW ARTICLE

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Penna., U. S. A.

The British Museum's publication of *CT XLII* in the year 1959, after an interruption of 28 years, was a source of profound satisfaction — one might even say joy — to cuneiformists the world over. From 1896 to 1931, there had appeared 41 of these *CT* volumes, 50 plates to a volume, containing copies of all types of cuneiform documents, that provided a rich treasure of basic source material for the Assyriologist and Sumerologist. The discontinuance of this series for more than a quarter of a century had produced a most regrettable vacuum in Assyriological research, and the active resumption of its publication by the museum's Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities — two more *CT* volumes have appeared in 1963 — was truly a "blessed event."

While the *CT* series as a whole is of fundamental value to all cuneiformists, *CT XLII* is a veritable boon to Sumerologists, and particularly those working intensively in the field of Sumerian literature, for it contains copies of 47 tablets and fragments whose contents run the entire gamut of the Sumerian literary repertoire: myths, epic tales, hymns, laments, liturgies, Dumuzi-Inanna "sacred-marriage texts", and sundry "wisdom" compositions. To be sure, not a few of the texts are but small fragments, while a number of others contain only short extracts of long compositions. But in the majority of cases, even these help to fill in the gaps and breaks that frustrate the translator at every turn. The copies by H. H. Figulla, a scholar who is not primarily a Sumerologist, are reasonably trustworthy and quite legible; that some signs on these difficult and compactly written documents have been misread and miscopied — and what copyist is perfect — is not too serious, for these can be readily corrected from the known duplicates or by collation of the original with the generous and ever-ready help of British Museum cuneiformists. What is all important is that Figulla has made available to the scholarly world a highly significant group of Sumerian tablets which have been lying in the cupboards of the museum unknown, unidentified, and unutilized, a feat which will earn him the deep gratitude of cuneiformists everywhere.

The weakest part of the book is, not unexpectedly, the introductory description of the contents of the tablets, since the identification, interpretation, and restoration of the Sumerian literary compositions are highly specialized tasks to which only a very limited number of cuneiformists have devoted much time and effort (see Falkenstein's valuable review in *OLZ 56* pp. 367–374). In the following pages, therefore, I have tried (1) to present a fairly detailed analysis of the contents of the compositions inscribed on the larger pieces together with the duplications and more important variants, and (2) to identify the contents of the fragments and extracts and indicate their position in the larger compositions of which they are a part. Needless to say this attempt is far from perfect, but it may well serve as a fruitful beginning of a prolonged and wide ranging Sumerological dialogue.*

* The following article employs a number of special abbreviations. They should be explained for the benefit of the readers at the outset:

| | |
|---|---|
| AS | Oriental Institute Chicago. Assyriological Studies. |
| BL | Stephen Langdon, Babylonian Liturgies (1913). |
| KL | H. Zimmern, Sumerische Kultlieder (= VS II and X) |
| NG | A. Falkenstein, Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden (= Abh. der Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F. 39–40, 44, 1950) |
| PRAK | Premières Recherches arch. à Kich. Mission d'Henri de Genouillac. I (1924), II (1925). |
| SAHG | A. Falkenstein — W. von Soden, Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete (1953). |
| SGL | Sumerische Götterlieder. I (1959), II (1960) (= Abh. der Heidelberger Akad., phil.-hist. Klasse 1959. 1 and 1960. 1). |
| SLTN | S. N. Kramer, Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul (= Annual of the ASOR XXIII, 1944). |
| SM | S. N. Kramer, Sumerian Mythology. |

No. 1, according to the colophon, is the second tablet of a lamentation over the destruction of Nippur and Babylon entitled a-ab-ba-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa, a composition found listed in the literary catalogue *IV R* 53 ii 20. The tablet is divided into three main sections, each beginning with an introductory line followed by the well-known and oft-repeated seven epithets of Enlil,[1] the deity who is addressed throughout the composition, and the names or epithets of the gods Enki,[2] Marduk, and Nabu.[3] The contents consist largely of hymnal, plaintive, and prayerful stereotype passages which were used repeatedly in the lamentations current in post-Sumerian days.[4]

The text is written in the Emesal dialect, and contains numerous glosses and marginal notations most of which are unintelligible.[5]

No. 2 is a fragment whose obverse duplicates lines 221 ff. of "Inanna's Descent";[6] the reverse belongs in the break following line 245 of the myth, cf. *JCS V* p. 10 ff., *TMH N.F. III* pp. 9–10 (comment to No. 2), and *Iraq XXII* p. 67, note 22. Cf. now PAPS vol. 107 (1963) p. 510 ff.

No. 3 is a long composition of some 350 lines divided into fifteen *kirugu*'s,[7] or "songs". To judge from the list of gods to be pacified (rev. cols. iv and v[8]) as well as from the words "Let be

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TRS Textes Religieux Sumériens (= TCL XV and XVI).

WZJ Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena.

1. The fifth of these, a-a-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl i-bí-du$_8$-ní-te-na was accidentally omitted by the scribe in the first section, and was therefore inserted on the right edge (see plate 3, bottom).

2. The omission of Enki in the first section (between lines 8 and 9) is no doubt a scribal error.

3. The introductory line of the first section reads: [am]-e ḫu-luḫ-ḫa-zu-ú(!) šà-dib-zu èn-šè nu-šed$_7$-dè; this section is further subdivided into three parts by two introductory lines which read me-na-šè $^{d}$mu-il-líl me-na-šè x me-na-šè èn-šè nu-šed$_7$-dè (obv. 28) and i-lu-é-ke$_4$(!?) i-lu-àm a-še-ir nu-gá-gá (obv. 41). The second section begins with [gu$_4$-sun-na e-lum gu$_4$-sun-e mu-zu kur-kur-ra], a line restored from *SBH* No. 22 (see note 4). The third section begins with the hymnal cliché za-e maḫ-me-en za-e maḫ-me-en.

4. Thus obv. 13-21 is found duplicated with only minor variations in the Inanna lament *CT XXXVI* plates 35–38; note, too, that the first three lines of this passage which read (1) u$_4$-ri-dam u$_4$-sù-ta-ri-ta, (2) gi$_6$-ri-dam gi$_6$-bad-du-ri-ta, (3) mu-ri-dam mu-sù-dù-ri-ta (cf. also obv. 27 and 28 of the Keš lament in CT XXXVI plates 47–50 which can now be restored accordingly) are variants of the three first lines of "Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld" (cf. *Gilgameš et sa Légende*, p. 66) as well as of "The Instructions of Šuruppak" (according to a still unpublished text from Ur; cf. for the present *Bi Or XVII* p. 148, note 245). The entire second section is duplicated with slight variation in *SBH* No. 22 rev. 1–22. Finally, rev. 32–35 are found e. g. in *SBH* pl. 131 (a prayerful lament to Enlil) 49 ff. and in the Isin lament *TRS* No. 2 (pl. III rev. 9′–12′), where they are probably addressed to Ninurta, to judge from line 5′ which reads: a-lu-lu ù-mu-un-si ni[bru$^{ki}$].

5. Thus, in the first line the gloss ÍB may be a semantic variant for -dib-. Line 2 seems to be partly Akkadian. In line 3 the gloss LI may indicate a variant -líl-le, for -líl. The MIN at the end of the lines beginning with line 4 indicates that the refrain is to be repeated. The meaning and purpose of the notations an-na scattered throughout the text are not clear. The E to the left of lines 10, 12, 13, etc., etc. may be an exclamatory syllable. The LA of lines 10–12 may indicate a variant -gal-la. The meaning and purpose of the marginal glosses A (obv. 24, 14), RU (obv. 25, rev. 12, 15), RU-UN (obv. 38, rev. 41), MA-A (obv. 28); KA-I (obv. 41), KA-A (rev. 18), Ú (rev. 20), GIŠ (rev. 32), U$_4$ (rev. 33), are uncertain. The first half of obverse 42 seems to be Akkadianized Sumerian; the second half may be a variant form of the corresponding half of obv. 41. Rev. 19 might have been expected to read e-lum-ma za-emaḫ-me-en e-lum-ma za-emaḫ-me-en but it is difficult to fit in the signs accordingly (note especially the obscure -nu-ú for the expected -en after the first za-e-maḫ-me-).

6. Note, however, that the order of lines is different; thus while our No. 2 obv. 1–2 corresponds to "Inanna's Descent" lines 221–222, line 3 corresponds to line 244, while lines 5 ff. correspond to lines 225 ff; note, too, that there is no line corresponding to line 223 in No. 2.

7. For the reading *kirugu* see *ZA* 49 p. 105; note that vi 59 reads: [ki-ru-gu 15-ka]m-ma.

8. For this list of deities cf. especially *PBS X* 4:302 ff; the available duplicates of our text (A) are now as follows: *SBH* pl. 136–139 (B); *KL* 11 rev. v and vi (C); *PRAK II* C 72 (D); TRS 4 obv. (E); PBS X No. 13 (F); KL 8 (G). Text A provides us with a considerable number of variants the more important of which are the following: iv 6: $^{d}$en-u$_4$-ti-la for $^{d}$en-u$_4$-ti-la (C v 7; D obv. 17 seems to have -mu- for -u$_4$-); iv 9: a ma-šèn$^{mušen}$-tur for a ma-še-en-tùr (C v 10), and a ma-šèn-tur (D obv. 20 and probably E obv. 2′); iv 10: ù-mu-un-en$_5$-si for ù-mu-un-si (C v 11); iv 12: NAP-dumu-sag for AN-dumu-sag (C v 13) and NÀP-dumu-sag (D rev. 3 and probably E obv. 5′); in the same line mu-un-ga-ra (also C) for ma-gu-ra (D) and proba-

uttered"[9] in connection with An, Enlil, Nintu, and Enki in the final *kirugu*, this composition might have been expected to consist of prayerful laments for the cities of Sumer, such as Nippur, Eridu, Ur, and Larsa[10]. It is therefore rather surprising, and for the present inexplicable to find that *kirugu*'s 12, 13, and 14 concern Lulal[11], the tutelary deity of Badtibira, and that they are

bly ma-an-g[a-ra] (E); iv 14: ama-é-a-ke$_4$ (so also B 5), cf. ama-é-ak-e (D obv. 5) and ama-é-e-ke$_4$ (E obv. 7′); iv 15: $^{d}$še-rá-DU-e (so also E obv. 8′) for $^{d}$še-ra-aḫ (B 6); iv 19: $^{d}$nin-líl- for $^{d}$mu-ul-líl- (B 10); iv 20: $^{d}$en-bu-NI (where the NI may be read either né or lé) for $^{d}$en-bu-ul-e (B 12), [$^{d}$en-b]u-ne (D rev. 11), and en-bún-e (E obv. 13); iv 21: -ur-sag- for -ḫur-sag- (B 13 and probably D 12); iv 31: [$^{d}$asar-lú-ḫi ù-mu-un-dumu]-urú-zé-ba (cf. also E 14) is for $^{d}$asar-lú-ḫi umun-tin-tir$^{ki}$-ke$_4$ (B 33); iv 33: -$^{d}$nin-líl-lá for $^{d}$en-líl-lá (B 37); iv 35: -é-šár-ra for -é-kur-ra (B 41); iv 40 omits -é- (cf. B 51) after ga-ša-an-; iv 41 inserts BURU$_x$(!?) TÚG AN (not found in B 53) between $^{d}$nidaba and $^{d}$nidaba-gal; iv 43: ga-ša-an-GÍR UB-li-li-si-a for gašan-ug$_5$-ga UB-líl-lá-si-a (B 56); iv 46: ù-mu-un-ki-sa-a $^{d}$ḫa-ía lú-LU-x-x for umun-ki-sá-a $^{d}$ḫa-ía mu-lu-é-kišib-ba (B 62); iv 47; MI-MI-gi for dingir-kaš-tin-nam (B 64); iv 49: $^{d}$u$_4$-šar- for u$_4$-saḫar- (B 68) and in the same line dumu-lú-nu-gi-[x-x] for du$_5$-mu-mu-gig-ga (B); v 1: -é-gid-da (also C rev. vi 6) for -á-gid-da (B 82); v 2: gù-an-né-si for gú-á-nu-sá (B 83), and kú-a-nu-si (C rev. vi 7); v 3: sila-MI-edin (!)-na (also C rev. vi 8) for dagal-la-edin-na (B 84); v 4: $^{d}$nin-IGI-ma(!)-ke$_4$ for $^{d}$nin-imma (SIG$_7$)-ke$_4$ (B 85 and C rev. vi 9); v 5: mu-sa$_4$-a-kur-kur for (u)mu(n)-šen-kul-kul (B 86), and mušen-kur-kur (C rev. vi 10); v 6: kù-mu-lu-SAL-SAL for ḫu-mu-un-SAL-SAL (B 90), and ku(n)-lú-SAL-SAL (C rev. vi 13); v 7: a-ab-ba for $^{d}$a-mà-mà (B 87), and $^{d}$ba-ù (C rev. vi 11); v 8: ù-mu-un-ug-$^{d}$nin-bar(?)-dumu-abzu-a for umun-ug umun-me x-x-x-abzu-ke$_4$ (B 89), and ù-mu-un-ug-me-en ga-ša-an-abzu (C rev. vi 12); v 9: ù-mu-un-sa-a-zu$^{d}$sud-dumu-nun for umun-sa-a $^{d}$sù-ud-ág-dumu-nun-na (B 92), and [ù-mu-u]n-sa-a su(!?)-di-dumu-nun-ra (C rev. vi 14); v 11: SAL-silá-mu-UD-na for $^{d}$gibil mu-x- (B 96); v 12: é-ta-é-da for $^{d}$u$_4$-ta-è-da (B 98); v 13: šu-du$_7$-an-na for šud$_x$-dè-an-na (B 100), and šu-du-a-na (F obv. 10); v 14: -a-zu (also F obv. 11) for -á-zu (B 102), and in the same line é-(F.e-)gid-da for à-gid-da (B); v 16: NIN-da ur-sag ga-ša-an-é-bar-da seems to correspond to B 106 which reads $^{d}$ir-re-eš ur-sag [umun]-šubur-ra, but it is difficult

to reconcile the two readings (note that perhaps NIN- is to be read ereš); v 17: ama-uru-ma for ama-é-urú-sag-gá (B 108), and in the same line ti(n)-u$_9$-ba (C rev. vi 23 -[u$_9$]-ga) for ti(n)-lu-ba (B) (note that F rev. 2 has -ti-il for tin); v 19: sag-sug$_x$-an-na which indicates that B 109, too, probably reads sag-sug$_x$(!)-an-na; v 23: -íd(?)-x-da for ní-te-na (B 116), ní-du$_8$-an-na (C rev. vi 29), am-i-di-en (F rev 8), and ní-an-na (G rev. iv 7); v 26: $^{d}$sùd-dumu-nun for $^{d}$sù-ud-ám-dumu-nun-na (B 122), and $^{d}$sùd-dumu-nun-a (G rev. iv 9); in the same line x-diš-e-šà-ba for [=x]-ama-é-šà-ba (B; note that C rev. vi 32 ends in šà-ba), še-en-di-li-kù-[ga] (F rev. 10), and $^{uru\,du}$šen-dili-kù-ga (G); v 27: GIŠ.SAR- for nin- (B 124); v 30: ga-ša-an- for $^{d}$áb- (B 130); v 31: nu-bar-ra ù-mu-un-gú-edin-[na] for $^{d}$gú-bar-ra gašan-gú-edin-na (B 143); v 32: sag-TUG-unu$^{ki}$-ga dìm-me-ir-kul(!)-aba$^{ki}$ for $^{d}$més-sag-unu$^{ki}$ga nimgir-kul-aba$^{ki}$ (B 137); v 35: -ki-kù-ga for -edin-na (B 135); v 36 is not found in any of the duplicates; v 38 še-ir-ma-al(!)-e mu-lu-lil-zag-è for še-ir-ma-al-la mu-lu-zag-è-a (B 145; note that the Akkadian translation of this line reads *etellu-$^{d}$latarak*, which seems to point to the possibility that mu-lu-lil in A is the Emesal of lú-làl, in which case this deity is equated by B with Latarak, just as in the case of the Emesal syllabary cited in note 11 below); v 40–51 has no significant variants. Note finally, the following corrected readings: dam(!)-a-ni $^{d}$nin(!)-[líl-le] (iv 1), -du$_6$(!) (third sign in iv 4), ama-(!?) (the sixth sign in iv 52), -ir-(?) (third sign from the end in v 22), -tum-(!) (third sign from end in v 27); also that the mu-lu at the end of v 51 is hard to explain.

9. That is "let him (her) utter" (dè- is Emesal for ḫé-); presumably the object of "utter" (destroyed in the text) is a noun or phrase denoting words of comfort, and the subject is An, Enlil, and Nintu respectively (cf. however, note 12). Note, too, that in the second half of this *kirugu*, the deities Enki, Damgalnunna, and Asarluḫi (the last line reads: [$^{d}$asar-lú-ḫi ù-mu-u]n-tin-tir$^{ki}$-na-ke$_4$) seem to be the subject of a verb ending in -ab-bé which may be a parallel to dè-im-me).

10. The é-abzu is actually alluded to in i 5 of the well-nigh completely destroyed obverse, and these four cities are specifically mentioned as those for which prayers are to be uttered in v 45–51.

11. The reading Latarak for $^{d}$lú-làl in *JCS V* 13 p. 323–324, based primarily on the Emesal vocabulary

songs of exaltation rather than mournful prayers[12]. Thus *kirugu* 11 consists of a rather ecstatic and highly poetic description of the birth of Lulal[13]; *kirugu* 12 consists of a brief self-laudatory hymnal song uttered by the god himself, in which, every line ends with the refrain "Let me drink, let me drink"[14], while *kirugu* 13 also contains a song uttered by Lulal in which he speaks of rambling along a garden of *mes* -trees, as well as an *umun* (?) and *papal*-shrine, and of being in a chariot and uttering "princely words".[15]

No. 4 is an epithalamion in the Emesal dialect which provides us with some welcome new information relating to the ceremony of the holy marriage between the king and the goddess Inanna; in some respects it is a companion piece to the last *kirugu* of the Inanna hymn, *SRT* No. 1 which celebrates the hieros gamos between Iddin-Dagan and the goddess.[16] The poet begins with an address, probably to the goddess Inanna, informing her that Gibil had purified for her "the great shrine" in her Eanna temple, and that the king (?)[17] had carried out the lustration rites for

*II R* 59 (cf. now *MSL IV* 9 p. 91), is probably erroneous (cf. *NG* 2 p. 182, note 7), since the name is sometimes followed by -la (cf. *ŠL* 330, 334; note also the lú-lal-la of our vi 24, where the -la may be for the dative -ra, or for -le- (the final l + the locative e) and since Latarak and Lulal are frequently paired together as two separate deities (cf. e.g. *Pantheon* 1841); see however note 8, comment to v 36, for what seems to be another case where Lulal and Latarak are identified.

12. If the subject of dè-im-me in the last *kirugu* is taken to be Lulal, the introduction of the god in the preceeding *kirugu*'s would of course be logical and meaningful, but to judge from the extant text this seems hardly likely.

13. Quite a number of phrases and complexes in this *kirugu* are still unintelligible: mu-uš-pi-el (vi 3), NE-NE (vi 7, 8), šu-ušum-kam-ma (vi 15) and its variants šu-ušum-kam (vi 18) and šu-ušum-ma-kam (vi 19–20); šà-mu-ug (vi 18), é-gi$_4$ (vi 22), níg-mu (vi 23); note, too, the rather strange insertion of x-e-mu between the ù- and the -li-li of the complex ù-li-li in v 53; (in vi 24, the second -li of the expected ù-li-li seems to be missing); the undiscriminating use of the Emesal and Emegir forms of the first-person precative particle (da- in vi 3 and ga- in vi 6), as well as of the thematic particle (ì- in vi 7, and ám- in vi 8). In spite of their obscurities, the general sense of the "song" is reasonably assured: the poet begins by announcing that he will sing an *ulili/elalu* song about the god still lying in Inanna's womb (v 53–vi 2) and that he will "make known" the coming into being of a god whose fiery (?) arrows will destroy the enemy-lands (vi 2–10; in the obscure line vi 2 the poet may be introducing himself preparatory to making his prophetic pronouncements). There follows the well-nigh ecstatic announcement of Lulal's birth, in which the god is described as a "water-snake" and a "water-scorpion" at whose birth the heavens trembled and the earth quaked, whose claws are the claws of an eagle and whose voice is the voice of the flood-waters (the last sign in vi 21 is no doubt NAM rather than ZI), and whose mother Inanna brought him a suitable bride (?) (vi 11–24).

14. This *kirugu* (vi 26–33), is written primarily in the Emegir dialect, the only exceptions are ga-ša-an-na in vi 31, and me-ri- (for gìr-) and -ma-al (for -gál) in vi 33. Note, too, that the -zu of ama-tu-da-zu and a-a-tu-da-zu in vi 31–32, is no doubt a scribal error for -mu, and that the line on the left edge (with its first sign along vi 33) which is to be restored to read: ama-mu šu-mu-t[a šu-di nu-ma-al ga-nag ga-nag] should actually have preceded vi 33, but was accidentally omitted by the scribe.

15. This interpretation of the contents assumes that the sù of ga-sù and ga-sù-sù (vi 37, 39) has a meaning parallel to that of nigin in ga-nigín and ga-nigín-nigín (vi 41), and that the verb in vi 42, 44, 45, and 47 reads ga(!)-àm-me (to judge from the copy however, there is a possibility that the sign read ga(!)- is actually -bi, and that it belongs to the preceding complex inim-nun). This *kirugu* which like the preceding is written in the main dialect, is characterized by a rather interesting poetic device in accordance with which a nominal complex ending one line is repeated as the initial complex of the line following, cf. $^{giš}$kiri$_6$-mes-a-ke$_4$ (end of vi 36 and beginning of vi 37); umun$_{10}$-ba-gál-la-šè (end of vi 38 and beginning of vi 39); pa-pa-al-la-šè dirig-gi$_x$ (end of vi 40 and beginning of vi 41, where the -šè has been omitted, no doubt, accidentally). Starting with vi 42, however, it is the complex [x-x-]$^{giš}$gigir-ra-ka which is repeated several times for poetic effect (vi 43, 46, and perhaps the first part of vi 42 where the first extant sign is probably GIGIR(!)).

16. For a recent and excellent translation, cf. *SAHG* pp. 96–98 (cf. also ibid. pp. 367–368). In addition to the ki-ná which is the essential feature of the ceremony described in both compositions, cf. also the initial complexes of our No. 4 i 13 and 14 with that of *SRT* v 20; the second complex of i 14 with that of *SRT* v 19; i 15 with *SRT* v 35; iii 7 and 8 (for the reading of these lines, cf. note 26) with *SRT* v 32 and 33; iii 12 (for the reading of this line see note 26) with *SRT* vi 5 and 6; note, too, that the verbal root dag in i 29 and 31 may be the same as the dag of $^{tú}$gníg-dag in *SRT* v 25 and 26.

17. So, on the assumption that the ù-mu-un- of ù-mu-un-na-ni in i 11 refers to the ruler, in spite of the fact that the possessive -ani is inexplicable.

her (i 1–12);[18] this is followed by a prayer that in the evening when "the day had gone to sleep", and it was time for the goddess "to caress the lord" in the favored sleeping place, she should give the king life and the staff and crook (i 13–17).[19] The poet then sings of the preparation of the "sleeping place" of kingship and queenship which "rejoices the heart" and "sweetens the lap" (i 18–31).[20] After a break we find the king speaking "words of life, words of long days" to (probably) Inanna (ii 1–3).[21] Following which Ninšubur takes him by his right UM.ME, leads him to Inanna's lap, and asks her to bless him with everything essential for the well-being of the king and his people: a good reign, a firmly founded throne, a well-governing scepter, a staff and crook for the control of Sumer and Akkad and the lands beyond (ii 4–18);[22] she should grant him, too, that "he (the king) like a farmer set the fields in order, like a faithful shepherd multiply the sheepfolds" (ii 19–20); and that under his reign,[23] the land have all it needs: textile-plants and grains, overflow by the rivers, *gunu*-grain in the fields, fish and birds in the marshes, fresh and mature reeds in the canebrake, *mašgur*-trees in the plains, deer and wild-goats in the forest, honey and wine in the well-watered gardens, vegetables in the trenches (between the furrows), long life in the palace, high water brought by the Tigris and Euphrates to make verdant their banks and watered acres, granaries and silos heaped high by the goddess Nidaba (ii 18–iii 3).[24] Following a further request by Ninšubur that the king be allowed to spend a long time in Inanna's lap (iii 4–6),[25] the king proceeds with "high-head" to the lap of Inanna and is embraced by her (iii 7–12).[26] The remainder of the composition, which strangely enough, ends up in Akkadian (iv 1–end), has only the ends of the lines preserved, and little can be said about its contents.[27] [Cf. now PAPS vol. 107 (1963) 500–505].

18. The translation of the passage presents numerous problems which are difficult to resolve for the present; note, too, that the fifth sign of i 3 is NA(!), and that the passage contains three interesting glosses: du-gu-ge for IM.DIRIG-ge (i 6, cf. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Sin*, p. 34, note 32); -ri- for -RIN- and zi- for SUM- (i 8).

19. Note that the verbal form for "give" is written as zé-ém-mà-a in i 16 and as sì-mu-na-ab in i 17, although at least on the surface they seem to be identical in meaning; also that line 17 contains two glosses: si-bi-i[r] for ŠIBIR (cf. *SGL II* 69, note 27) and šu for SUM.

20. The passage is difficult to translate primarily because (1) the oft-repeated al ba-an-dug$_4$ (lines 18–22) seems to be without a subject; (2) the antecedent of the possessive -ni- and the grammatical function of the following -da in the recurrent zé-ba-ni-da (lines 23–27) are uncertain; and (3) the initial signs of lines 28 and 30, which may have provided the subject for ki-ná mu-un-na-dag-ge (repeated twice in each of the lines) are destroyed. Perhaps it may be assumed that it is Inanna who requested the ki-ná, and that it was the beloved king (that is that lines 28 and 30 began with the words lugal-e and ki-ág respectively) who arranges (?) (mu-un-na-dag-ge) the ki-ná for her by his own ki-ná-zé-ba.

21. The first of these is probably to be restored to read: lug[al-e ki-ná-zé-ba-ni-šè gù mu-un-na-dé-e], while the second begins with ki-ág which may be an epithet for either the king or Inanna. In the third line, note the glosses i-ni (=inim) for KA and ra for DU in the complex u$_4$-su$_x$-DU, although to judge from the -ta- of u$_4$-sù-ta-ri-ta (No. 1, obv. 12) which is a parallel to mu-sù-DU-ri-ta (ibid. obv. 14), the pronunciation of -DU could also approximate du rather than ra (cf. also the discussion of the reading of the name Ziusudra in *AS* 11:76, note 34).

22. For Ninšubur (ii 4) as a female deity, cf. now *SG II* 52 ff. The meaning of UM.ME (ii 5), glossed ki(?)-li-ib(?), is still unknown. In ii 6 note the writing ga-ša-an-na- instead of the expected ga-ša-an-an-na-. ii 8 reads: lugal-e nitalam(!)-ki-ág-zu úr-kù-nígdù g-zu u$_4$ ḫa(!)-ba-ni-ib-su$_x$-e-dè. In ii 14 note the glosses tu(!)-mu-ul-lu-ta for IM-ULÚ-ta, and tu(!)-mu-AN-mi-ra for IM-mir-ra (the -AN- is difficult). In ii 16, the final -ta is probably a scribal error for -šè, and in the line following the final -ta is certainly an error for -ab.

23. Hence the -da- of the verbal forms in lines 21 ff.

24. The subject complex in iii 3 probably reads: kù-ga-ša-an-nidaba-ke$_4$(!).

25. Assuming that the first complex in iii 5 reads: úr-[kù-zu-šè].

26. Lines iii 7–10 probably read: (7) lugal [úr-kù-šè s]ag-íl-la mu-un-gen-né (the final -né seems unjustified), (8) úr-k[ù-ga-ša-an-na-k]a-šè sag-íl-la mu-un-gen. (9) lugal [úr-kù-šè sag-í]l-la gen-né, (10) nin(!?)-mu [lugal úr-kù-šè sa]g-íl-la gen-né. Line 11 is badly damaged, and in line 12 the predicate probably read [gú-da mu-un]-da-lá.

27. The last complex of iii 15, 19, and 20 is to be restored to read [ù-mu-u]n-e; in iii 21, the sign before the last is no doubt DÈ (not GIM); to

No. 5 is a fragment of a tablet which probably contained a collection of bilingual rituals and incantations; the obverse is a ritual for healing the sick; the reverse is an incantation against evil spirits and especially the *galla*'s.

No. 6 is a collection of five compositions:[28] (1) a hymnal prayer to the goddess Nammu (i 15–32);[29] (2) a hymnal prayer to Asarluḫi (i 33–ii 22);[30] (3) an obscure ritual text written in a strange mixture of Akkadian and Sumerian (ii 23–30);[31] (4) a Sumerian *enenuru*-incantation ending with an Akkadian passage recording the presentation of food-offerings to the stars, the heavens, earth and the gods Anu and Enlil (iii 1–v ii);[32] (5) a prayer to Enki (or one of the deities in the Enki family of gods).[33]

No. 7 consists of two separate compositions. The first is a long lament by the goddess Ninisinna designated as an *iršemma* of Gula on this tablet, but as an *iršemma* of Inanna in the duplicate, No. 16 of the volume.[34] The composition is also duplicated in part by *KL* 94 and 95, two long known texts whose contents have remained enigmatic to this day because of the scribe's frequent omission of the second half of the lines.[35] Most of

judge from [ n a m ] - m u - n i - i b - t a r - r e in iii 25, the passage which followed this line recorded the fate decreed for the king by Inanna.

28. If the rubric at the very end of the tablet (p. 13, end of col. iv) read [ i n ] i m - i n i m - [ m ] a , all the compositions on the tablet were intended to be used as incantations.

29. Cf. especially obv. 31, which probably reads [ a m a ] - $^{d}$ n a m m u m e - t e š ḫ é - i - i , The line following contains the rubric [ $^{d}$ e n - k ] i - k e$_4$ z à - s a l (for the reading z à - s a l rather than z à - m í , cf. *BASOR* 94 p. 12, comment to lines 37–42); for other examples of hymns whose rubrics contain not the name of the deity for whom the hymn is intended, but the name of the superior god to whose circle he belongs, cf. e.g. the Ninurta hymn *CT XV* pls. 11–12, which is designated as an *iršemma* of Enlil.

30. Cf. the rubric in ii 22 which reads: $^{d}$ e n - k i - k e$_4$ g a b a [ x x x ] z à - s a l . Much of the text, which begins with a hymnal passage (i 33–ii 3) and ends with a prayer (ii 14–21) is unintelligible; especially difficult are lines ii 2, 9–14, and 18. Note, too, that in i 33 the verb is probably b a ( ! ) - r a - è ; in ii 15 the first complex should probably read i - d i b ( ! ) ; in ii 17, the final - N I seems inexplicable.

31. Thus ii 23–24 seem to be Sumerian; ii 25–29 seem to be Akkadian; ii 30–31 seem to be part Sumerian and part Akkadian; ii 34 is Sumerian; ii 35–37 are Akkadian.

32. Much of the text is devoted to the power of the incantator's word over heaven and earth, father and mother, man's "sleeping places", and, as the authorized word of Enlil and Ninlil, over some of the gods of heaven and earth and over certain of the heavenly bodies (iii 9–24). The text immediately following (iii 25–37) is rather obscure; it seems to describe a ritual of food offerings to Utu, and the effects, which the "entering" of the sun has on three of the four heavenly bodies mentioned in the preceding lines. The introductory passage of this incantation is of some theological interest, since it states explicitly that while An dwells in the midst of heaven, it is Enlil who lives in the midst of the earth (iii 203; cf. perhaps the notion that Enlil carried off the earth discussed in *SM* 37 ff.), and that Enlil is the son of An (iii 6; cf. SAK 154 p. 3, 16).

33. Although only the ends of the lines are extant, the prayerful nature of the contents can be surmised from the - z u - d è of iv 13, 14, 15, 16, and 18; from the ḫ é - s i l i m - m a of iv 19, 20, 22, 23; and from the ḫ é - d ù g - d ù g of iv 25 (lines iv 26–29, on the other hand, probably contain a ritual).

34. The duplication is No. 7 i 14–ii 22 = No. 16 obv. 10–rev. 1; No. 7 iii 3–end = No. 16 rev. 2–end (note that No. 7 obv. ii 23–iii 2 is omitted in No. 16).

35. The duplications are as follows: No. 7 obv. i 16–iii 17 = *KL* 94 p. 8–66; No. 7 obv. i 16–ii 6 = *KL* 95 p. 8–31. All the texts of this lament are, as expected, in the Emesal dialect, but in addition KL 94 uses a phonetic script which provides a number of interesting and valuable variants, thus, e.g. (in the following list of variants, the first citation refers to the lines in our No. 7 and the second to the lines in KL 94): i - b í (ii 2, 17) is written i - b i (26, 39); d a m - r a (ii 4) is written d a - x - r a (28); n a - á m - t a r (ii 6, 13, etc.) is written n a m - t a - a r (30, 36, etc.); é (ii 7, first sign) is written e (31); - b í l - (ii 9) is written - b i - (33); i m - t a - a b - è - d è (the refrain in ii 12–17) is written i m - t a - b é - d i where the - b é - represents a combination of the b of - a b - with the verbal - è (38); KÙ and GIM (first complex of ii 21) are written KU and GI (41); GÚ and GIM (first complex of ii 22) are written GU and GI (42); d a m a n - t u k u - t u k u (ii 25) is written d a - m a - b i á - d u - d u (44); d u m u a n - ù - t u (ii 26) is written d u - m u a n - d u - d u (45; the d u - d u in this case is again for - t u k u - t u k u , a semantic variant for ù - t u ) ; g i$_4$ - i n - b i (ii 28) is written g i - b i ( 4 6 ) ; in the same line the d a b$_5$ of b a - a b - d a b$_5$ - e n has the semantic variant - t u - k u ; š e - i r - n u - m a - a l - b i (ii 29) is written š e - n u - g á l - b i (47); i m - d ù - d ù - e and i m - b ú r - b ú r - r e ( ! ) (ii 30) are written e n - d u - d u - e and e n - b u - r e ( ! ? ) - b u - r e (48); k u$_6$ - l a m - (ii 35) is written k u$_6$ - l a - (53); [ n a - á m - g i l - l e ] - é m (iii 4; cf. ii 15) is written n a - g i - l i - i m (56; cf. 37 where n a - g i seems to be for n a - g i - l i - i m ) ; a - b i (iii 5) is written e - b i (57); a - š à (iii 6) is written š à (58); - g e n (last sign in iii 7) is written - g i$_6$ (last sign in 58); n a - á m i m - m a - ú s - s a (No. 16 rev. 7; this line is omitted in No. 7) is written n a - m i - u s - s a (59); a m b a r -

the lament bemoans the evil, bitter, destructive and relentless fate which Enlil had decreed against the goddess, her temple, and her people.[36]

The second and much shorter composition on the tablet is a 28-line[37] ír-šè m-ma of Martu whose obscure contents seem to include a number of mythological allusions.[38]

No. 8 is an Emesal lament over the destruction of Eridu and its temple which probably ends on a note of comfort and consolation. It is divided into quite a number of sections of uneven length, whose contents show a certain logical sequence. Section 1 (i 1–x, a line in the break at the bottom of col. i) begins with a poignant summation of the destruction suffered by Eridu's temples and shrines and concludes with a lament uttered by the goddess Damgalnunna over her fate and that of her city;[39] in section 2 (x–ii 10) the poet himself continues to depict Damgalnunna's suffering and bitterness;[40] section 3 (ii 10–ii 23) consists of the poet's complaint to Enki reminding him that Eridu which used to be the happy playground of Enki and Enlil has turned into an inimical and joyless city;[41] section 4 (ii 24–x, a line in the break between the end of column ii and the beginning of column iii) which is largely destroyed, is a lament over the "word" of Enki, Damgalnunna, and Asarluḫi;[42] section 5 (x–iii 13) is a self-laudatory song by Enki glorifying his *me*'s;[43] section 6

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$gi_x$ (iii 8) is written a-b[a-a]r-gi (60); in the same line šu(!)-buru$_5^{mušen}$ is written šu-bu-ru, and -sar-sar-re is written sa-sa-re; gig-ga-ta (iii 10) is written ki-ga-ta (61); in the same lines (for the restoration of 61, cf. No. 16 rev. 9) ama is written a and ga-àm-dug$_4$ is written da-am-du; na-á m-e (iii 11) is written na-mu (62); in the same line -tar(!)-ra is written ta-ra and á-sàg is written a-sa; ensí (iii 13) is written im-si (63); in the same line -gen- is written -gi$_6$- (so also in iii 14 = 64); gidim (iii 15) is written ki-ti-im (65); in the same line -ib-bé is written -ib-be$_8$; a-a-ugu-mu (iii 17) is written a-ia-gu-mu (66); in the same line -tar-re is written -ta-re. There are also several interesting variants in our No. 16, thus (the first line reference is to No. 7 and the second to No. 16): -líl-ra (ii 1) is written -líl-lá (obv. 28); in the same line i-[tar-] is written e-tar-; úr- (ii 8–10) is a semantic variant for da- (obv. 35–36); -da-ba (ii 14) is written -dab$_5$-ba (obv. 41); na-ma-da-ab-bé (ii 16) is written na-ma-di-bé (obv. 42); ma-e-ri-da (ii 18–21; note that in ii 18, the verb is also written ma-e-sú G-da) is written ma-e-sú G-da (obv. 43–45 and rev. 1 ff.); edin(!)-šè (iii 2 ff.) is written edin-na (rev. 2 ff.); á-sàg (iii 12 ff.) is written a-sàg-ga (rev. 11 ff.); šà-bi (iii 23 ff.) has the variant šà-mu (rev. 19 ff.); -e (iii 30) has the variant -me-en (rev. 26); -mè n (iii 31) is written -me-en (rev. 27). Note finally, that No. 16 unlike No. 7, writes out the refrains instead of leaving blank spaces and that No. 7 iii 4–8 (= *KL* 95 p. 56–60) is partially duplicated in the Isin lament *CT XXXVI* pls. 43–44 (cf. obv. ii 10–14).

36. It is unfortunate that the end of the composition is rather unintelligible especially since the last three lines of the composition seem to refer to the death of Gilgameš, thus (lines restored from No. 7 iii 39–41 and No. 16 rev. 33–35):

mu-gig-zu mu-lu-na-á m-tar-gig-ga-ke$_4$ níg-ga-mu-e ba-ug$_5$
nin-KA-KA nin$_9$-gal-ù-mu-un-na-ke$_4$ níg-ga-mu-e ba-ug$_5$
ù-tu(!)-da en-$^d$gilgameš-e níg-ga-mu-e ba-ug$_5$

(Note that in the second line the traces do not point to KA as the third sign, and that in the third line No. 7 inserts an illegible sign between -da and en-).

37. The line numbering in the copy is therefore incorrect.

38. Note especially Martu's eating of dates (line 18); the imperative dug$_4$-ga-na-ab (line 19); the "trembling" which Martu seems to induce in his father An (lines 19–23); the implications of gù nam-ma-dé-e (lines 24–25). Several lines of the extant portion of the poem may duplicate *PBS X* 2 No. 3; cf. especially mu-lu-ḫur-sag-gá-ke$_4$ (line 8 of our text) with nun-úr-sá-gá-ke$_4$ (obv. 3 of the PBS text), as well as the -[me-e]n, -zi-me-en, and -mu (our obv. 9 ff.) with lines 5 ff. of the obv. of the *PBS* text.

39. The first half of i 1 reads [am]-gal(!) ù-na-gub-ba (cf. *SBH* No. 28 obv. 1); the first half of i 3 reads še-ib-èš(?)-ṣi-ba$^{ki}$; the second half of i 4 reads ba-ḫul-lu-a-šè; the last sign but one in i 6 is probably LA(!); $^d$a-DU-ru (i 9) is probably a variant for $^d$a-ru-ru; the first complex in i 16 reads: [$^d$d]am-gal(!)-nun-na-ke$_4$; the ta- which begins the verbal forms in line 17 and lines 19–26 is probably a variant of the first person precative particle da-.

40. Cf. especially ii 6 ff; in ii 9, the complex following e-ṣi-gi$_x$ might have been expected to read amaš-a (parallel to tùr-ra in the preceding line), instead of the e-še-a of the copy.

41. Cf. especially ii 19 ff., and note that the last complex in ii 21 probably reads: ḫúl(!)-nu-gál-me-en.

42. The first line probably reads e-ne-èm-mà(!)-ni ul$_x$-lu ul$_x$-lu kur-e [xxxx] a-gál-la.

43. Cf. especially iii 4 ff. The first complex in iii 7 is probably $^d$en(!)-ki-me-en; in the complex [g]a-na-ab-[d]ug$_4$ (end of iii 13) it is uncertain to whom the -na- refers.

(iii 14–22) is a poetic appeal to Enki to return to his city and temple, to his wife and children;[44] section 7 (iii 23–37 (?)) portrays Enki's return to Eridu and its temples;[45] the contents of the remaining sections (col. iv) which are rather unusual and intriguing in spots, are obscure in large part.[46]

No. 9 is an Emesal lament over the destruction of Ur, divided into three sections.[47] The first (i 1–17) begins with the poet's rhetorical question to Nanna, asking how long he will remain inimical; following which the poet proceeds to recite to Nanna and his wife Ningal some of the misfortunes which have befallen their city.[48] The main burden of the second section (i 18–ii 11) is the poet's urging that Nanna go before Enlil with dust-covered head and plead with him not to destroy Ur and its sanctuaries.[49] The third section (ii 11–end) begins with a hymnal passage to Nanna as a knowing judge of mankind,[50] and ends with a bitter and despairing lament over the destruction of Ur and its sanctuaries.[51]

No. 10 is an *iršemma* to the weather-god Iškur of which less than half is preserved. The extant part of the obverse portrays him primarily as a thunderer who makes tremble the gods Enlil and Ninlil, while the extant part of the reverse depicts him as a destroyer of the enemy.[52]

No. 11 is a small fragment of a large tablet of at least four columns which may have consisted of one or more Dumuzi compositions. In the more intelligible part of the small portion which is preserved we find Inanna saying that she will perform some deed the nature of which is uncertain,[53] for Dumuzi, her bridegroom, on heaven, earth (duraš), and "the lofty river".

No. 12 is a text consisting of three *iršemma*'s: one to Ninurta, one to Inanna, and one to Enlil.[54] The contents of each of these compositions are meager and unimaginative, and reveal the "scissors and paste" method of composition used by the redactor. Each of the *iršemma*'s begins with an introductory line and continues with several epithets of the deity, and the names and epithets of a number of other deities,[55] after which come two stereotype lines: "when you are tall(?) as heaven, as earth; when O warrior you go to(?) the place of rebellion".[56] The closing part of each of the *iršemma*'s consists primarily of the phrases "soothe the inside", "soothe the outside",[57] followed by a list of deities who presumably are to be soothed.[58]

44. The -na- of dug$_4$-ga-na-ab in the refrain of this section probably refers to Enki; for the stereotype complexes of iii 19 ff. cf. e.g. *SBH* No. 25 rev. and *PBS X* 4 No. 13 obv 8 ff.

45. The first line reads i-im-di i-im-di ul$_x$-lu ìa-gi$_x$ ba-gul; note that a boat is mentioned in iii 34, and a chariot in the line following.

46. Note especially the mentioning of kur-má-gan in iv 28; the phrase "in his acting like An" said of "the lord" (iv 30) and of (probably) Enki and Asarluḫi (iv 32–33); the rather unusual and unintelligible subscription beginning with dgu-la (iv 35).

47. Unless section 2 ended in one of the breaks in column iii, in which case the composition might have consisted of more than three sections.

48. Much of the passage is obscure, especially the crucial complexes bar-zu in-gi$_4$ (i 4–8 and 16–17) and GÌR-ba (i 12–15); note, too, that to judge from the first half of line 4: dnin-gal nin-gi$_6$-pàr-ra, the first half of line 6 seems to have omitted lugal following dnanna. For i 9–10, cf. e.g. the Ur Lamentation (*AS XII*) line 70.

49. Cf. i 35 — ii 3, and note that the mu-un- of the strange mu-un-an-ki-a of i 36–37 (the latter seems to be an epithet of Enlil, as is also the kur ì-gul-gul-e of i 18, 20, and 38) is probably for ù-mu-un, and that na-ám-KA-me (i 39 and ii 7) should have a meaning parallel to nam-ma-gul (ii 1–4).

50. Cf. ii 12–24, but note that lines 15–18 are obscure (especially difficult is the -NI following -zu in lines 16–18).

51. Cf. ii 25–end of col. iii, and note the hopeless tone of the last lines (iii 33–36): "Ur — before it is the evil wind, behind it is the South Wind; the Ekishnugal — before it is the evil wind, behind it is the South Wind".

52. For obv. 4, and 6–8 cf. the Iškur *iršemma CT XV* pls. 15–16, obv. 4, and 12–14, and for rev. 6, cf. ibid 25.

53. The predicate involved is mí ga-mu-NE-X (ii 4–8, 10, 11) where, to judge from the traces in ii 6, the last sign can hardly be restored as dug$_4$ (that is mí —— dug$_4$ "to cherish") and where the reading and meaning of the preceding -NE- is uncertain.

54. Cf. obv. 1–26, obv. 29–rev. 6 (note that rev. 6 is to be restored to read í[r-šè m-ma-dinanna-kam]), and rev. 7–34. For the liturgical use of these *iršemma*'s note the interesting instruction in obv. 28, that the preceding *iršemma* was to be sung on the third day of the month before the meal in the *papaḫ*-shrine of Tašmetum.

55. In case of Ninurta and Enlil, this list of deities is practically identical (cf. obv. 6–10 with rev. 16–20).

56. For these lines cf. e.g. *IV R* 30, 1 p. 6, 8.

57. Cf. obv. 14, 39, and rev. 23; the line reads: u$_4$ šà-ab ḫun-e-ta u$_4$ bar ḫun-e-ta (ḫun-e- is presumably the imperative form of the verb, while the intended meaning of u$_4$ and -ta in the two halves of the line, is obscure).

58. The text contains numerous glosses and nota-

No. 13 is a composition designated as a sìr-nam-šub-$^{d}$inanna-kam[59] which, like No. 4, sheds new light on the *hieros gamos* ceremony between Dumuzi and Inanna. It is divided into four sections of uneven length. In the first (lines 1–19) Inanna speaks of journeying to the Abzu, and to Eridu and its shrines and gods,[60] bringing with her animals and trees. In the second section (lines 20–35) Inanna speaks of her prowess in battle and of uttering a challenge to Utu, Nanna, and Sud.[61] The third section (lines 36–46) seems to be concerned primarily with the Euphrates whither Enki, Damgalnunna and Asarluḫi had gone (presumably with Inanna, cf. lines 42–44, and note the -da- of im-da-gen-na-), and where Enlil was eating and drinking (cf. line 45).[62] But it is the fourth section (lines 47–76) which, obscure as it is, is of no little significance for the Dumuzi-Inanna marriage ceremony. Following the preparation of a ki-ná, presumably by the king,[63] the "linen wearers" address the king, before whom food and drink had been placed, as Dumuzi,[64] and announce

tions, thus: $u_4$-tu-lu-u (obv, 2) and u-e-ma-ru-ú (so obv. 2, but u-e-ma-ru-u in the margin opposite obv. 5, and a-e-ma-ru-u in obv. 25) seem to be Akkadianized forms of the Sumerian $u_4$-ta-$ul_x$-lu and a-ma-ru; the marginal glosses ḫa-an and ḫa (obv. 3 and 6) are obscure; u bar ḫun-gá-ta (obv. 14) is a variant of $u_4$ bar ḫun-e-ta (note that this variant is repeated in line 15 in the contracted form a-u bar ki-min where the ki-min stands for the omitted ḫun-gá-ta); in obv. 22, the gloss u-mu preceding $^{d}$na-na-a, is obscure; $u_4$ bar ḫun-gá-e-ta (obv. 25) is another variant for $u_4$ bar ḫun-e-ta; in obv. 30 i-lu-u and i-lu-ú seem to be Akkadianized forms of i-lu; in the same line na-gi-in e-ra-a is obscure, while ú-ak-ki-e (cf. also the marginal gloss to obv. 33: i-lu-u ak-ki-e) may be an Akkadianized form of the genetive complex é-k (governed by the preceding i-lu, cf. the repeated i-lu-é at the beginning of obv. 29); the marginal notations zag-ga-dib-ba-a-NI ír-ra (rev. 21, 24) are obscure. Note finally that the signs A and E scattered throughout the text, may be exclamatory syllables (perhaps too, the u- and a- preceding e-ma-ru-ú/u in obv. 2 and 25, should be taken to be exclamatory syllables, rather than as part of the word); that obv. 27 reads mu-šed-im instead of the expected mu-šed-bi-im; and that following the second šà in rev. 30 is a line written in small characters, corresponding to obv. 22, which had been accidentally omitted by the scribe.

59. For this rubric, cf. *ZA 49* p. 4 and *WZJ* 6 p. 394, note 5.

60. Much of the passage is obscure, especially lines 2 (note the gloss i-ra for GÌR-ra) and 9. In line 8, the é-an-na and é-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl are probably shrines in Eridu, not in Erech and Nippur. Line 12 seems to be almost identical with lines 48 and 49; the first complex which ends in -zi-[d]è should be an epithet of a deity since it parallels ù-[mu]-un-$^{d}$am(!)-an-ki (line 13), $^{d}$dam-[ga]l-nun-na (line 14), and $^{d}$asar-lú(!)-ḫi(!) (line 15). The meaning of šu-è/e-ba-šè (lines 12, 13, 14, 15, 48; cf. also 49 where the complex seems to appear in the fuller form šu-bí-in-è-ba-a-šè) is obscure. Line 18 which reads: "I, Inanna, took the little winds" is difficult to relate to what precedes or follows. In line 19, the E preceding sú G-da-mu-dè seems strange; as too is the fact that the section ends in a line without a finite verbal form.

61. To a certain extent this section parallels No. 22 i 1–15 which is also a sìr-nam-šub of Inanna and in which Inanna speaks of journeying to the Abzu (i 3), as well as entering the house of Enlil (cf. No. 22 i 3–4 with No. 13 o. 30–31) and her prowess in battle (cf. No. 22 8–15 with No. 13 o. 23–27). The obscure introductory line 20 reads: a-è me-e-gen-na a-è me-e-gen-na. The gloss a-bar-ra in the margin opposite line 22 would be for the amb[ar-r]a at the beginning of the line, if the restoration is correct. In line 30, the second complex is dirig(!)-ga-bi (cf. No. 22 i 5). The -dè at the end of the largely destroyed first complex in line 33, makes it probable that the complex contained the name of a deity to whom Inanna uttered a challenge, in which case é-n[a(?)] at the beginning of the line might refer to the place where she uttered the challenge. The verb in lines 33–35 is to be read mu- (or mu-un-) dè-ne "I uttered against him", where the -ne probably stands for a combination of the causitive transitive -n with the root e to speak (just as the well-known bé "to speak", stands for the combination of the element b with e). In line 35, the reading and meaning of the complexes between $^{d}$sud and a-da-man, are uncertain.

62. The meaning and implication of this song are unclear, since the crucial íd-dè íd-dè íd-dirig-$gi_x$ x-$gi_x$ zé-eb-uru-$gi_x$ zé-eb-HUR-$gi_x$ zé-eb nu-gál (line 36; cf. also lines 37, 38, 42, and 46) is obscure. Nor is it certain that it was Inanna who uttered this song since there are no relevant clues in the text. Note finally that the -$gi_x$ at the end of lines 43–45, seem to have a meaning such as "when" or "while" rather than "like".

63. Lines 47–49 are obscuree (for lines 48–49, cf. not 60; note too that the -mu of šà-mu in line 47 may indicate that Inanna is speaking), while line 50 may be rendered: "Its lord prepared (that is, dè-bi-in-ag is Emesal for ḫé-bi-in-ag) a fruitful sleeping place in the midst of the house" (literally "in the house, the midst").

64. It is not impossible that Dumuzi had already been

to him in riddle-like phrases the presence of Inanna (lines 51–58).[65] Following what may be an invitation by Inanna to Dumuzi to approach,[66] we find Dumuzi and Inanna standing before Enlil in the *kiur* (lines 63–64),[67] while (probably) Inanna utters a prayer for the life and rule of the king (lines 65–67).[68] There seems to follow a prayer to Inanna, perhaps by the king himself, to give him her breast from which he will drink as a symbol of the fertility of the land (lines 69–76).[69] [Cf. now PAPS vol. 107 (1963) 500–505].

No. 14 is the third *kirugu* of a composition of unknown length that was probably a lamentation over the destruction of Sumer and its cities. This particular *kirugu* is in narrative form; it seems to begin with an address by the poet to Inanna informing her that the "blackheads" are lamenting for their women and children, and pleading with her that she, too, utter a bitter lament for the destroyed stables and the dispersed cows (lines 1–15).[70] Inanna does as requested, and we next find her bemoaning her misfortunes before her mother, presumably Ningal (lines 16–25).[71] The mother's answer which probably takes up the re-

alluded to in the second section, if line 32 reads: m u - u$_4$ - d a - n a - m u i g i - m à b a - e - t u š , "My bridegroom is seated before me", a line whose relevance in the context is uncertain, especially since the meaning of the preceding line 31 is obscure.

65. In line 51, the é - a n - n a is presumably situated in Eridu, not in Erech; for the g a d a - l á , cf. perhaps, š à - g a d a - l á (*AS XII* p. 60, line 352); the predicate n a b a - e - n a - á g is unintelligible; perhaps, however, n a is a miscopy for k i , in which case the line might be rendered: "In the Eanna I(?) loved the g a d a - l á " (i.e. perhaps the king). If that should be so, the subject of m u - n a - a b - b é - n e (lines 52–54) would be the impersonal "they" rather than the g a d a - l á assumed in the sketch of the contents of this section (note, too, that in the same lines m u - u n - m a - a l is singular in form and is therefore probably to be rendered as a passive). In line 53, note the gloss e n - d a for n i n d a . Line 54, may perhaps be rendered: "In the palace they speak to him (words) which soothe the spirit". Lines 55–58 presumably contain the words spoken to Dumuzi; these lines may be tentatively rendered: (55) "O Dumuzi, most bright in house, on earth, (56) (Here is) Mother Inanna, mother Inanna, your mound, your path, (57) Mother Inanna, Inanna of Heaven, your garment, your garment, (58) Your black garment, your white garment."

66. The shift in speakers may be indicated by the - m u of line 59, which may perhaps be rendered: "My lord coming into the house, approach." In lines 60–62, there are too many ambiguities for a reasonable guess at the meaning.

67. On the assumption that the unspecified subject of à m - m i - i n - g u b - b u - n e is Dumuzi and Inanna.

68. These three lines, presumably uttered by Inanna to Enlil may be tentatively translated: (65) "Wild bull, eye of the land, give life to its (the land's) lord, (66) May he perform its . . . , its . . . , (67) May its lord carry out the straightforward word in the princely house, (68) The straightforward word, the . . . . , in the . . . of the palace" (the translation of the very difficult line 68 assumes that the a - g a ( ? ) is a part of the palace, that IM - b i - e n - n a modifies i n i m - s i - s á , and that the latter is the object of d è - b í - i n - a g of the preceding line).

69. These lines may be tentatively rendered: "(69) Lady, may your breast be your field, (70) Inanna, may your breast be your field, (71) Over the field, the wide, is your poured out plant, (72) Over the field, the wide, is your poured out grain. (73) The libated water from above — (for) the lord — the bread from above, (74) The libated waters from above — (for) the lord — the breads from above, (75) [Rai]se(?) for the lord the ordained, (76) This will I drink for you." Among the numerous difficulties in this passage are: the - n é following g á n (69–72), the identity of the individual intended by the word m u - l ú / l u (73–74); the restoration of the verbal root in line 75 (the translation assumes it is íl); the nuance of the infix - r a - in g a - r a - n a g - [ n a ] g (line 76).

70. In this passage note the following: For line 1, which seems to be introductory in character, cf. e.g. *BL* pl. XXVII line 1 and pl. XXXI iii 20 ff. In line 2 the first complex reads n u ( ! ) - g i g ( ! ) - a n - n a . In line 3 the first sign is KUR (not NU); following g a - š a , the sign AN seems to be omitted. In line 4, the last sign but one is RA (not LU). In line 5, the first complex l ù ( ? ) - l ù - n a may be a variant for $^{d}$l í l - l á - e n - n a (cf. *BL* p. 139); the strange-looking sign between TÙR and A is AMAŠ. The subject of the verb in lines 6–11 is assumed to be s a g - g í g - a of line 9. In line 11, the third sign is ḪUL not IGI.RA, as in the copy). In line 12 the signs following TÙR are GUL ( ! ) and LA ( ! ) .

71. In line 16, the - z u of a - š e - i r - z u is difficult, since this line is the first of four lines stating that Inanna, as a result of the plea addressed to her, does actually utter a lament and prayer, and the complex might therefore have been expected to read a - š e - i r - r a - n i (note that instead of KA - d è in this line and the three following lines, one might perhaps have expected š u d$_x$ ( = KA × ŠU ) - d è ) . In line 17, the second complex NI - BU - GÁ is obscure; so too is the e - n e - è m ( ! ? ) b a - g a z - g a z in the following line, as well as the s i - A N - A N - a n - n a - m u of line 19. The burden of Inanna's lament before her mother (lines 20–25) is largely unintelligible, but its general tone is apparent from line 20 which reads: é - m u é - l u l - l a ( ! ) m a - d ù - a - m u a m a - m u ì - m a - m a , "'Oh my house which has

mainder of the *kirugu* (lines 17 to end)[72] begins with a remonstrance against Inanna's overweening claims and arrogant deeds,[73] particularly in relation to Dumuzi, although just what these are, is not clear.[74]

No. 15, designated by the scribe as a *tigi* (?) of Dumuzi,[75] is a liturgy consisting of (probably) six loosely connected prayerful laments. Only the first (i 1–ii 8) explicitly concerns Dumuzi and his death,[76] the remaining contain prayers for the restoration of Sumer and its cities and temples, and particularly for the life of the king, that is Dumuzi incarnate. The second section (ii 9–iii 7) bemoans the destructive "word" of An and Enlil, but ends on a note of comfort and consolation.[77] In the third section (iii 8–iv 16)[78] we find Inanna proceeding to Enlil's temple to plead for the rebuilding of such cities as Nippur, Ur, Larsa, and Erech.[79] The fourth section (iv 17–v 20) contains a prayer, probably to Enlil, for the life of the king and queen and "little ones" and for the prosperity of the palace.[80] The fifth section (v 21–vi 3) is quite fragmentary and unintelligible, but note the important reference to the abso-

been made into a house of deceit, my mother', she pleads" (on the assumption that KA-dè is to be understood before ì-ma-ma). In line 24 note the phonetic writing i-ti-im for probably É × MI.

72. Line 26, the introductory line to the passage, reads: ama-ni x-x mu-un-na-da gub e-ne-èm mu-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$, "Her mother . . . steps up to her, gives answer to her."

73. Cf. especially line 27: za-e ní-zu an-né ba-DI-e a-na-gim ì-ak-ke$_4$, "You compare(?) yourself to An, how is it that you act thus!" (literally "like what do you act!").

74. Dumuzi is first mentioned by name in line 42 which begins with ṭu-mu-zi-dè, but it is possible that line 29 begins with dam(!?)-zu(!?), "your husband," which is an epithet of Dumuzi; certainly the first complex of line 30 which is to be read unú-šuba-lá is an epithet of Dumuzi (cf. No. 15 obv. i 12 where the first complex unú(!)-lá-šuba-lá is one of a long series of epithets for Dumuzi). Lines 31–33 begin with il-lum (a variant of e-lum) which is sometimes used as an epithet of Dumuzi, (cf. e.g. *KL* No. 2 ii 2); lines 43–46 which begin with ù-mu-un, certainly refer to Dumuzi (cf. especially line 45 where bàd-tibi[ra$^{ki}$] follows ú-mu-un-e); so, too, do lines 47–51 which begin in all cases but one with guruš and probably all end with -zu-dè.

75. That is, on the assumption that the subscription, col. vi 15, is to be restored as [NAR.BA]LAG-$^d$dumu-zi-da; the two lines following which may be part of the subscription are largely illegible.

76. So, to judge from the [ba(!?)]-an-ná of i 1 and 31, and from ii 1–8, a passage of uncertain meaning which seems to speak of Dumuzi's departure and that of the sheep and ewes (that is, on the assumption that the dib of the verbal forms mean to go (away); note that the a-ù — dib of lines ii 4–8 — the KI of line 5 is a miscopy for ù and the U$_5$ of line 7 is a variant for ù — might be rendered "to go (away) in woe". The subject of [ba(?)]-an-ná is Dumuzi whose epithets precede the obscure GAM-mu of i 9–30 (cf. perhaps GAM-guruš-GAM-guruš-mu of No. 14 line 53); the more legible of these are: unú-lá-šuba-lá and an-dul-lugal-la (i 12 and 15; note, therefore that these are not epithets of Inanna as has been hitherto assumed — cf. last *SS* pp. 71 and 82 — but of Dumuzi; moreover an-dul-lugal-la is not a genitive complex in spite of the unjustified -la as can be seen from the an-dul-$^d$dumu-zi-da of i 16 and ii 2 which can only be "the protector Dumuzi," just as su$_8$-ba-$^d$dumu-zi-da of i 18 is "the shepherd Dumuzi," in spite of the unjustified -da); dam(!)-ga-ša-an-é-an-na (i 17); su$_8$-ba-$^d$dumu-zi-da (i 18, cf. comment above); $^d$ama-ušum-gal-an-na (i 19); en-ḫé-du$_7$-an-na (i 20; note the interesting fact that this is the name of Sargon's daughter and the presumed author of several literary works, cf. *Sumer XI* No. 2 p. 110 and *SGL II* p. 24, note 44); en-nun-gal-an-na (i 21); en-sipa-zi-an-na (i 22; cf. the name of the antediluvian king of Larak); ù-mu-un-a-ra-li-ke$_4$ (i 24); [ù-mu-u]n-é-mùš-a-ke$_4$ (i 26; for Dumuzi as the lord of Emuš, cf. hymn 17 of the Temple Hymns in the forthcoming publication by Sjöberg and Bergmann); [mu-ud]-na-ga-ša-an-an-ka (i 27; note the seemingly unjustified omission of the -ke$_4$ in this and the following line); and šeš-ama-mu-tin-na "the brother of mother, Geštinanna" (i 28).

77. For a similar *enem*-section in a Dumuzi lament, cf. especially *TRS* No. 8, 45 ff. (for lines ii 20 ff. cf. *SBH* No. 44 rev. 6 ff); for the note of consolation, cf. iii 4: šà-ga-ni ga-àm-ḫun, "I will soothe his (Enlil's) heart" (the identity of the speaker is uncertain).

78. So on the assumption that there was no ruled double-line in the break between cols. iii and iv.

79. Cf. the refrain é-gál-tag$_4$-na-ab, "Open the door for her" (in fullest form in iii 14, and no doubt restored in lines iii 8–12), addressed to the gatekeeper of the Ekur (cf. iii 12 ff.); to judge from the ṭu-mu-mu (iii 10), the speaker may be Ningal.

80. Cf. especially v 11–17; note that in the first of these lines, the first complex should read ù-mu-un-é-e (not ù-mu-un-é-é-e) just as the first complexes of the two following lines are nin-é-e and du$_{13}$-du$_{13}$-lá-é-e.

lution from sin.[81] The meaning of the last and smallest section is also obscure, but may contain a blessing for the life and prosperity of the king.[82]

No. 16. Cf. comment to No. 7.

No. 17 is a fragment of a bilingual liturgy consisting primarily of laments and prayers for Eridu and Babylon, directed to Enki and Asarluḫi; the obv. corresponds to *SBH* No. 28 rev. 1 ff;[83] the Sumerian text of the rev. corresponds in large part to our No. 8 obv. i 13 ff.[84]

No. 18 is a fragment of a bilingual liturgy consisting probably of prayerful laments for the cities of Sumer.[85]

No. 19 is a lament of Ninisinna for her son and city probably designated by the scribe as íršèm-ma $^{d}$[nin-ì-si-in-na-kam]. Lines 2–9 contain Ninisinna's well known epithets,[86] while lines 10–21 are well-nigh identical with *KL* No. 198 obv. 6–17 which are part of a lament of the goddess Ninmaḫ for her son.[87] The remainder of the text is however largely obscure and fragmentary, except that lines 24–30 certainly seem to concern the goddess's lament for the destruction and desolation of her city.[88]

No. 20 is a lamentation by the "queens" of the various cities and temples of Sumer over the destruction which has befallen them and over the suffering which has overwhelmed the inhabitants of Sumer.[89]

No. 21 is an *iršemma* of Enlil which laments the destruction of the cities of Sumer and their temples; it has numerous glosses, most of which are related in some way to the chanting of the liturgy.[90]

No. 22, a liturgy designated as a nam-šub-$^{d}$inanna-kam, is divided into numerous sections of which only four are preserved in large part. The extant part of the first section (col. i) consists largely of a paean of self-glorification by Inanna similar to that in Nos. 13 and 48.[91] The last three sections of the composition (col. iv), which are separated by an obscure two line refrain (lines 8–9 and 20–21) contain pleas for the life of the king and for the restoration of ḪA.A$^{ki}$;[92] the first two are probably uttered by Inanna, but the third seems to be spoken by the temple-singers.[93]

81. Compare especially nam-tag-ga $du_8$-àm, the last complex in vi 3.

82. So, to judge from the ḫa-ra-ab-ti-en of vi 4 and from the nam-ti of the line following; lines vi 8–11 all end in the obscure refrain za-e lugal(?)-en-gi-du. Note, too that the last complex of this section NE-ág-gá-e-ḫun-e, is found also in the preceding section (v 21–22; this speaks for a close connection between the two sections), and that following the last section is the obscure liturgical rubric ki-šú(!)-bi-im.

83. Part of the en-zu sá-mar-mar series, cf. now *AnOr* 10 p. 210 ff.

84. Note, therefore, that the first sign in No. 8 obv. i 13 is ŠU (not SUM).

85. The ḪÉ at the end of the lines is probably for ḫé-im-me; preceding it, therefore, we might expect the names and epithets of the deities to be pacified (cf. No. 3).

86. Cf. e.g. *PBS I* No. 5 = *BE* 30 No. 2, 29–36, and *KL* No. 25 obv. ii 7–14; note especially the variant DU for ṬU in sag-ṭu (line 2), and the fact that the ŠEŠ following ga-ša-an- in line 4 is a miscopy for MU.

87. The more important recognizable variants are [ama]-en-7-$ug_5$-ga-mu (line 6) for ama-am-7-nu-kú-a-mu (line 10); gi-li-èm-mu (line 11) for á-gig-lá-a-mu (line 15); gaba-ri-ri-ga-mu (line 12) for ù-ri-ri-ga-mu (line 16); ki-lú-kúr]-ra ba-an-zé-èm-ma-mu (line 16) for ki-[lú-kúr-re ba-an-zé-èm-mèn-na (line 20); dumu-aš-mu (line 17) for dumu-gig-ga (line 21).

88. Cf. especially the refrain uru-a ta i-ni-ak "What has been done in the city!" (that is, "What has happened to the city!) of lines 24–26; me-e uru-a ta i-ni-íb-gil-le(!)-èm-mèn-na "In the city how I have been made desolate!" (line 27); also note the motif of the departure of the ewes and their lambs and the goats with their kids (cf. note 75).

89. The text, which duplicates closely *SBH* No. 54 obv. 22 ff. has a number of glosses, the more intelligible of which are: gu-ru for GAM(!) (obv. 19); lu-zu for lú-zu (rev. 14); ḫu-ub for KAB (rev. 17); é-si-ig-ta for a-sig(!)-ta (rev. 19).

90. Note too the expanded writing a-še-e-e-ir-ra-a (rev. 11) for the expected a-še-ir-ra; cf. also e.g. the variants ba-e-a-$e_{11}$ and ba-e-$e_{11}$ in "Inanna's Descent" line 4 ff. (*JCS V* 1 ff. where note 3 should have read: D omits the -a- of ba-e-a-$e_{11}$). The only recognizable gloss of a substantive character seems to be LA for LÁ in rev. 4–6.

91. For obv. 8–21 cf. especially *SBH* No. 56 obv. 16–54. Note, too, Inanna's interesting but obscure reference to Dumuzi (24) and Elam (26).

92. These two sections were probably identical except for the addition of the two lines (14–15) in the second.

93. So to judge from in-gá-e-sú-dè-en in-g[á-e-sú-dè-en] (line 22), and me-en-dè šud-dè in-gá-[e-sú-dè-en] (line 23); lines 24 and 25 $šud_x$-ù-[m]u-u]n-na-

No. 23 is a four-sided prism inscribed with three brief and rather unusual "wisdom" compositions.[94] The first (A1-B7) is an obscure tale involving a *zikrum*, *lugal*, *abba*, and *kiskil*.[95] The second (B8-C7) seems to concern the misfortune that befell a certain house or family.[96] The third (C8–to end) consists of a dialogue between the *kurgi*-bird and the raven.[97]

No. 24 is a hymn to Ninurta as the warrior going forth from the cities and temples of Sumer to attack the rebellious lands.[98]

No. 25 is part of the "Home of the Fish"; cf. M. Civil, *Iraq XXIII* pp. 154–175.

No. 26 contains *kirugu*'s 9–12 of what seems to be a hymn to Enlil glorifying him on the one hand for his enormous size and for the fertility he brings to the earth (*kirugu*'s 9 and 11), and on the other hand for the destructive power of his word (*kirugu* 10 and probably 12).

No. 27 is a small fragment of a lament uttered probably by Inanna.[99]

No. 28 is an extract from the middle of "Enki and Ninmaḫ: The Creation of Man."[100]

No. 29 is a very small fragment of an unidentifiable bilingual composition.

No. 30 is a small fragment of a historiographic text or lamentation, describing the destructive deeds of unnamed enemies all over Sumer.

No. 31 is an extract from the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Nippur."[101]

No. 32 is an Akkadian prayer for a sick man.

No. 33 is a composition written in obscure Sumerian, that seems to be an extract from a hymnal prayer addressed to some deity.[102]

No. 34 is an extract from the "Death of

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šè] and šud$_x$-lugal-la-šè (in both cases the verbal refrain in-gá-e-sú-g-dè-en was omitted by the scribe — hence the blank space following the complexes).

94. Cf. E. I. Gordon's valuable bibliographical sketch in *BiOr XVII* p. 151 (sub "Proverb Collections Ten, Seventeen, and Nineteen"); since then M. Civil has identified the very small fragment N3183 which provides the reading for the first parts of lines A25–27, thus: e-ra-ab-sì-mu-na-ta etc. (A25), gen-na arad-zu etc. (A26), ki-sikil é-gal-ta etc. (A27).

95. Though the meaning of the composition is quite unintelligible at present, its structure is reasonably clear. Lines A 1–4 contain the speech of the *lugal* to the *zikrum*. Line 5 which reads [zi]-ik-rum-e lugal(!)-e mu-na-ni-íb-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ introduces the *zikrum*'s answer (lines A 6–8), which in some way involves the *abba*. Lines A 9–10 inform us that after the *zikrum* had left the palace (A 9 is probably to be restored to read [é-gal-t]a zi-ik-rum-e è-da-ni-ta), the *abba* was brought to the palace (A 10 probably to be restored to read: ...[a]b-ba gen-na-an-zé-en, "...cause the abba to come" may be the words of the *lugal* to his courtiers). Line A 11 which reads [lugal-e] ab-ba-ra gù mu-na-dé-[e] introduces a brief, one line (A 12) speech of the *lugal* to the *abba*. Line 13 which reads: [ab]-ba lug[al-e] mu-na-ni-íb-gi$_4$-[gi$_4$] introduces a nine-line riddle-like speech (A 14–22) of the *abba* in which he seems to give some sort of counsel to the *lugal*. Line A 23 informs us that the *lugal* heeded the words of the *abba* (the word preceding ḫé-im-ši-ag is gizzal), and line A 24 introduces the *lugal*'s instructions to the *kiskil*, based no doubt on the *abba*'s advice. A 27–29 informs us that after the *kiskil* had departed from the palace (A 27 reads: [ki-sikil] é-gal-ta è-da-ni-ta), the king, presumably turning to his servants, commands them to do something to the ki-sikil-tur-tur (hence the plural imperatives gu$_4$-u$_4$-da-an-zé-en, and PI-PI-en-zé-en). The remainder of the text is almost entirely destroyed.

96. So to judge especially from B 13 (= *SLTN* No. 128 i 5): é-bi dul-dul-da ba-an-ku$_4$ (variant: ba-šid-e) é-ri-a variant: a-ri-a-šè) ba-an-[šid-e] (variant: mu-un-ku$_4$), "that house has been turned into rubble (and) is (now) counted as waste-land."

97. This composition has now been pieced together by M. Civil who will publish it in the near future.

98. For the list of epithets and temples, cf. especially *SBH* No. 18 obv. 4 ff. and No. 20 obv. 4 ff.

99. So, to judge from the initial complexes ama-ugu-mu (lines 5 and 9) and ga-ša-an-gal-e, i.e. Ningal, Inanna's mother (lines 7 and 11).

100. Cf. for the present *SM* pp. 69–72; our extract begins with Ninmaḫ's creation of the third of the six imperfect types of man (line 59).

101. Cf. for the present *SLTN* p. 33; the text of this composition of over 300 lines can now be well-nigh completely restored, and will be published in the near future. Note that our extract contains part of the eighth *kirugu* (cf. *TRS* No. 15 iii 4), not the seventh (the numeral 7 in line 23 is probably a miscopy for 8).

102. Much of the obscurity is due to the crucial but unintelligible DA of lines 1–16, as well as to numerous phonetic writings (cf. e.g. i-ru, bu-ur, šu-ub, pa-ra-ga in obv. 12, 13, 18, 19); there are several intelligible complexes written in ordinary Sumerian — e.g. é-dingir-ra (obv. 14), nu-uš-ma-gál-la (obv. 20), é nam-ba-sìg-ge (rev. 4), ga-na-ab-ku$_4$ (rev. 13, 14, but note the two(?) strange gloss-like signs that follow), ḫul-ti-la-zu (rev. 16), ù nu-mu-ù-ku, "you do not sleep" (rev. 17–18) — but not enough to provide an insight into the meaning of the composition as a whole.

Dumuzi;"[103] the obv. begins with approximately line 87 of the composition, and the rev. with line 116.

No. 35 is an extract from "The Journey of Nanna to Nippur".[104]

No. 36 is part of a rather unusual, but as yet unintelligible and unidentifiable narrative composition.[105]

No. 37 is part of a hymn to a deity, glorifying his wisdom and magnitude, and the power of his word.[106]

No. 38, to judge from the obv. — the rev. is unintelligible — is a lament by Ninisinna over the destruction of her city and shrines.[107]

No. 39 is part of the "Disputation between Laḫar and Ašnan" (lines 55–81).[108]

No. 40 is an as yet unduplicated fragment of a self-laudatory Šulgi hymn,[109] cf. Falkenstein, *Iraq XXII* pp. 139–150.

No. 41, a text whose obv. and rev. must be interchanged, is part of the "Message of Ludingirra to His Mother."[110]

No. 42 is part of the "Disputation between the Bird and Fish".[111]

No. 43 is part of a hymn to Šulpae.[112]

No. 44 is an extract from a vituperative disputation betweeen two women.[113]

No. 45 is part of a narrative composition that commemorates Enlil's blessing of Sinidinnam at the request of Sin who had gone to Nippur for this purpose, after Sinidinnam had joyfully brought him suitable offerings.[114]

No. 46 is an extract from "Gilgameš and Mt. Ḫurrum."[115]

No. 47 is part of a vituperative disputation between two *dumu-edubba*'s.[116]

No. 48 is part of a self-laudatory hymn of Inanna, duplicating in part the first section of No. 22.[117]

103. Cf. for the present *Mythologies of the Ancient World* pp. 110–115 (the obv. of our extract begins with the passage there quoted at the bottom of p. 112), and *RA LV* pp. 174–175.

104. Cf. for the present *SM* pp. 47–49 and Sjöberg, *Der Mond-Gott Nanna-Suen* pp. 148–165 (our text begins with the line numbered 53 on p. 151 of that book); Sjöberg is now preparing a detailed edition of the composition based on all the known extant texts.

105. By and large the text gives the impression of being part of a wisdom composition — no temples or deities are mentioned, and the verbs are all in the third person; note, too, that there seem to be a number of Akkadian glosses or translations, all quite illegible, at the beginning of the extant text.

106. The deity, who is described in obv. 5 as "lord of Apiak," may perhaps be Nergal — for Nergal of Apiak, cf. *BIN IX* No. 453, 5–6; line 9 ff. of our text, however, correspond to some extent to the Nanna hymn *SBH* No. 38, 5 ff.

107. For obv. 2 ff., cf. No. 19 obv. 2 ff., but note variant a š - t i (obv. 8) for a š - t e (No. 19 obv. 9); note, too, the phonetic writing d u - k u (obv. 12) for the expected d u $_6$ - k ù .

108. This composition of over 300 lines which can now be almost completely restored from more than fifty tablets and fragments, published and unpublished, is now being prepared for publication by M. Civil (for earlier bibliographical references, cf. *BiOr XVII* pp. 145–146).

109. For a list of available Šulgi material cf. now Falkenstein *ZA 50* pp. 62–63 (to be eliminated are *TCL XV* No. 31 which is part of the "Disputation between the Bird and Fish;" *STVC* No. 58 and *TCL XVI* No. 53 = *PBS XIII* No. 42, which are part of the "Disputation between Tree and Reed.").

110. For bibliographical details, cf. E. I. Gordon, *BiOr XVII* p. 140, note 144. M. Civil has identified an unpublished bilingual fragment in the University Museum — CBS 1554 — and has edited the text of the composition in *JNES XXIII* pp. 1 ff.

111. This composition of close to 200 lines which can now be restored from 18 tablets and fragments, is being prepared for publication by M. Civil (for earlier bibliographical references, cf. *BiOr XVII* p. 146).

112. Cf. now Falkenstein, *ZA 55* pp. 11 ff.

113. This composition of over 300 lines which can now be restored from more than thirty tablets and fragments is being prepared for publication by M. Civil (for earlier bibliographical references, cf. *BiOr XVII* pp. 151–152 sub "Essay Collections Three and Four").

114. A duplicate of this composition will appear as No. 98 of the forthcoming *UET VI, Part I.*

115. Cf. for the present *TMH NF III* p. 11; the obv. of our text duplicates *ibid.* No. 8 lines 87–101 and the rev. duplicates lines 124–133.

116. This composition of close to 150 lines which can now be restored from more than thirty tablets and fragments is being prepared for publication by M. Civil (for earlier bibliographical references see *BiOr XVII* p. 151 sub "Essay Collection One"; cf. also *RA LV* p. 175 note 4, where the composition is erroneously entitled "Disputation between a lú-IM and a Scribe").

117. For the reverse cf. especially our No. 22 obv. 14 ff.

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# THE DEATH OF UR-NAMMU AND HIS DESCENT TO THE NETHERWORLD

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

University Museum

Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

## INTRODUCTION

From a literary point of view, this composition which, for the present, may be entitled "The Death of Ur-Nammu and His Descent to the Netherworld," is rather difficult to categorize — it is neither myth nor epic, neither hymn nor lamentation. It seems to be the work of a highly imaginative palace or temple poet who was deeply affected by the death of Ur-Nammu[1], one of Sumer's great kings, who had died prematurely, leaving much of his work unfinished.[2] What disturbed the poet most was the seeming injustice and unfairness of the gods. For it was this same Ur-Nammu who was one of the most energetic temple builders of all times, and presumably he not only had these built or restored, but supported their cult piously and faithfully.[3] Why then did the gods see fit to decree his early death, and bring him prematurely to his grave? Our poet-theologian seems to have resolved the problem to his satisfaction by ascribing to the goddess Inanna certain actions that made partial amends for the wrong perpetrated against Ur-Nammu by the gods.[4] The poem, therefore, belongs to some extent to the "wisdom" genre of literature, since it concerns the Job-like theme of man's effort to explain his seemingly unjustified victimization at the hands of inscrutable gods.[5] Moreover, if what it states about the death of Ur-Nammu and its devastating effect on Sumer as a whole is true, the document is of no little historical import. Of no little value, too, is its imaginative and detailed description of "life' in the Netherworld — it is a superb example of the concreteness of Sumerian religious thought as well as its philosphically unsophisticated limitations. And there is little doubt, too, that the description of the funeral procession and other passages concerned with sacrifices and lamentations reflect in one way or another royal funerary rites and rituals actually practiced in Sumer, if only we understood the text better, and could sift fact from fancy.

The poem begins by depicting the fear and terror of Sumer and Ur as a consequence of the death of Ur-Nammu (lines 1–7). This melancholy situation came about, according to our poet, as a result of An's and Enlil's changing their fate-decreeing words, while such other great gods as Ninmaḫ, Enki, Nanna, Utu, and Ur-Nammu's divine mother Ninsun could do nothing but grieve and sorrow (lines 8–16). The poet then turns to Sumer's anguish, barrenness and sterility ensuing upon Ur-Nammu's death (lines 17–30). There follows a poorly preserved passage that probably concerns the manner in which the king died — he had, it seems, been wounded and killed in battle, and later brought to Ur for burial (lines 31–42). There he lay on a bier in his palace, where he was viewed by his loving soldiers who were crushed by their loss, as well as by his grief-stricken wife (43–51). There follows an obscure passage that seems to depict the callousness oı the gods to Ur-Nammu's fate and perhaps the king's betrayal by his own men (52–62).[6]

The poet next proceeds to describe the funeral procession as he imagined it; its major feature seems to be the sinking of a boat,[7] and the breaking up of its essential parts (lines 63–72). And so Ur-Nammu arrives in the Netherworld, perhaps

1. If this turns out to be so, it is not unreasonable to surmise that this poet lived not too long after Ur-Nammu's death.

2. Cf. e.g. lines 147–148 of our composition; Woolley's *Excavations at Ur* pp. 127–128 and 148 ff; lines 21–25 of the Tummal text on p. 47 of Kramer's *The Sumerians*.

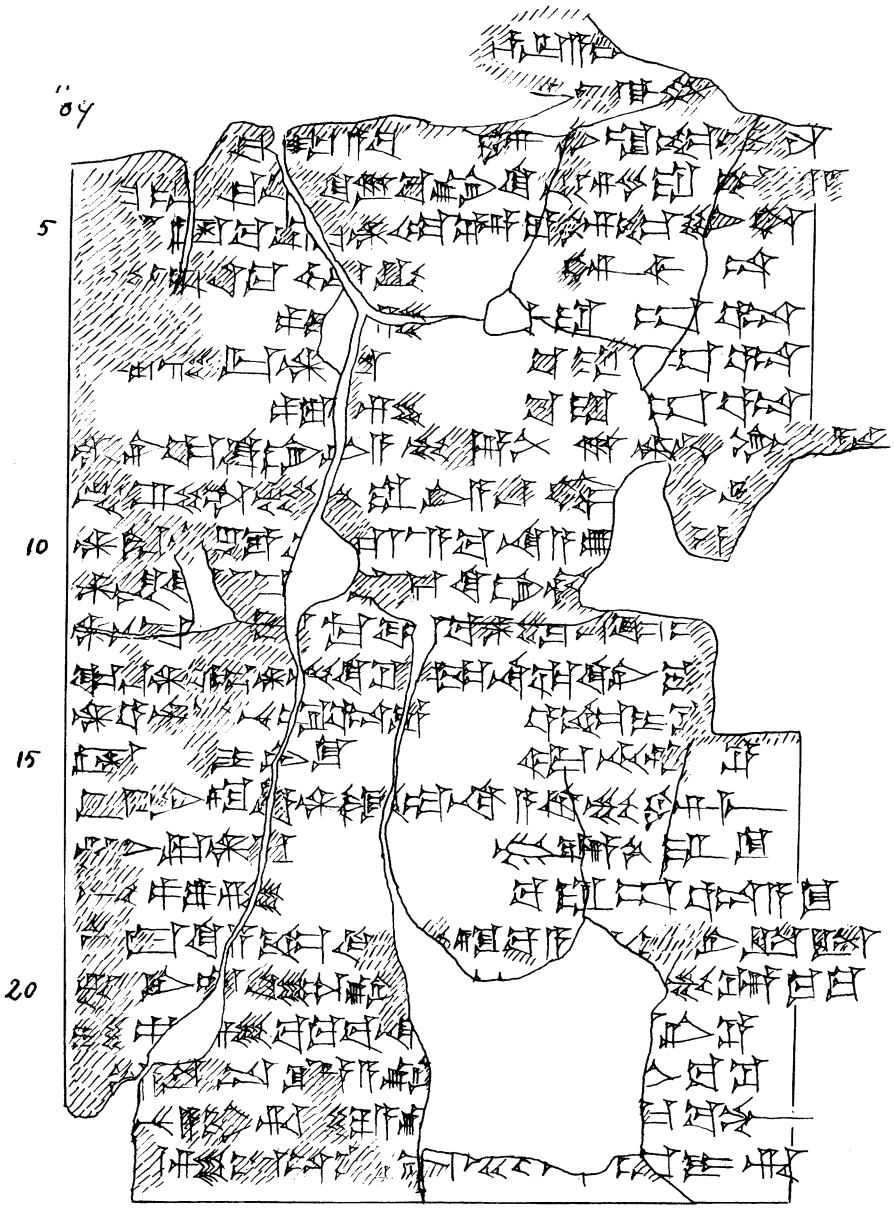
3. Cf. especially *ZA* 52: 3 ff.

4. Cf. lines 194 ff. Unfortunately, this is the most fragmentary and obscure part of the document and we know almost nothing of what actually took place.

5. Cf. e.g. "Man and His God" (vol. III of Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* p. 170 ff.).

6. Note that this seems to contradict in some respects the passage beginning with line 44.

7. The boat may be that which carries the dead across "the river of the Netherworld," cf. e.g. p. 46 of Kramer's *Sumerian Mythology*.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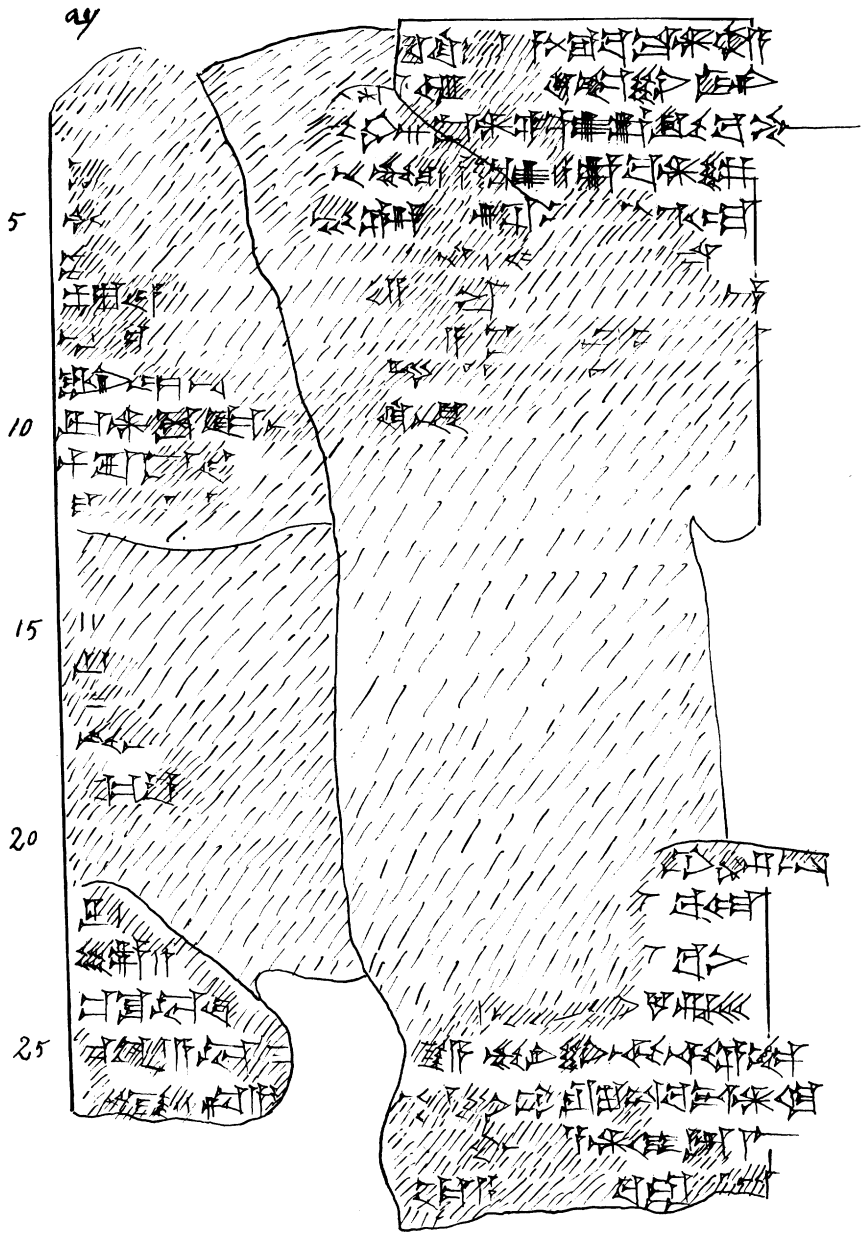

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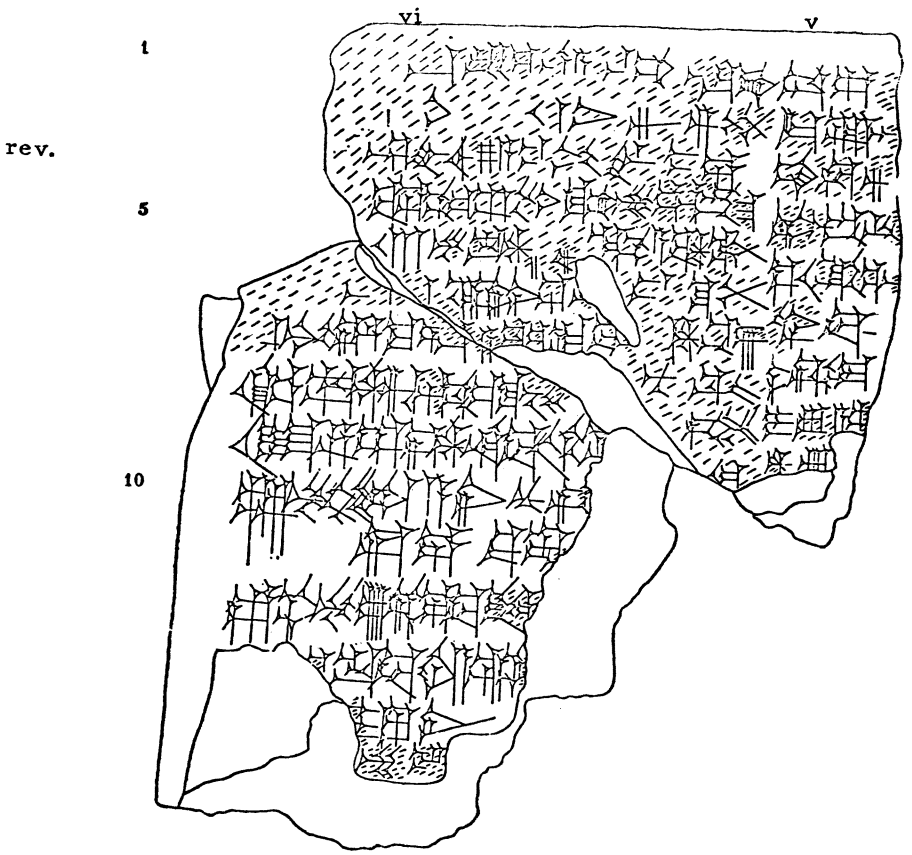


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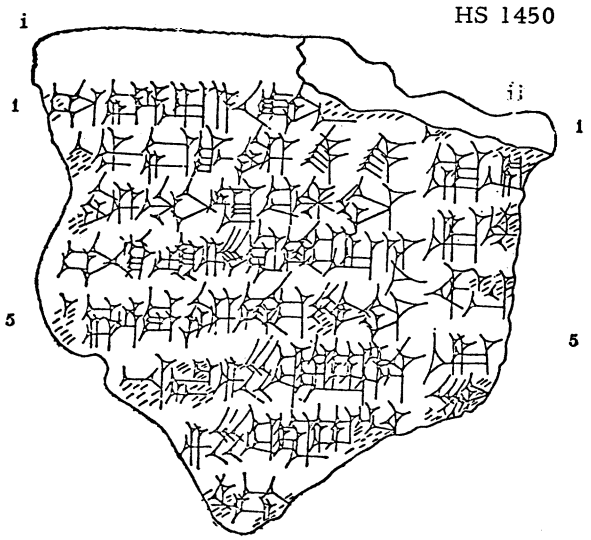
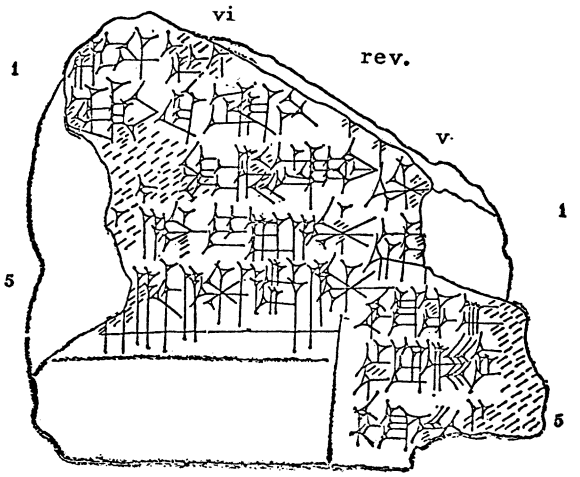
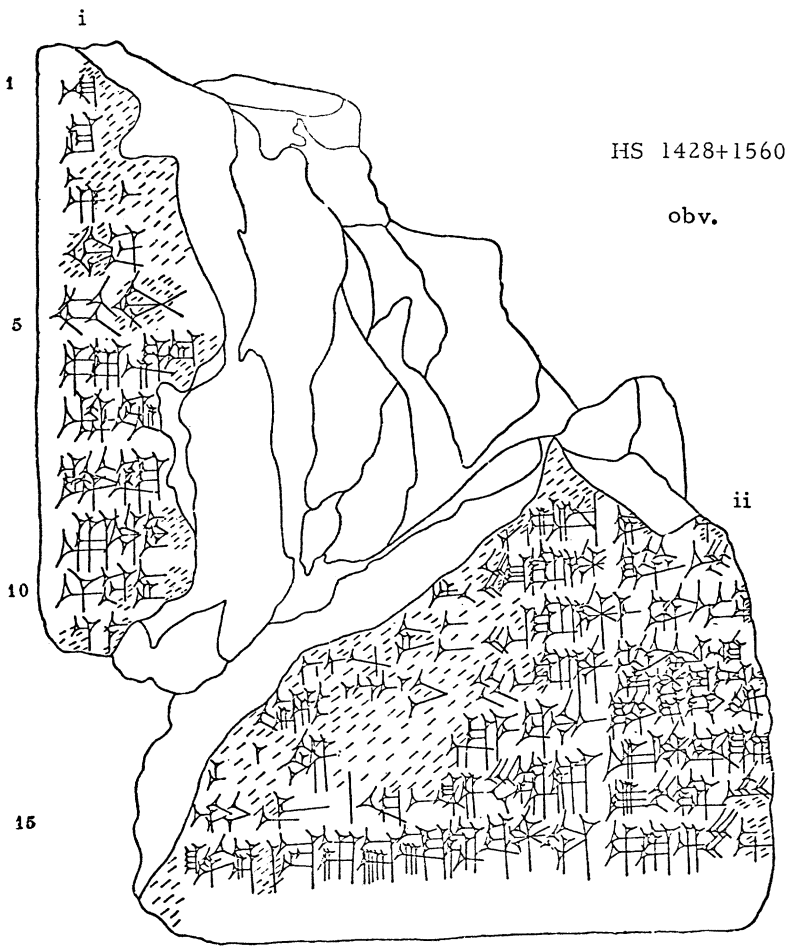
HS 1450

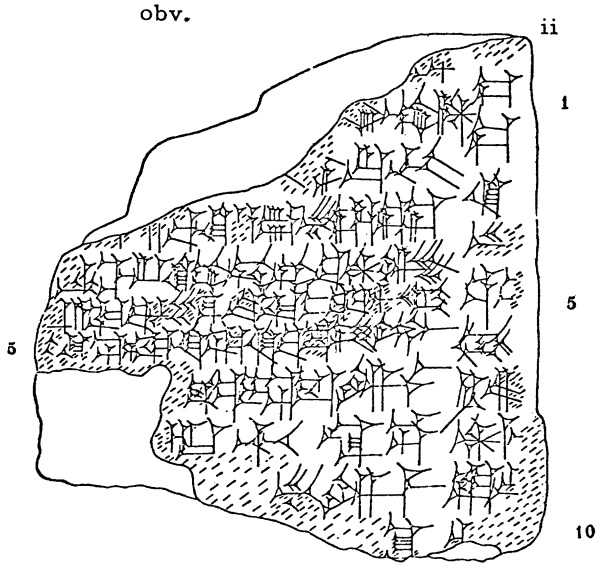


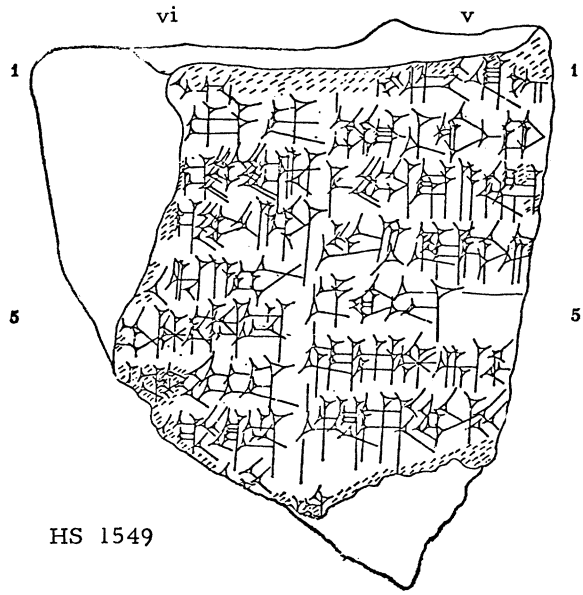



HS 1428+1560

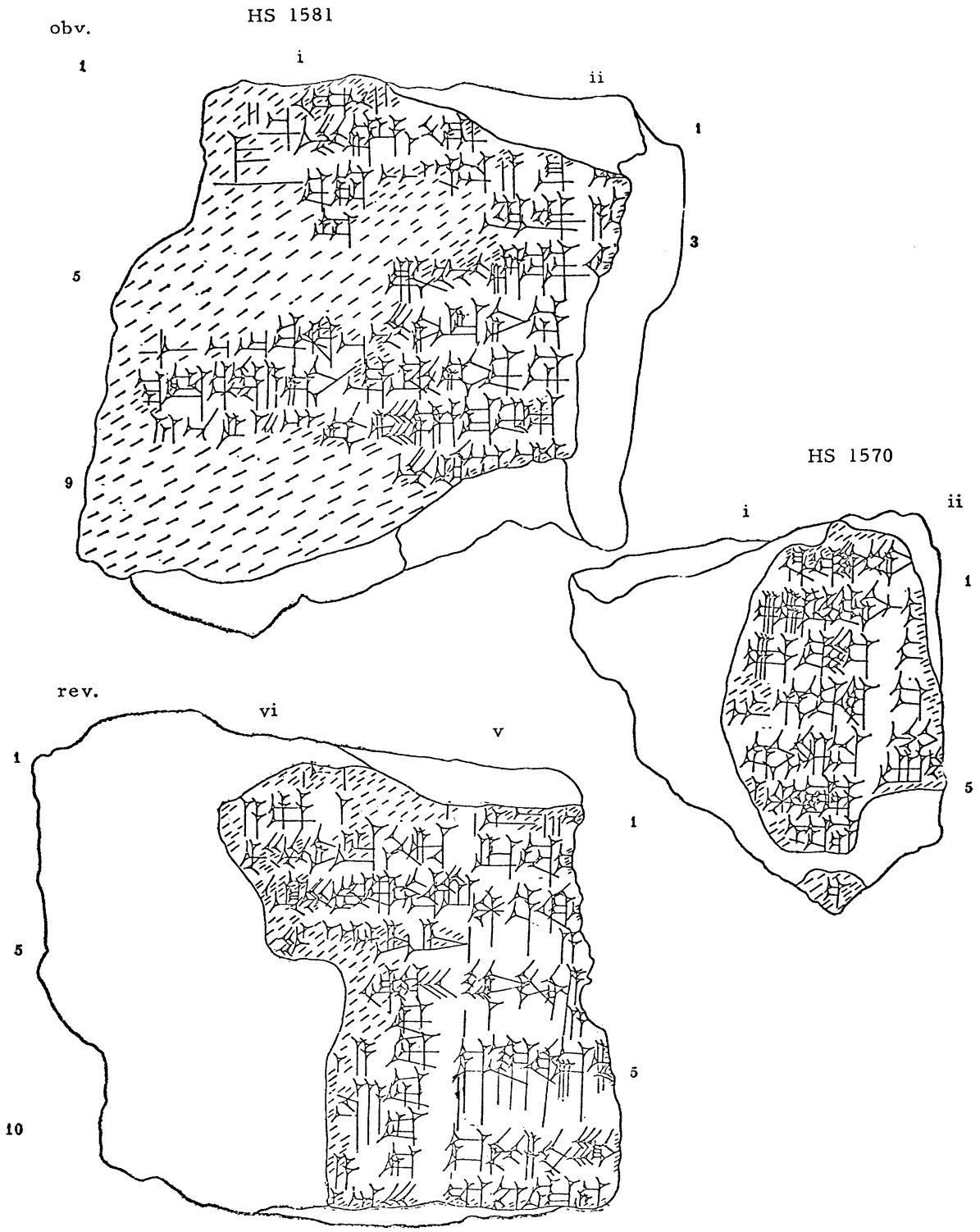
obv.



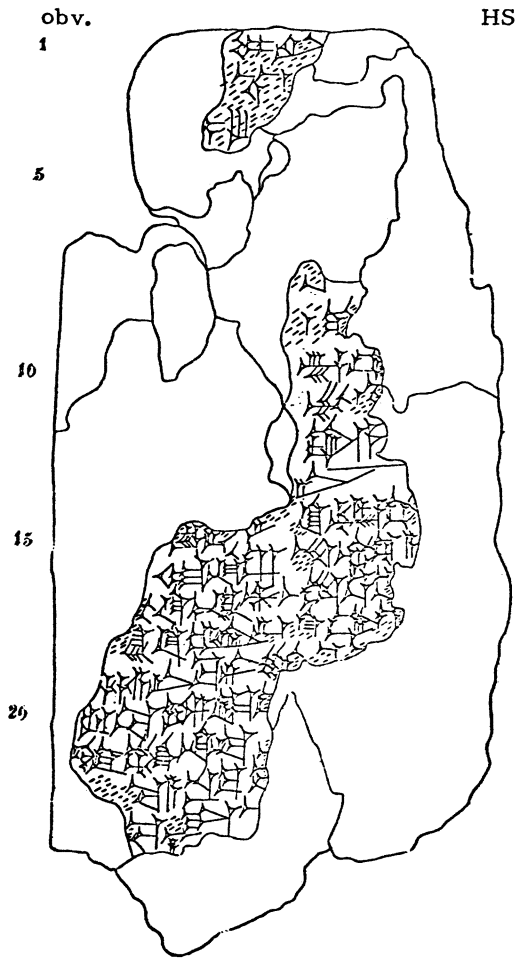

rev.

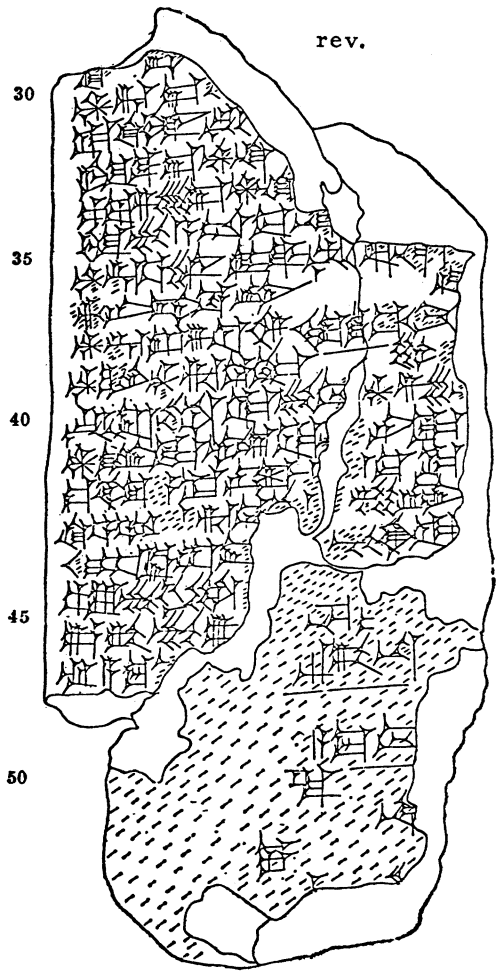



HS 1549

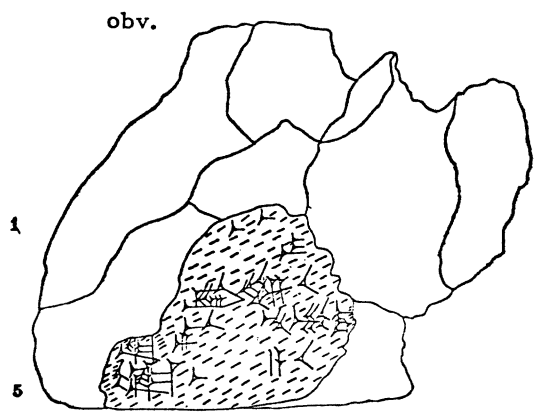

obv.
HS 1581
i
ii
1
5
9
1
3
HS 1570
i
ii
1
5
rev.
vi
v
1
5
10
1
5

HS 1529




HS 1440



in a chariot. After presenting gifts to "the gods of the Netherworld, the seven," his arrival is announced to the "people" by all the more important dead priests and priestesses, an announcement which produces no little excitement. The king, thereupon, proceeds to slaughter large numbers of oxen and sheep, and all partake of a huge banquet, which must have been quite an enjoyable change for them, since, as our poet is at pains to point out, "bitter is the food of the Netherworld, brackish is the water of the Netherworld" (lines 73–82).

Now, the time has come for Ur-Nammu to offer appropriate gifts to the leading deities of the Netherworld (lines 83–85). Thus to Nergal, described by our poet as "Enlil of the Netherworld,"[8] he offers gifts of unblemished oxen, kids, and sheep as well as several weapons and a leather water-bottle (lines 86–90). Similarly he presents a number of weapons and a leather water-bottle to Gilgameš, "the king of the Netherworld" (lines 91–95). To Ereškigal, "the mother of Ninazu,"[9] on the other hand he offers two attractive vessels and an assortment of queenly garments (lines 96–100). To Dumuzi, the shepherd and the *en* of Erech, he presents, not unexpectedly, sheep and a golden scepter of *en*-ship (lines 101–104). Namtar, "he who decrees all the fates," receives a precious ornament, a ring, a boat,[10] and "pure carnelian stone" (lines 105–108), while his wife Ḫušbišag gets a special kind of seal, a hair-brooch, and a comb (lines 109–112). The major gift for "the warrior" Ningišzida seems to consist of an assortment of asses (lines 112–118); his "squire" Dimpiku receives a lapis-lazuli seal and an ornamented pectoral (lines 119–121); his wife Ninazimua, who is "the noble scribe of the Netherworld," appropriately enough, is presented with an alabaster large-eared headcover,[11] a tablet reed, and a lapis-lazuli surveying rod (lines 122–127).

Following several obscure lines we find Ur-Nammu, now a full-fledged resident of the Netherworld, placed in charge of the soldiers killed in battle and "the men of guilt,"[12] while "his beloved brother Gilgameš" explains to him the "judgement" and "decisions" of the Netherworld (lines 128–143).

But after a short while — "after 7 days, 10 days had passed" — the "wail of Sumer" overtook the king: the wail for the walls of Ur that he had left unfinished; for his newly built palace that he had not had time to enjoy; for his wife and son[13] whom he could no longer fondle and caress (lines 144–152). And so he utters a bitter diatribe against the injustice and unfairness with which he had been treated: he had served the gods faithfully, brought them great prosperity and well-being, and yet no god stood by him to comfort him, and nothing had come of his pious devotion (lines 153–162). Unable to return to Ur, he spends his days weeping and wailing, while his strength leaves him (lines 163–172).[14] He is especially embittered by his wife's suffering — she has been abandoned by her good genii and by such gods as Ninsun, Nanna, and Enki (lines 173–180); she is like a boat adrift on the tempestuous storm, like the beasts of the steppe who drank from a foul well, like a dog imprisoned in a cage (lines 181–184). Following an obscure passage that concerns perhaps the suffering and lamenting of friends or relatives other than his wife, he concludes his diatribe by reverting once again to the wailing and lamenting of his wife and son (lines 185–193).

But now, according to our poet, Ur-Nammu finds a ray of hope and succor; there is one deity who has not forsaken him — the goddess Inanna. Upon learning what had happened to the "right-

8. That is, when Enlil was sentenced to live in the Netherworld (cf. the Enlil-Ninlil myth treated in pp. 43–47 of *Sumerian Mythology*), he became its ruling deity under the name Nergal.

9. As is clear from the Enlil-Ninlil myth cited in the preceding note, it was Ninlil who was the mother of Ninazu. But just as Enlil became Nergal once he reached the Netherworld, so Ninlil became Ereškigal upon her arrival there; note, too, that "the mother of Ninazu" mentioned in "Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld" (cf. e.g. p. 203 of *The Sumerians*) is no doubt to be identified as Ninlil-Ereškigal.

10. The boat presented to Namtar who may be equated with our "Father Death," may symbolize the boat that carries the dead over "the river of the Netherworld" (cf. note 7).

11. Ninazimua, as the Netherworld scribe, was a goddess of wisdom and learning, hence the large ears of the headcover.

12. To judge from their position in the text, "soldiers" and "men of guilt" are, for some obscure reason, treated as parallels.

13. The word is d u m u, and may of course be translated as "child" or "children".

14. His weakness and torment are described in the concrete imagery of the fragmentary lines 169–172.

eous shepherd," she strikes out against heaven and earth, and destroys the stalls and sheepfolds. Whereupon An and Enlil seem to be dumbfounded, and "kingship no longer existed" in the realm of the gods (lines 194–210).[15] The text then seems to continue with a soliloquy by the goddess in which she bemoans the suffering of the "righteous shepherd" (lines 211–217). Following which we read of someone "decreeing the fate" (line 218), and it is not unreasonable to assume that it is Inanna who is blessing Ur-Nammu (lines 219–227). The remainder of the poem (lines 228–238)[16] is fragmentary and unintelligible; it is this passage which probably relates what happened to the dead Ur-nammu following the blessing, and contained the clue to the true nature and purpose of the composition.

The major source for our composition is a tablet in the University Museum (CBS 4560) excavated in Nippur by the University of Pennsylvania some time between 1889–1900. It was copied by Stephen Langdon who published it in 1917 together with a transliteration and translation as *PBS* X[2] No. 6. Forty years later in 1957, G. Castellino published a much improved and far more reliable transliteration and translation in *ZA* 52.[17] Nevertheless much of the text remained obscure and the nature of its contents quite elusive since the Museum tablet was originally a six-column piece of which the first and last columns were completely missing, as well as the beginning of all the lines of columns 2 and 4. These gaps are now filled in to a large extent by eight tablets and fragments stemming from the same Nippur expedition of the University of Pennsylvania and which are now located in Istanbul and Jena as follows: Ni 4487 (copied by Muazzez Ciğ) and HS 1428 + 1560, 1440, 1450, 1529, 1549, 1570, 1581 (copied by Inez Bernhardt;[18] note that HS 1428 + 1560, 1450, 1549, 1570, and 1581 are actually part of the same tablet as CBS 4560, and help to fill in gaps in its columns i, ii, v, and vi). Line by line the reconstruction of the text is as follows:

Ni 4487 (A) obv. and rev. = 1–52
HS 1450 (B) obv. i = 1–8, ii = 42–47; rev. v = 197–202, vi = 236–240
HS 1549 (C) obv. i = 7–17, ii = 48–57; rev. v = 190–196, vi = 228–235
HS 1581 (D) obv. i = 16–24, ii = ?; rev. v = 183–189, vi = 216–227
HS 1428 + 1560 (E) obv. i = 26–41, ii = 75–83; rev. v = 167–175, vi = 203–216
HS 1570 (F) obv. i = 26–34, ii = ? (perhaps 68 ff.)
CBS 4560 (G) col. ii–v = 42–202
HS 1529 (H) obv. = 164–184; rev. = 197–220
HS 1440 (I) obv. and rev. = 187–203

(Note that the 7 HS pieces are nos. 28–34 of TuM N. F. III Band II that has just appeared, and that the column numbering and introductory comment are to be modified in accordance with this study.)

TRANSLITERATION[19]

1. .... -ta ukù téš-a mi[20]-ni-i[b]-..
2. .... [bi-i]n-sìgé-gali m-sì-sì
3. .... -a-ba ní ul$_4$-la ba-an-te[21]
4. .. -ra(?)-ka(?).. ki-šub-ba-bi ki-en-gi-ra bí-ib-gar
5. ... -dagal-ba uru ba-an-gul ukù-e ní bí-in-te
6. [u]rí$^{ki}$-ma ḫul-gál im-ši-DU sipad-zi ba-ra-ab-è
7. [si]pad-zi-ur-$^{d}$nammu ba-ra-ab-è sipad-zi ba-ra-ab-è
8. an-nè inim-kù-ga-ni-a mu-un-kúr šà-an-..-sù-ga-àm
9. $^{d}$en-líl-le nam-tar-ra-ni-a šu-lul [mu]-ni-ib-bal
10. $^{d}$nin-maḫ-e ... -lá-a-ba-na a-nir mu-un-gá-gá
11. $^{d}$en-ki-[ke$_4$] $^{giš}$ig-eridu$^{ki}$-ga gú-bi ba-an-gi$_4$
12. $^{d}$nu-dím-[mud] ... -ma[22]-ka

15. It is to be stressed, however, that much of this passage is obscure (cf. commentary to these lines).

16. Note that lines 239–240, the last two lines in the text, are tacked on to the poem for some reason that is not clear.

17. The weakest part of this valuable study consists of the attempted restorations of the broken passages, almost none of which have turned out to be correct.

18. I am deeply grateful to Muazzez Ciğ and Inez Bernhardt for making available to me their copies before publication, and to Jane Heimerdinger, Research Assistant in the University Museum, for her valuable help in the preparation of this manuscript.

19. For the procedures followed in the transliteration and translation, and commentary, cf. *PAPS* 107: 493, note 31. Note that the spacings between the dots were intended to be identical throughout this article.

20. Traces in A do not point to mi-.

21. A: bí-[in]-te.

22. C inserts a- after -ma-.

ba-an-ku$_4$ šà-ka-tab-ba ba-an-ná

13. KA-si(?)-AN- ... $^{d}$nanna si-BÀD-na sag-ki-ni$^{23}$ ba-da-ni-in-gíd
14. $^{d}$utu-an-na(?) nu-um-è-e u$_4$-dè i-si-iš im-lá
15. ama dumu-ni-šè ḫul-ti-la-e
16. ama-lugal-la kù-$^{d}$nin-sún-na a šà-mu im-me
17. nam-ur-$^{d}$nammu mu-un-tar-ra-šè
18. mu(?)-sipad-zi ba-ra-ab-è-a-šè
19. ... ki-a-NE ki- .. -[gá]l-la-ba i[r] mi-ni-še$_8$-še$_8$
20. nam-lú-lu$_6$ ki(?)-LI-bi ... ù nu-mu-un-ku-ku
21. .. si[pad]-zi ba-díb-ba-na u$_4$ mu-ni-ib-zal-e
22. .. íd-da$^{24}$ dé$^{25}$-a-bi kù-gál-bi ba-si
23. [še-gu]-nu a-kàr-re-mú-a-bi zi-kalam-ma ba-BU$^{26}$
24. [a-šà-g]án-zi-dè DU- ... mu-na-ab-tur-re
25. .... [ur]í$^{ki}$ .. -pa$_5$ ba-da-an-kar
26. na- ... ù ... ki bí-in-tag
27. TÚG .... im-ma-an-dé ú-nir-gál ba-BU$^{27}$
28. .... nu-mu-u[n]-mú ú-a-nir ba-an$^{28}$-mú
29. AN(?) .... mu-un- .. tùr- .. -bi ba-gul
30. amar(?) .... -bi im-DU
31. sipad-kù-[ur-$^{d}$nammu] .... [b]a-an-ág-e
32. mè-šen-[šen-na] .... -a .... -ab-e
33. lugal KA .... [ki-en]-gi-[ra] ....
34. ur-$^{d}$nammu KA .... ki-en-[gi-ra] ....
35. maš-su-é(?)-ki(?) .... íl(!?)
36. lugal(?) .... TU-ra-àm
37. .... -ni .. TU-ra-àm
38. .... [m]u-un- .... TU-ra-àm
39. .... IM .... KA(?)-me ba-BU(?)
40. .... gír-gal-ki-en-gi-ra-ke$_4$
41. ... lugal-kalam-ma-ke$_4$ é-súr-ra ba-an-te
42. u[ri$^{ki}$-m]a im-te ur-$^{d}$nammu é-KA-ra im(?)-[ma(?)]-ku$_4$
43. sag-kù-[g]a é-gal-a-na i-ná
44. ur-$^{d}$[nammu] lú-erín-e-ki-ág-gá gú nu-mu-un-da-zi-ge
45. igi ... -ra í-ná giš-lá-bi im-DU
46. ur- ...KA ba-šu(b)-ub ḫur(!)-sag-gim ba-gul
47. tir-a- ... -ra-gim im-ma-sù me-dím-bi ba-kúr
48. $^{giš}$EŠ-gim ki(?) ... -na ?$^{29}$ mu-ni-in-gar-re-eš
49. $^{giš}$.. -a-gim é-gal-[a-na ki]-ná-a mu-ni-in-bal-bal-e-ne
50. ki-ná nitalam$^{30}$-a-ni ba(?)-te ... -UL(?) ul$_6$-lu-da$^{31}$ ba-da-an-dul
51. ... -ni-da dam-a-ni-gim ... àm-mi-ib-lá
52. u$_4$- .. -ga-ni sá mu-ni-NE -dug$_4$ a-la-na ba-ra-a[b-è(?!)]
53. sis[kur]-níg-dùg-ga la-ba-an-tag-ge šu-gigba-ni(?)- ...
54. kadra-ni $^{d}$a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne inim im-ma-an-g[i$_4$-gi$_4$]
55. AN me (?) .. la-ba-e-DU u$_4$-bi la-ba-ni-ib-si
56. inim-$^{d}$en-líl-lá-dug$_4$-ga-šè ḫur-du$_8$-du$_8$- la-ba-gál
57. [lú]-lu$_6$-ni ki-ba-ág-gá-bi igi-gál-bi ba-kúr
58. .. -la lú-nu-tuš(?)-ù-ne i-im-bal-bal-e-ne
59. [ki]-lul-la ur-$^{d}$nammu duk-gaz-gim$^{32}$ ba-ni-in-tag$_4$-aš
60. ... -a-ni IM-u$_4$-sù-da-gim gal-bi im-ši-gub

23. C omits -ni-.
24. A: -da (!?).
25. A: -dé (!?).
26. D seems to have an illegible variant for BU.
27. F seems to have SÙ for BU.
28. F omits -an-.
29. The sign seems to have been erased in part by the scribe; perhaps it is DAM (certainly not ZU).
30. That is, SAL.UŠ.DAM
31. A: -da (!).
32. The sign A between -gim and ba- is probably an erasure.

61. .... nu-gá-gá-a níg-šà-ge šu nu-bu-i im-me
62. [sipad-zi-u]r-$^{d}$nammu me-li-e-a nam-mu
63. .... ki sag-ki-kalam-ma-šè
64. ... $^{[d]}$nin-sún-ka ḫi-li-na ba-da-gub
65. ... súg-eš-a ír mu-da-ab-uš-e
66. .... ki-nu-zu-na $^{giš}$má-bi ba-da-ab-su
67. .... pa$_5$(?) e-šè ba-da-ab-TAR
68. ... gi-muš giš-zi-ḫe-gál-la-bi gú-gur$_5$ ba-ab-dug$_4$
69. .... -na dub ba-da-tab $^{giš}$sag-kul-bi ba-TAR
70. .... -e(?) igi-min dul(?) ba-da-gar IŠ-ŠEŠ-a ba-DU
71. .... ba-da-dúr-ru anše ki mu-un-di-ni-ib-túm
72. ..-kalam-ma-ke$_4$ ba-da-bal ur-kalam-ma ba-kúr
73. [kur]-ra in-ti sù-ga-àm
74. .. $^{giš}$gigir ba-da-šú ḫar-ra-an im-ma-da-sùḫ šu nu-um-ma-nigin
75. .. $^{giš}$gigir ba-da-šú ḫar-ra-an im-ma-da-sùḫ šu nu-um-ma-nigin
76. lugal-mu [dingir]-kur-ra-imin-bi níg-ba ba-ab-sì-mu
77. išib-lú-maḫ-[gú]-tuku ba-ug$_5$-ge-eš-a
78. lugal-gen-na nin-dingir-ug$_5$-ga máš-e ba-díb-ba
79. ur-$^{d}$nammu-gen-[na] ukù mu-un-zu-uš kur-ra za-pa-ág mu-un-gar
80. lugal-e gu$_4$ im-ma-ab-gaz-e udu im-ma-ab-šár-re
81. ur-$^{d}$nammu šubun-gal-gal-la ba-ši-in-dúr-ru-ne-eš
82. ú-kur-ra-ŠEŠ-àm a-kur-ra ŠEŠ-na-àm
83. sipad-zi dingir-kur-ra-ke$_4$ šà-ga-ni mu-un-zu
84. lugal-e nindaba-kur-ra-ke$_4$ giš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
85. ur-$^{d}$nammu nindaba-kur-ra-ke$_4$ giš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
86. gu$_4$-du$_7$-máš-du$_7$ udu-niga en-na-ab-DU-DU(?)-a
87. $^{giš}$mittú $^{giš}$ban-gal é-mar-uru$_5$ $^{giš}$kak-ban gír-sun-GALAM
88. $^{kuš}$lu-úb-gùn-a íb-ba-gál-la-ba
89. $^{d}$nè-ri$_4$-gal-$^{d}$en-líl-kur-ra-ra
90. sipad-ur-$^{d}$nammu-ke$_4$ é-gal-a-na giš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
91. $^{giš}$gíd-da $^{kuš}$lu-úb-kal-si-mè(?)-a zag(?)-mi-tum ḫuš-an-na
92. $^{kuš}$e-íb-ùr- ki-ús-sa á-nam-ur-sag-gá
93. [z]a-ḫa-da níg-ki-ág-$^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la
94. $^{d}$gilgameš lugal-kur-ra-ke$_4$
95. [si]pad-ur-$^{d}$nammu-ke$_4$ é-gal-la-na giš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
96. $^{[giš]}$kéš-da ià ba-ni-in-dé-a bur-šagan-šu-du$_7$-a
97. túg- .. -[du]gud(?) túg-PÚ-sù palà-nam-nin-a
98. é-SAR-dalla-me-sikil(?)-la(?)
99. $^{d}$ereš-k[i-ga]l ama $^{d}$n[in]-a-zu-ra
100. sipad-[ur-$^{d}$nammu-ke$_4$ é-gal-la-na gi]š im-[ma-ab-ta]g-ge
101. udu ....
102. gidru-guškin-[nam]-en-na.. šu-za-gìn šu-[du$_7$-a]
103. $^{d}$dumu-zi dam-ki-ág-$^{d}$inanna-ra
104. sipad-ur-$^{d}$nammu é-gal-a-na giš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
105. gil-sa-šu-du$_7$-a ḪUR-guškin má-gur$_8$-bi(?)-..sì(?)-ga
106. $^{na_4}$gug kù-níg-gaba-dingir-re-e-ne
107. $^{d}$nam-tar-lú-nam-tar-tar-ra-ra
108. sipad-zi ur-$^{d}$nammu é-gal-a-na giš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
109. kišib šu-za-gìn [níg]-nam-urugal-a-ke$_4$
110. $^{giš}$kirid-kù $^{na_4}$gug-tag-ga $^{giš}$GA.SUM-nam-munus-a
111. $^{d}$ḫuš-bi-šag$_5$ dam-$^{d}$nam-tar-ra-ra
112. sipad-ur-$^{d}$nammu-ke$_4$ é-gal-a-na giš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
113. giš-níg-šu-úr na-NI(?)-guškin-ta-dar-a
114. anše-ki anše-pirig-g[im(?)] ....
115. anše-úr gùn-gùn- ....

116. sipad-mu$_6$-sùb .... uš-e
117. šul-ur-sag-$^{d}$nin-giš-zi-da-ra
118. sipad-ur-$^{d}$nammu-ke$_4$ é-gal-a-na giš im-ma-ab-tag-ge
119. $^{na_4}$kišib-za-gìn ba-da-ra ì-lá-a
120. tu-di-da-guškin-kubabbar sag-bi-alim-ma
121. $^{d}$dìm-pi-me-kù-ge zag-ga-na gub-bu-dè mu-na-ab-sì-mu
122. $^{túg}$sagšu geštúg-maḫ-lú-zu giš-šir-gal
123. gi-dub-ba zà-bar-ra níg-nam-dub-sar-ra-ke$_4$
124. éš-gan-za-gìn gi-diš-NINDA- ...
125. nitalam-a-ni $^{d}$nin-a-zi-[mú-a]
126. dub-[sar-maḫ-a]-ra-li-[ra]
127. [sipad ur-$^{d}$nammu-ke$_4$ é-gal-a-na giš im-ma-ab-tag-ge]
128. ... [mu]-na(?)-ab(?)-[sì-mu]
129. .... -a-bi ...
130. .... [mu]-na-da-ab-sì-mu
131. [lugal-e] ... -kur-ra-ke$_4$ si bí-in-sá-a-ta
132. [ur-$^{d}$nammu-ke$_4$] ... -kur-ra-ke$_4$ si bí-in-sá-a-ta
133. [dingir-nam-tar-ra]-urugal-la-ke$_4$-ne
134. .... šú-ke$_4$-ne
135. ur-$^{d}$nammu .... -[kur]-ra-ke$_4$ mu-ni-ib-túš-ù-ne
136. kur-ra ki-[ná(?)] mu-na-ab-gá-gá-ne
137. inim-dug$_4$-ga-$^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la-ka-ta
138. erín $^{giš}$tukul-[e] en-na ba-ug$_5$-ga
139. lú-nam-tag-ga en-na ba-zu-uḫ(?)-a
140. lugal-la šu-ni-šè im-ma-ab-sì-mu-ne
141. ur-$^{d}$nammu ki-bi-šè .... -eš im- ....
142. šes-ki-ág-gá-ni $^{d}$gilgam[eš-e]
143. e-ne di-kur-ra ì-ku$_5$-dè ka-aš-kur-ra ì-bar-re
144. u$_4$-imin u$_4$ 10-àm ba-zal-la-ba
145. lugal-mu i-si-iš-ki-en-gi-ra-ke$_4$ sá nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-dug$_4$
146. ur-$^{d}$nammu i-si-iš-ki-en-gi-ra-ke$_4$ sá nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-dug$_4$
147. bàd-urí$^{ki}$-ma [n]u-mu-un-til-la-ni
148. é-gal-gibil nam-mu-un-[dù]-a-ni nu-mu-un-ḫúl-ḫúl-la(!?)-ni
149. sipad-dè é-a-ni šu(?)- .. [l]i-bí-in-ag-ni
150. dam-a-ni úr-ra-na ... nu-mu-un-gi$_4$-a-ni
151. dumu-ni du$_{10}$-ba-na li-bí-in-peš-a-ni
152. nin$_9$-tur-tur .. in(?) .... nu(?)-mu(?)-un(?)- .. -[ni(?)]
153. lugal-mu .... -si ír [ì-še$_8$-še$_8$]
154. sipad-zi i-lu níg-me-gar ní-te-na ....
155. mà-e nìg-ne-e ba-ag-a-mu
156. dingir-re-e-ne-ir mu-ne-gub-bu-nam ki-ùr mu-ne-gál
157. $^{d}$[a-n]un-na-ke$_4$-ne ḫé-gál-la pa mu-ne-è-a
158. $^{giš}$ná-ú-za-gìn bàra-ga-ba gil-sa mu-ne-gar-ra-mu
159. dingir ki-mà la-ba-e-gub šà-mu la-ba-ni-ib-šed$_7$
160. .. -me-en níg-izkim-šag$_5$-ga-mu an-gim mu-NE-sù-ud
161. [gi$_6$-u$_4$]-da-gub-ba sá-a-mà a-na šu ba-ni-ti
162. [gi$_6$-u$_4$]-da-gub ù-nu-ku-mà-a u$_4$ im-ma-ni-til
163. [ì]-ne-éš im an-ta šèg-gá-gim
164. [me-l]i-e-a sig$_4$-urí$^{ki}$-ma-šè šu nu-um-ma-nigin
165. á(?)-šè nitalam-mu mu-un-su(?)-àm
166. [ír]-a-nir-níg-gig-ga-a u$_4$ mi-ni-ib-zal-zal-e
167. á-kal-la-mu ní-ba-til-l[a] ....
168. ur-sag-me-en šu nam-tar-ra u$_4$-diš-a gig(?) ...
169. am-gim .. -nam(?)-šub-ba-mu dùg la-ba- ....
170. gu$_4$-maḫ-gim ... -ŠEŠ(?)-mà ba(?) - ....
171. giš- ? ?-[gim(?)] ... -[mu(?)] .. -ga ba- ....

172. anše-gim .... -ga-mu šu ba-ra(?)- ...
173. nitalam-mu ?-mu-uš(?) .. ù(?) -a(?) in-ku$_4$-ra-ni(?)
174. i-lu-a-nir-níg-gig-ga-a u$_4$ mi-ni-ib-zal-zal-e
175. $^{d}$u[tug-š]ag$_5$-ga-ni bar-ta ba-da-gub
176. [$^{d}$lama-š]ag$_5$-ga-ni sag-gá-na[33] li-bí-in-ḫa-za
177. [$^{d}$nin]-sún-na-ke$_4$ á-maḫ-a-ni sag-gá-na li-bí-in-ge-en
178. [$^{d}$na]nna en-$^{d}$aš-im-babbar šu-làl nu-un-ri
179. [d] en-ki-lugal-eridu$^{ki}$-ga DUL-ra ba-ra-ta-an-è
180. ... -ḫa-a-ni im-ma[34]-ni-in-si-ig KA šu nu-mu-un-di-ni-ib-gi$_4$
181. [giš] má-gim im-súr-ra ba-ra-ab-dirig giš dimgul nu-mu-na-kal
182. [máš]-anše-edin-na-gim púḫul ba-an-tum-mu-da(?) šu-dugud lú mu-un-gar
183. ... -gim a-gub[35]-ba ba-šub-ba en-nu lú mu-un-dù
184. ur-gim az-lá-e mu-un-díb me-a lú mu-un-gar
185. $^{d}$utu DI-.. giš nu-um-mi-in-lá a-[lu]gal(?)-mu mu-un-si
186. tigi a-da-ab gi-sù za-am-za-am-mu a-[nir]-ra mu-da-un-ku$_4$
187. giš gù-di é-na[m]- ... -ra-ka zag-é-gar$_8$-e .. i-ni-in-uš
188. giš gu-za ḫi-li-bi nu-mu-til-la-mu
189. saḫar(?)-pú(?)-sag-gá[36] lú IM....
190. [ki]-ná ki ... -ka-bi(?) .. nu-mu-un- ...
191. edin-bar-sù-ga-ka mi-in-nú-ù-da
192. me-li-e-a dam-mu ír-ra[37] dumu-mu a-nir-ra
193. lú-níg-dug$_4$-ga-mà[38] i-lu balag-di-gim ḫé-na-tuku-uš
194. u$_4$ ḪUR-gim im-ma-ab-ag-a-mu
195. sag-kal-$^{d}$inanna nin-mè-a dimà nu-mu-un-ti
196. $^{d}$en-líl-le kur-kur-ra inim-gal-gal-šè[39] lugal-bi(?) .. bí-in-tag
197. ki-bi-ta igi-ni-gar-ra ....
198. $^{d}$inanna é-k[ur]-za-gìn-šè BUR-na-bi mu-u[n]- ..
199. sag-ki-ḫuš-$^{d}$en-líl-lá-ka[40] igi-dúb-dúb-bu ...
200. nin-gal é-an-na .. -ma-ni nam-ma-da[41]-ra-ta- ...
201. sipad-zi é-an-na-ta[42] mu-un-è igi nu-mu-ni-in-[bar]
202. nin-mu a-gub-ba-na-ag-a-ba ùg-gá[43] mu-un- ..
203. $^{d}$inanna u$_4$-ḫuš dumu-gal-$^{d}$zuen-na a- .. -ga(?)-?-bi(?)
204. an(!) ì-dúb-be ki ì-sìg(!)-ge
205. $^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ tùr im-gul-e amaš im-tab-e
206. an lugal-dingir-re[44]-e-ne-ke$_4$[45] in-TÚG(?)-bi mu-un-dúb(?)
207. $^{d}$en-líl-le sag[46] mu-da-an-zi KA(?)-bi-a ba-an-šè(?)-kúr(?)
208. an lugal inim-maḫ-dug$_4$[47]-ga-ni KA(?)-[bi(?)-a(?)] ba-[an]-šè(?)-kúr(?)
209. giš-ḫur[48]-ka[la]m-ma ḫé-me-a .. -ma[49] sag ba-[da(?)]-an-ús-sa
210. ki-u$_4$-è-dingir-re-e-ne-šè nam-lugal nu-gál
211. gi$_6$-pàr-kù èš-é-an-na-mu[50] ḫur-sag-[gim(?)] ...
212. sipad-zi ḫi-li-a-ni nu-uš .... mà-e ba-ra- ....
213. kalag-ga-mu ú-šim-gim edin(?) ....
214. má-íd-da-gim kar-si-ga-na ....
215. .... i-lu-ni ....

33. H: ki-šag$_5$-ga for sag-gá-na.
34. H: ba- for im-ma-.
35. G: -gú- for -gub-.
36. G omits -gá.
37. I: -àm for -ra.
38. C: -mà (!?). 39. I: -šè (!).
40. G: -líl(!)-a-ka. 41. I omits -da-.
42. G: -[k]a for -ta. 43. I: omits -gá.
44. E: -re(!)-. 45. H omits -ke$_4$.
46. H: sag(!). 47. H: -dug$_4$(!)-.
48. E: -ḫur(!)-. 49. E: .. -ma(!?).
50. E seems to have -gim for -mu.

216. .... íd-da ....
217. .... la(?) .... a-nir(?) ....
218. .... -na .. nam mu-ni-ib-tar-re
219. .... nam-maḫ-zu ḫé-pàd
220. .... [ḫa-b]a-an-tuku-tuku
221. ....-NE-eš
222. .... -[a]-zu
223. .... -a-zu
224. .... -a-zu
225. .... -[a]-zu
226. .... -a-mà
227. .... -eš
228. ....
229. ....KAL-ba
230. .... bí-in-ku$_4$-re
231. .... [b]í-in-kar(!?)-ta
232. .... -nu-RI-a-bi
233. .... [ib]-ta-an-è-da
234. .... -gú-tab-tab-ba
235. .... šè(?)-tu-da .... -TAR
236. ....DU pirig-an(?) ....
237. .... dug$_4$-ga di-si-sá-ku$_5$
238. .... -en-$^{d}$nin-giš-zi-da zà-mí
239. .... -àm i-lu-àm
240. .... ír-àm a-nir-àm

TRANSLATION

1. By(?)....the people altogether were ["devoured(?)"],
2. ....was smitten, the palace was silenced (?),
3. In its....headlong (?) fear overtook them,
4. Of...., their (?) "abandoned places" were set up in Sumer,
5. In their broad...the city was destroyed, the people were in fear,
6. Evil came upon Ur, the righteous shepherd was carried off,
7. The righteous shepherd Ur-Nammu was carried off, the righteous shepherd was carried off.
8. An altered his holy word, the heart..was desolate(?),
9. Enlil deceitfully changed his fate-decree,
10. Ninmaḫ sets up a lament in her ... ,
11. Enki closed the door of Eridu,
12. Nudimmud entered..., lay down in the midst of his .. ,
13. Nanna, the..., furrowed his brow in his heavenly heights,
14. "Utu of heaven" rose not, the day was filled with gloom,
15. The mother, wretched because of her son,
16. The mother of the king, the holy Ninsun, cried "Oh my womb!"
17. Because of the (evil) fate decreed for Ur-Nammu,
18. Because the righteous shepherd was carried off,
19. The....weep in their .. ,
20. The people....sleep not,
21. Spend (their) days [in mourning(?)] for their righteous shepherd in his "captivity".
22. Their irrigation canals have been silted(?) up by their *kugal*
23. Their *gunu*-grain grown on their acres, the life of the land, has been uprooted,
24. In the cultivated fields (and) farms, the...is diminished,
25. ....has planted(?) in the ground,
26. ....has smitten (?) the earth,
27. ....has been poured out, the "trustworthy" plants have been uprooted,
28. .... grew not, the "wailing" plant grew (instead),
29. ...., its..-stalls have been destroyed,
30. The calf (?) .... .
31. The holy shepherd [Ur-Nammu] .... ,
32. ....in battle and onslaught,
33. The king....of(?) Sumer ... ,
34. Ur-Nammu....of(?) Sumer ... ,
35. The leader .... ,
36. The king(?)....having become ill(?),
37. ....having become ill(?),
38. ....having become ill(?),
39. ....was uprooted(?).
40. [The righteous shepherd], the "great sword" of Sumer,
41. [Ur-Nammu], the king of the land, was carried(?) to the ... ,
42. Was carried(?) to Ur, Ur-Nammu was brought into the ... .
43. The holy head lay in his palace,
44. Ur-Nammu, who was beloved by (his) soldiers, lifts not (his) head,
45. On(?) the....he lies, in silence(?) they stand by(?),
46. Like(?)...they are speechless(?), crushed as if by(?) a mountain,
47. Like a...they are overwhelmed(?), altered in their form,

48. Like a..-tree they placed there.... ,
49. Like a..-tree they..the [bi]er [in his] palace.
50. His wife approached(?) the bier,...was overcome (as if) by the South Wind,
51. Alongside his..., like his spouse,... was stretched out(?) there.
52. On the day his...overtook(?) him, (and) he was carried off(?) in his..,
53. Effective sacrifices are not brought, a forbidding hand [is placed on them],
54. His gifts are turned back by the Anunnaki,
55. The gods(?)...did not stand by him, their light(?) did not fill(?) it(?),
56. At the command uttered by Enlil, there was no comforter(?),
57. Of the beloved of his men(?), their wise ones were estranged,
58. They are transformed into...men who do not.. ,
59. On the field of battle they abandoned Ur-Nammu like a broken pitcher,
60. His....stood up arrogantly(?) against him, like a rain of distant days,
61. Do not... , accept not what is of the heart, stay silent(?),
62. [Oh shepherd U]r-Nammu, what (?) woe!
63. .... at the "brow" of the land,
64. The..of Ninsun stood by in (all) her(?) allure(?)!
65. Who accompanied .. follow(?) at (her) side in(?) tears,
66. In .... her(?) unknown place, their boat sank(?),
67. .... by dike(?) (and) ditch, it was split asunder,
68. ... its pole (and(?)) rudder were shattered,
69. .... the board(?) was demolished(?), its lock was split asunder,
70. .... the two-faced(?) was crushed(?), was turned(?) into bitter(?) dust(?),
71. .... were seated(?) by his side, asses(?) were buried with him,
72. The .. of the land crossed over(?) with him, the dogs of the land were inimical(?).
73. He arrived in the Netherworld, the desolate(?),
74. The chariot was covered with .. , the road turned and twisted(?) it could not go further(?),
75. The chariot was covered with .. , the road turned and twisted(?), it could not go further(?).
76. My king presented gifts to the gods of the Netherworld, the seven,
77. The *išib*, the *lumaḫ*, (and) the *gutug* who had died,
78. The king, (his) coming—the dead *nindingir* chosen by oracle,
79. Ur-Nammu, (his) coming, they announced to the people, a tumult arose in the Netherworld.
80. The king slaughters oxen, multiplies sheep,
81. They seated Ur-Nammu at a huge banquet—
82. Bitter is the food of the Netherworld, brackish is the water of the Netherworld!
83. The righteous king — his heart "knew" the gods of the Netherworld,
84. The king offers the gifts of the Netherworld as sacrifices,
85. Ur-Nammu offers the gifts of the Netherworld as sacrifices:
86. Perfect oxen, perfect kids (and) fattened sheep .... ,
87. A mace, a large bow, a quiver, an arrow, a fine(?)-toothed knife,
88. A varicolored leather bottle, worn at the loin,
89. To Nergal, Enlil of the Netherworld,
90. The shepherd Ur-Nammu offers as sacrifices in his palace.
91. A long bow, a horned(?) leather bottle (fit for) battle(?), an awesome .. mace of lead(?),
92. A sling reaching down to the ground, the "might of heroship,"
93. A battle-ax beloved of Ereškigal,
94. To Gilgameš, the king of the Netherworld,
95. The shepherd Ur-Nammu offers as sacrifice in his palace.
96. A *kešda*-container in which oil is poured, a *šagan*-cup of perfect make,
97. A heavy(?) .. -garment, a long .. -garment, garments of queenship,
98. A resplendent .. for(?) the pure(?) *me*,
99. To Ereškigal, the mother of Ninazu,
100. The shepherd [Ur-Nammu] offers as sacrifices [in her palace].
101. Sheep .... ,
102. A gold scepter of *en*-ship, a .. with a lapis-lazuli "hand" of pe[rfect make],
103. To Dumuzi, the beloved spouse of Inanna,
104. The shepherd Ur-Nammu offers as sacrifices in his palace.

105. A *gilsa*-ornament of perfect make, a gold ring, a . . . *magur*-boat,
106. Pure carnelian stone, something (fit for) the chest of the gods,
107. To Namtar, he who decrees all the fates,
108. The shepherd Ur-Nammu offers as sacrifices in his palace.
109. A seal with a lapis-lazuli "hand", the "hall-mark(?)" of Hades,
110. A silver hair-brooch set with carnelian stone, a comb of "womanhood",
111. To Ḫušbišag the spouse of Namtar,
112. The shepherd Ur-Nammu offers as sacrifices in her palace.
113. A wooden . . , ornamented with a . . of gold,
114. . . -asses, asses like(?) lions,
115. Asses with dappled lions . . . . ,
116. [To(?)] the shepherd (and) herdsman who .... ,
117. To the valiant one, the warrior Ningišzida,
118. The shepherd Ur-Nammu offers as sacrifices in his palace.
119. A lapis-lazuli seal hanging on a dagger,
120. A pectoral of gold (and) silver with the head of a bison,
121. To Dimpiku who stands at his side he presents.
122. A headcover (with) the "lofty" ears of a wise man, (made of) alabaster,
123. A tablet-reed split(?) at the side, the "hall-mark" of the scribe,
124. A lapis-lazuli surveying-rod, a reed of one *ninda* .... ,
125. To his spouse Ninazi[mua],
126. The [noble] scri[be] of the Netherworld,
127. [The shepherd Ur-Nammu offers as sacrifices in her palace].
128. . . . . [he gives] him(?),
129. . . . . ,
130. . . . . he gives him(?) also(?).
131. After [the king] had carried out the . . . of the Netherworld,
132. After [Ur-Nammu] had carried out the . . . of the Netherworld,
133. [The fate-decreeing gods] of the Netherworld,
134. The . . . . ,
135. Seat Ur-Nammu on the . . . of the Netherworld,
136. Set up (his) bed(?) in the Netherworld,
137. In accordance with the word spoken by Ereškigal,
138. The soldiers as many(?) that had been killed by weapons,
139. The "men of guilt" as many(?) as had been carried off(?),
140. They give into the hand of the king,
141. Ur-Nammu . . . . to their places,
142. His beloved brother Gilgam[eš],
143. Propounds to him the judgement of the Netherworld, sets forth the decisions of the Netherworld.
144. After 7 days, 10 days had passed,
145. The "wail" of Sumer verily overtook my king,
146. The "wail" of Sumer verily overtook Ur-Nammu,
147. [The "wail" for] the walls of Ur that he had not finished,
148. His new palace that he had built, (but) which had not brought him joy,
149. The shepherd who no longer cared(?) for his home,
150. His wife whom he no longer fondled(?) on his lap,
151. His son whom he no longer raised on his knee,
152. [His] little sisters whom he no longer . . . . .
153. My king . . . . , [weeps],
154. The righteous shepherd [uttered(?)] of himself the heart-rending lament:
155. "I — this is how I have been treated,
156. (Although) I had served (well) the gods, had set up the *kiur* for them,
157. Had brought about great prosperity for the Anunnaki,
158. Had showered treasures on their bed over which was spread "lapis-lazuli" plants,
159. No god stood by me, soothed not my heart.
160. I, the . . , my good omen has become as distant as heaven,
161. (I am one) who has served the gods [night (and) da]y, (but) what has been accepted of my efforts(?),
162. (I am one) who has served the gods [night (and) da]y, the day comes to a sleepless end for me.
163. Now, as if (held back by) a storm(?) raining down from heaven,
164. Woe, I cannot proceed to the brickwork of Ur.
165. As if my wife had drowned,

166. I spend the days in bitter tears and laments.
167. My strength having come to an end . . . . ,
168. I, the warrior, the hand(?) of fate in one day .... .
169. Like a wild ox I do not .... ,
170. Like a "noble" ox .... ,
171. [Like(?)] a . . tree(?) .... ,
172. Like an ass .... .
173. When(?) my spouse entered my . . . . ,
174. She spends (her) days in bitter wailing and lament,
175. Her kindly *udug* stood aloof,
176. Her kindly *lama* supported her not,
177. Ninsun did not hold firm her "noble" hand on her head,
178. Nanna, the lord Ašimbabbar, did not stretch out (his) "honey-hand,"
179. Enki, the lord of Eridu, did not bring out the . . ,
180. He silenced(?) her(?) . . . , answered(?) not (her) cry(?).
181. Like a boat set adrift in a tempestuous storm, (her) anchor was of no avail,
182. Like the creatures of the steppe brought to a foul well, a "heavy hand" was placed on her,
183. Like a . . . that had fallen (?) into the holy water, a watch was set up(?),
184. Like a dog imprisoned in a cage, (the cry) "where" was raised(?),
185. Utu gave no peace to the . . , (the cry) "Oh my king(?)" filled(?) (them),
186. My *tigi*, *adab*, "long reed," (and) *zamzam* were turned into a lament,
187. The *gudi* of the . . . -house was placed(?) next to the side of the wall,
188. My throne whose potency had not been fulfilled(?),
189. Was . . . . ,
190. The [bi]er(?) was not . . ,
191. As it was "laid" in the . . . -steppe,
192. Woe, my wife — tears, my son — lament,
193. The men of my "command(?)", like keeners struck up a wail for her.
194. The day I had so been treated,
195. The mighty Inanna, the queen of battle, could not live(?) because of my verdict."
196. Enlil (who) had been appointed(?) king of all the lands in accordance with the exceedingly great "words",
197. From their places (those against whom) he had set his face . . . . .
198. Inanna [entered(?)] reproachfully the "lapis-lazuli" Ekur,
199. At the angry forehead of Enlil, [his(?)] shattering glance(?),
200. The great queen did not(?) . . . the Eanna, her . . . . ,
201. The righteous shepherd had been driven out of the Eanna, she did not [see] him there.
202. My queen, after having made her lustrations(?), . . . the people,
203. Inanna, the angry storm, the elder daughter of Sin, . . . . ,
204. Shatters heaven, smites the earth,
205. Inanna destroys the stalls, demolishes the sheepfold.
206. An, the king of the gods, .... ,
207. Enlil raised (his) head, .... ,
208. An, the king, whose command is the "lofty word", .... ,
209. The "rulers" of the land exist, . . are enduring,
210. In the place of the gods where the sun rises, kingship no longer existed.
211. "The holy *gipar*, my shrine Eanna [has been shattered(?)] as if by a mountain,
212. The righteous shepherd has not . . . . , I have not(?) . . . . ,
213. My strong one, like plants (and) herbs, . . . . steppe(?),
214. Like a river-boat . . . . in his silted-up quay,
215. . . . . his wail . . . . ,
216. . . . . of(?) the river . . . .
217. . . . . a lament . . . . ."
218. . . . . his(?) . . , decrees the fate:

The remainder of the text is fragmentary and its contents are unintelligible. It may perhaps be assumed that it is Inanna who is blessing the dead Ur-Nammu, that is, that the "your" in lines 219 ff. refers to the king. If so, the blessing ends perhaps with line 227, and lines 228–236 may relate what happened to Ur-Nammu as a result of the blessing. Lines 237–238, on the other hand, are closing lines typical of Sumerian literary works, and read: ". . . . who pronounces the just verdict, . . . . Oh lord Ningišzida — praise." Just why the two last lines reading: " . . . . it is . . , it is a wail; . . . . it is weeping, it is a lament." were added, is not clear.

## COMMENTARY

Lines 1–7. In line 1, the complex ending in -t a may perhaps have read i n i m - $^{d}$ e n -

l í l - l á - t a "by the word of Enlil," and since there is room for several more signs, the line may have begun with a phrase such as u$_4$ - d è "the storm", and the full line may therefore have read "By the word of Enlil, the people altogether were devoured by the storm." In line 2, "was silenced" is a guess based on the context. In lines 6–7 (cf. also line 18) b a - r a - a b - è "was carried off" (literally "was made to go forth") is probably a euphemism for "died," although it is not impossible that it refers to the king's being taken prisoner (cf. comment to line 21).

Lines 8–16. In line 8, the locative - a of the second complex seems unjustified. In line 12, the second complex from the end may have been expected to read $^{giš}$k a - t a b - b a (the reading of k a - t a b - b a is of course uncertain) or $^{kuš}$k a - t a b - b a; cf. line 208 of the "Curse of Agade": n a m - b i - š e $^{d}$e n - l í l i t i m a - k ù b a - a n - k u$_4$ $^{giš}$k a - t a b - b a (variant $^{kuš}$k a - t a b - b a) b a - a n - n á, "Because of this (the lamenting of the people of Nippur) Enlil entered (his) holy chamber, lay down on the k a - t a b - b a" [51] — the k a - t a b - b a therefore seems to be a special type of couch on which a god lay down to sleep when he wanted to avoid human plaints and pleading. For s i - BÀD - n a in line 13, cf. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott* p. 66. The first part of line 14 may perhaps be rendered as "Utu rose not in heaven." In line 15, note the rather unusual - t i - l a - e .

Lines 17–30. In line 21 "in his captivity (literally: "in his having been taken captive") may also refer to the king's death (i.e. captivity in the Netherworld) rather than actual captivity at the hands of an enemy. In line 22, the k u g a l ("canal inspector") seems to refer to either a god or a mortal, who had neglected the cleaning of the canals. In line 24 it is not clear to whom the - n a - of the verbal form refers.

Lines 31–42.[52] This passage is fragmentary at crucial points in the text, and it is difficult to form a clear idea of what in the poet's view did actually happen to Ur-Nammu before he was carried to Ur and brought into the é - KA - r a .[53]

Lines 43–51. "The holy head" (line 43) is assumed to be an epithet of Ur-Nammu. In line 51 it is not clear to whom "like his wife" refers.[54]

Lines 52–62. The interpretation of this passage and especially the crucial lines 57–59[55] that seem to point to a betrayal by some of his own soliders is far from certain.

Lines 63–72. On the assumption that it concerns Ur-Nammu's funeral processions and reflects actual practices, this passage, fragmentary and obscure as it is, gives at least a vague idea of the nature of the royal burial rites current in Sumer about 2000 B. C.[56]

Lines 73–82. Except for their first two signs, lines 74–75 are fully preserved and have an identical text; it is therefore not unlikely that they began with different words that were parallel in meaning, that is perhaps with words such as s a ḫ a r "dust" or the like.[57] In line 76, "the gods of the Netherworld, the seven" seem to be a different group of deities than those listed by name in lines 83 ff.[58] In lines 77–78, note the rather awkward separation of the n i n d i n g i r from the other priestly classes, by an initial complex that has its parallel in the initial complex of the following line. In line 82, the ŠEŠ of ŠEŠ - n a - à m is to be read u r u ( n ) - n a, and it is not clear why the first ŠEŠ in the line is not followed by - n a .

Lines 83–127. For these lines, cf. *ZA* 52: 18–19, 22–23, and 41–47, but note especially the new readings in lines 97, 99, 109, 110, 113, 125 (= obv. iii lines 14, 16, 26, 27, 30, 42, in *ZA* 52: 18–19).

51. For the "Curse of Agade" cf. Falkenstein *ZA* 57: 43 ff. and a forthcoming study by Adele Feigenbaum based on a number of new texts (in the Falkenstein study this line, only partially preserved, is numbered 211). Note that if the reading and translation of š à - k a - t a b - b a is correct, the expected final - k a is missing.

52. Beginning with line 42, cf. the transliteration in *ZA* 52: 17 ff.

53. Note that the é - KA - a of line 42 does not seem to be identical with the é - s ú r - r a of line 41.

54. Nor is it certain if the d a m of line 51 is identical with the n i t a l a m of line 52.

55. Note that the - a š at the end of the verbal form in line 59 is assumed to be for the final ending - e š .

56. The reading of the first part of line 71 is quite uncertain; it seems to have an unintelligible gloss reading . . - m a(!) GÌR-KAK - b a(?).

57. The arrival of the royal chariot in the Netherworld as depicted in these two lines (note that the translation of the second verbal form is no more than a guess based on the context) is of course an imaginative invention on the part of the poet; it is not at all unlikely, however, that there were one or more chariots in the royal funeral procession.

58. Note that these add up to at least nine deities.

Lines 128–143.[59] For these lines cf. *ZA* 52: 19–20, 24, and 47–50, but note the quite different interpretation of the passage given here primarily as a result of improved renderings of lines 135 ff. (= *ZA* 52: 24, line 9 ff.)

Lines 144–193. For these lines cf. *ZA* 52: 20–21, 24–25, 50–56, but note that the readings provided by the new texts fill out a good many of the gaps beginning with line 167 (= *ZA* 57: 20 rev. 2), and thus make possible a far fuller understanding of the text.[60] In line 178, note that the complex preceding the verb is š u - l à l (not š u - t a ). The DUL- r a in line 179 is difficult, cf. perhaps the DUL- r a in *TRS* No. 70 line 10, 26, 27, 32, and 33. Line 186, corresponds to *ZA* 52: 21 lines 21 and 22 (line 22 is actually indented, and therefore should not have been numbered separately).

Lines 194–210. For lines 194–202 cf. *ZA* 52: 21, 25, 57.[61] The new texts fill in a good many of the gaps in these lines, and adds lines 203–210 that are preserved in large part. The translation and interpretation of the passage, and expecially lines 195–200 (in line 198 BÚR is probably to be read d u n) and 206–209 are full of obscurities and quite uncertain.

Lines 211–240. The assumption that lines 211–217 contain a soliloquy by Inanna is based primarily on lines 211–213; note however that the expected line introducing her as speaker is lacking, and the assumption might turn out to be erroneous. Lines 218–240 are fragmentary, and there is little to add to what is said about them in the Introduction.

59. The very fragmentary lines 128–130 may turn out to belong to the preceding passage, that is, they may continue to depict the presentation of gifts by Ur-Nammu to one or another of the Netherworld deities.

60. Cf. also the modified transliteration of lines 148, 149, 150, 152, 153, 159, 165 (= *ZA* 52: 20 lines 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 33, 39).

61. Note that in *ZA* 52: 21, lines 33–34 correspond to line 196 (line 34 is actually an indented line).

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# SHULGI OF UR:
# A ROYAL HYMN AND A DIVINE BLESSING

By SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER, University Museum

THE CITY OF UR, designated in the Old Testament as Ur of the Chaldees, is one of the best known metropolises of the ancient Near East. In the years 1923-24 a joint Anglo-American expedition under the direction of the late Leonard Woolley, conducted excavations in the ruins of Ur and uncovered innumerable artifacts, monuments, and written documents spanning more than four thousand years of the city's history, from its village origins in the fifth millennium B. C. E, to its final abandonment some two to three centuries before the Christian era. [1] Throughout the third millennium Ur played a predominant role in the history of Sumer as a whole. It was three times the capital of Sumer, and its early

[1] To date 13 volumes concerned with the results of the Ur excavations have been published; seven are definitive archaeological reports, and five consist of copies of inscriptions. The archaeological volumes are:

*Al'Ubaid* by H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley (1927); *The Royal Cemetery*, by C. L. Woolley and others (1934); Archaic Seal Impressions, by L. Legrain and C. L. Woolley (1936); *The Ziggurat and Its Surroundings*, by C. L. Woolley (1939); *Seal Cylinders*, by L. Legrain and C. L. Woolley (1951); *The Early Periods*, by C. L. Woolley (1956); *The Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods*, by C. L. Woolley and M. E. L. Mallowan (1962). The five text-volumes are: *Royal Inscriptions* by C. J. Gadd and L. Legrain (1928); *Archaic Texts* by E. Burrows (1935); *Business Documents from the Third Dynasty of Ur*, by L. Legrain (1947); *Business Documents of the Neo-Babylonian Period*, by H. H. Figulla (1949); *Letters and Documents of the Old Babylonian Period*, by H. H. Figulla and W. J. Martin (1953); *Literary and Religious Texts*, by C. J. Gadd and S. N. Kramer (1963). Two books that present a valuable synthesis of the archaeology and history of Ur for the general reader are: *History and Monuments of Ur*, by C. J. Gadd (1929; though somewhat dated, this is still the best available volume on the history of the city as a whole, especially as gleaned from the textual sources), and *Excavations at Ur* by C. L. Woolley (third edition, 1955).

rulers, to judge from the enormous wealth discovered in their tombs, were among the most powerful and prosperous of the ancient world. One of its most glorious eras, that commonly known to the modern historian as "The Third Dynasty of Ur," came toward the very end of the third millennium when, paradoxical as it may seem, Sumer's sun was about to set, never to rise again. It is also the Sumerian era about which we are best informed. Its major political and military events are known, at least to some extent, from the numerous, if not overly informative, contemporary votive inscriptions, date formulae, and royal letters, as well as from stray omens and chronicles of later days. Much can be gleaned about the economic and social life of the period, from the thousands of Ur III administrative and legal documents that crowd the tablet collections of the world's museums. [2] And we learn not a little about its intellectual and spiritual aspects from numerous Sumerian literary works inscribed on tablets dating from the centuries following the Third Dynasty of Ur, not a few of which go back to originals first composed in that period. [3] One of the outstanding rulers of this dynasty was Shulgi, a king whose reign spanned practically half a century, and whose achievements made a deep impress on every aspect of Sumerian life. The present article will sketch the contents of two rather revealing Shulgi compositions that have become known wholly or in part in quite recent years: a self-laudatory hymn remarkable for its portrayal of the

[2] For a lucid, up-to-date sketch of the history of Ur and Sumer during the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur, cf. now Chapter XXII of volume I of the newly revised *Cambridge Ancient History*, prepared by C. J. Gadd (1964), where the reader will also find a handy and valuable bibliography of practically all the essential books, monographs, and articles relevant to the subject. For a general sketch of the Sumerians and their civilization, cf. the writer's: *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture and Character* (1963).

[3] For the range, character, and dating of the Sumerian *belles lettres*, cf. Chapter V of *The Sumerians* (see preceding note); for the *edubba* where the Sumerian literary works were composed, redacted, studied, and taught, cf. *ibid.* Chapter VI.

ideal king, and a narrative poem depicting a *hieros gamos* culminating in a raptuous blessing for the royal groom. First, now, the Shulgi hymn.

Shulgi was the second ruler of the Third Dynasty of Ur, a worthy son of his illustrious father Ur-Nammu, the founder of the dynasty. In fact, it is not too much to say that Shulgi was one of the most distinguished and influential kings of the ancient world, one who made his mark as an outstanding military leader, as a punctilious administrator, as an energetic builder, as a cultural Maecenas. He extended Sumer's political power and influence from the Zagros ranges on the east to the Mediterranean on the west—even the city Byblos, in farthest Syria, had a Sumerian governor, who found it advisable to send sheep to the royal cattle park near Nippur, Sumer's holy city, to be sacrificed on the proper occasion. [4] As the head of both the temple and palace he instituted a vigorous bookkeeping and accounting system in their multifarious accounts; rearranged the calendar, and standardized weights and measures throughout the land. He brought to completion the construction of Sumer's most imposing stage tower, the Ur *ziggurat* which his father had begun but left unfinished at his death; he also built numerous religious structures in Ur and other Sumerian cities, especially in Nippur. [5] Finally, as has become more and more apparent in recent years, Shulgi was a lavish patron of the arts, more specifically, of literature and music; he founded and liberally supported Sumer's two major *edubba's*, the one situated in Ur and the other in Nippur. No wonder that the Sumerian poets and men of letters outdid themselves in composing hymns of

[4] To be sure the tablets on which this information is based date from the fourth year of Amar-Sin, but there is little doubt that it was his father Shulgi, who had extended Sumer's influence over the lands later known as Syria and Palestine.

[5] For Shulgi's building activities at Nippur, cf. for the present Vaughn E. Crawford "Nippur, the Holy City" (*ARCHAEOLOGY*, vol. 12, 1959, pp. 74-83) and Richard C. Haines, "A Report of the Excavations at Nippur during 1960-1961" (*SUMER*, vol. XVII, 1962, pp. 67 ff.).

exaltation and glorification in his honor. [6] And one of the most remarkable of these is a hymn close to 400 lines in length, pieced together from some fifty tablets and fragments, which the king himself is purported to have uttered, and in which he portrays himself as the ideal ruler: a rare combination of sage, soldier, sportsman, diviner, diplomat, patron of learning, and happy provider of all good things for his land and people. [7]

The composition begins with a brief introductory passage—practically unique in Sumerian literature—designed to explain how and why Shulgi came to compose his paean of self-glorification, here is how the poet puts it:

That the king might make his name duly
  Preeminent unto distant days,
That Shulgi, the king of Ur—
  The hymn of his power,
  The song of his might,
That the wise one—
  The everlasting name of his leadership
  Unto the offspring of future days might hand down,
For the mighty one, the son of Ninsun,
  The wisdom of the future was brought to the fore;
Having acquired the power of the poet,
  He exalts the might of word, the good, that comes from
    the heart.

[6] For the Shulgi hymnal material, cf. Falkenstein *ZA* 50: 62-91 (I, K, and S listed on p. 63 are not Shulgi hymns), and *IRAQ* XXII, pp. 139-150; Kramer in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (edited by G. Ernest Wright, 1961) p. 256 and note 66; Gadd and Kramer in *Literary and Religious Texts from Ur* (= Ur Excavation Texts VI) No. 78-83.

[7] Parts of the hymn had been published more than thirty years ago, but because of their fragmentary nature, little could be done with the text as a whole. Over the years I identified quite a number of unpublished tablets and fragments inscribed with the hymn in the University Museum and in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul. G. Castellino of the University of Rome, who worked for a while with me in the University Museum, is now in the process of preparing a definitive edition of the composition.

From here on Shulgi takes over, beginning with the days of his youth when he attended the *edubba* and studied the tablets of Sumer and Akkad. There was no student of the *edubba*, he avers, who could compete with him in writing on clay; he brought to perfection his skill in the cuneiform script and in accounting; Nidaba, the patron-goddess of the *edubba*, granted him understanding, concentration, and a flowing hand, so that he became a fluent scribe for whom nothing was too difficult.

From his educational accomplishments, Shulgi turns to his military achievements; unfortunately for the modern historian he couches his words in general and grandiloquent phrases, and gives no particulars about the where and when, the how and why, of his successful military campaigns. Thus we hear, for example, that he "rose like a young lion," that both An and Enlil, Sumer's leading deities, supported him in his military ventures; that they gave him the scepter with which he subjugated the foreign lands; that the fame of his weapons and victories spread all over, "below" and "above", etc. etc. But he gives no specific meaningful details that would help to illuminate the history of his times.

Following a four-line refrain that is repeated at irregular intervals throughout the composition, [8] Shulgi turns to his mighty deeds as hunter and sportsman. To hear him tell it, he fought the lion in the reed-covered steppes "man to man," without using nets or fenced-in enclosures, though he did finish him off with his spear, and so made the steppes safe for the shepherd and his flock. He also hunted the big wild-ox in the wooded forest with bow and arrow; "asses of the plain" and the wild-goats on the other hand, he struck down with the boomerang, which he could throw expertly. As for the

[8] This refrain which follows lines 51, 77, 114, and 149 (it does not occur at all in the remainder of the hymn) reads:

I will exalt the might of my deeds,
Far-reaching is the fame of my strength,
All-pervasive (?) is my word, the lofty,
There is nothing that deters (?) me.

lightning-fast "four legged creatures" of the plain he chased and caught them with little effort, since he was endowed with great speed. [9] On returning from the chase he hung up his numerous trophies in the depository, dedicating them to his mother, the goddess Ninsun, as a dutiful son should.

Following a brief passage concerned with his unflagging, unfaltering expeditions on water and land, by boat and beast, Shulgi sings of his powers as a diviner, as one who can read and interpret "the precious words of the gods" from the entrails of lamb, sheep, and kid, whenever the need arose—in rite and ritual, in selecting such important temple functionaries as the *en*, the *lumaḫ*, and the *nindingir*; [10] in deciding on undertaking a military campaign.

From divination he turns to his special love, music, which he claims to have studied with great zeal, so that no aspect of it was too difficult for him: he knew how to compose(?) the *tigi* and the *adab*; [11] could "draw" the "rising and falling"; [12] knew how to play the sweet "three-necked" lyre, the heart expanding "three-string" instrument, as well as such musical instruments as the *algar*, the *sabîtum*, the *mirîtum*, the *urzababîtum*, [13] the *ḫarḫar*, the "Great Lion," the *dìm*, and

[9] Shulgi seems to have taken special pride in speed of travel; there is an entire hymn celebrating the fact that he made a journey from Nippur to Ur and back, a distance of some two hundred miles, in one day in spite of a raging storm (cf. Falkenstein *2A* 50: 62-91).

[10] Very little is known about the functions of these cult priests, cf. for the present *The Sumerians*, pp. 141-142.

[11] Most of the Sumerian words for the different types of music and musical instruments are here left untranslated since they are not readily identifiable; for Sumerian music in general, cf. Henrike Hartmann, *Die Musik der Sumerischen Kultur* (1960) where numerous errors in F. W. Galpin's *The Music of the Sumerians* . . . . . (1937) are corrected, and W. F. Strauder, *Die Harfen und Leiern der Sumerer* (1957), where some of the erroneous restorations made by Leonard Woolley of the musical instruments discovered at Ur, are rectified. For the recent discovery of the existence of a musical scale in Babylonia that may well go back to Sumerian prototype on a tablet in the University Museum, cf. Mme. Duchesne—Guillermin in *Revue de Musicologie* XLIX, pp. 3-17.

[12] Perhaps this refers to written musical notation of some sort.

[13] The *sabîtum* is probably named after Sabu, a land to the east

the *magur*. He even learned to understand the music of the KA-DI instrument that "no one had heard" that is, it had presumably gone out of use in Shulgi's days. What he did not like to play however was the wailing reed-pipe that was like the shepherd's-pipe, and brought nothing but sadness to the heart and spirit. Joy, cheer, and days of princely delight are what music should bring to man who would then lend a ready ear to it. As for himself, he was of a generous temper, stinted nothing; his mother Ninsun cherished and espoused his palace joys and pleasures, and it was his firm intention to lead a life of good cheer so that his name would be ever made sweet with song.

Soothing music is not unrelated to persuasive diplomacy, and so we next find Shulgi expatiating at some length on his tact, eloquence, and forcefulness in dealing with the powerful of his own land as well as with the envoys of foreign lands; on his wise and effective counsel in the assembly;[14] on his special talent for cooling down the burning heart and the fiery word.

The gods, too, are not to be neglected, and Shulgi next asserts that he served them with constancy and humility, so that the fields and meadows yielded their bounty of oil, wool, flax, and barley, more than enough to sate the hunger of the gods and the needs of the people. But though he could well claim to be a king without rival for whom nothing was out of reach, he was also wise and just, and never committed an irreverent act against any of his predecessors whether he was an Akkadian, a Sumerian, or for that matter even an oppressive Gutian.

of Sumer; the *mirîtum* is probably named after the now well-known city Mari on the Euphrates; the *urzababîtum* seems to be named after Ur-Zababa, whose cupbearer was the great Sargon of Akkad (about 2350 B.C.)—it was therefore a relatively late-comer on the Sumerian musical scene.

[14] For the Sumerian assembly cf. my "Vox Populi and the Sumerian Literary Documents" (RA 58: 149 ff.).

The mentioning of his predecessors evidently brings to Shulgi's mind the music and song of yesteryears, and he boasts of bringing back into vogue the *tigi* and the *zamzam* which had been neglected for many a day, so that Sumer was again joyful and light of heart. In the future, therefore, the good and righteous king, will see to it that paeans of glorification for Shulgi's wisdom, bravery, and fame, be recited in his palace regularly and repeatedly. But should there arise an evil and irreverent king who tries to belittle what Shulgi had achieved, the gods Nanna and Utu will chastise him; his words will be despised in the land and his deeds remain unsung.

And to make sure that his fame endure and that his glory never fade in word and song, Shulgi established two *edubba's*—or at least so he claims—one in Ur in lower Sumer, and the other in Nippur in central Sumer. Here undisturbed and unmolested, both scribe and singer can perform his duties properly, and glorify Shulgi's name and fame without let or hindrance. For, as Shulgi boasts at the end of this passage:

I am the king of the land, the good,
From (the days) the seed (first) came forth to (nowadays) when people abound (on earth),
There has been no king like me.

From here on the text becomes rather fragmentary and unintelligible except for the very last lines of the composition where we find Shulgi exulting:

A king greater than all kings am I,
I have acquired everything everywhere,
Sweet is my praise.

So ends this unblushing, uninhibited, self-exalting hymn with its grandiloquent phrases and extravagant language. Nor is Shulgi the only ruler for whom compositions of this nature were written and, presumably, recited, although he seemed to have inspired more of them than any of his predecessor or

successors. [15] And while from our point of view, their fulsome exaggeration and flattering adulation seem to be pretentious, overweening and in poor taste, the Sumerian "audience," we may rest assured, lent them a sympathetic and enthusiastic ear; as I had occasion to point out recently, the Sumerians were obsessed by the drive for superiority and preeminence, for fame and name, for recognition and approbation, and this was reflected in not a few of their literary products. [16] Moreover, the king was after all not just an ordinary mortal. In the course of the second half of the third millennium B. C. E,—and Shulgi reigned towards the very end of this millennium—the institution of kingship had become the very hallmark of civilization, and the rulers, according to the Sumerian theologians and courtiers, were endowed with wondrous qualities and superhuman powers by the gods themselves. Thus An and Enlil, for example, the leading deities of the Sumerian pantheon, invested him with scepter and crown, the very symbols of power and authority; Enki, the god of wisdom, endowed him with intelligence and understanding; Utu, the god of justice, imbued him with a deep regard for law and order; and perhaps most important of all, Inanna, the goddess of love and procreation, actually took the king for her beloved spouse, and thus insured fecundity and prosperity for the land and its people. Now each of these deities, while having his place and position in the pantheon of Sumer as a whole, was at the same time the leading deity of one or another of the Sumerian cities, and it is there that he had his main seat of worship: Enlil at Nippur, Enki at Eridu, Utu at Larsa, Inanna at Erech, etc. To obtain and retain his divine gifts, therefore, the king was obliged to make a pilgrimage from time to time to the different cult-centers of Sumer, where the priests in charge no doubt performed the rites and rituals relevant to the occasion. Until quite recently,

[15] For hymns to Shulgi's predecessors and successors, cf. Kramer in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, p. 256, and notes 67 and 68.

[16] Cf. *The Sumerians*, pp. 264-268.

however, we had no direct evidence for such royal pilgrimages; even now it is only those to Inanna at Erech, to Utu at Larsa, and to the city of the god Ninazu, that are attested to, and in all these cases the king making the ceremonial journey is none other than our travel-prone Shulgi. The new information comes from a tablet in the Böhl collection at Leiden, published in 1957 by the Dutch cuneiformist J. Van Dijk, which is inscribed with a narrative poem that sheds new light on the idyllic sacred-marriage of the king to Inanna, and includes an exhaustive and inspiring divine blessing that must have given no little satisfaction and joy to the energetic, ambitious Shulgi. [17]

The poem begins with a narrative passage depicting Shulgi's departure by boat from Ur, laden with animals large and small to be offered as sacrifices to the goddess and bride-to-be. On his arrival at her city, Erech, he dons his ceremonial dress, and Inanna is so taken with his appearance that she breaks into a spontaneous chant of gleeful anticipation at the prospect of bedding with so august and attractive a mortal. Here now is how the poet tells it: [18]

Shulgi, the faithful shepherd set out by boat,
Sumer and Akkad marvelled at the *me*'s of kingship, at the *me*'s of princeship.
At the quay of Kullab he docked the boat,
With large mountain-bulls carried in (his) arms,

[17] Cf. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 11 (1954), pp. 83-88 for a partial translation of the text by J. Van Dijk; the text itself was published by him three years later as number 2 of *Tabulae Cuneiforme a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl II*.

[18] In the translation of the poem, note the following: The *me's* are the divine rules set up by the gods at the time of creation to keep the universe running effectively; *Kullab* is a district in Erech, where Inanna and An had their tample Eanna; "black heads" is an epithet for the Sumerian people; "her mother" is the goddess Ningal, the wife of the moon-god Nanna-Sin; "her father", however, refers probably not to Nanna-Sin but is an honorific title for Enki, the god of wisdom, who had charge of the *me*'s and from whom Inanna got them by a ruse.

With sheep and goats tied to his hands,
With dappled (?) kids and bearded kids pressed to his breast,
To Inanna he came, in the shrine of Eanna.
Shulgi, the faithful shepherd, the heart-beloved dressed himself in the *ma*-garment,
A wig as a crown he put on his head,
Inanna looked on in wonder,
Broke spontaneously into song, utters it as a chant;

"When for the bull, for the lord, I shall have bathed,
When for the shepherd Dumuzi I shall have bathed,
When with. . , my sides shall have been adorned,
When with amber my mouth shall have been coated,
When with kohl my eyes shall have been painted,
When by his fair hands my loins shall have been shaped,
When the lord lying by Inanna, the shepherd Dumuzi,
With milk and fat the lap shall have smoothed(?),. . . . ,
When on my holy vulva his hands he shall have laid,. . . . ,
When on the bed he shall have caressed me,
Then will I caress my lord,
A sweet fate I will decree for him,
Then will I caress Shulgi, the faithful shepherd,
A sweet fate I will decree for him,
I will caress his loins,
The shepherdship of the lands I will decree as his fate."

So much for Inanna's spontaneous chant. The poet might now will have continued immediately with the "fate" or blessing as uttered by the goddess. Instead he chose to interject a brief hymnal passage for the goddess, thus:

The queen, the bright light of heaven, the allure of the black heads,
The heroic one more powerful than her mother, presented with the *me*'s by her father,
Inanna, the daughter of Sin,
For Shulgi, the son of Ninsun, decrees the fate.

Now follows the blessing itself. After promising him her support in battle and combat, in the assembly at home and on his expeditions to foreign lands, she acclaims his eligibility for all the rights, prerogatives, apparel and insignia that go with kingship, thus:

"In battle I am your leader, in combat I walk at your side,
In the assembly I am your advocate, on the road I am your life,
You, the chosen shepherd of the holy house (?),
You, the king, the faithful supporter of the Eanna,
You, the sustainer (?) of An's great shrine,
You are eligible in all ways.

To hold high the head on the lofty dais, you are eligible,
To sit on the noble throne, you are eligible,
To fix the crown on your head, you are eligible,
To wear long garments on your body, you are eligible,
To gird yourself in the garments of kingship, you are eligible,
To carry the mace (as) a weapon, you are eligible,
To..the..-weapon, you are eligible,
To guide straight the long arrow and bow, you are eligible,
To fasten the boomerang and the sling at the side, you are eligible,
For the holy scepter in your hand, you are eligible,
For the holy sandals on your feet, you are eligible,
To ride (?) on the..of the road, you are eligible,
To prance on my holy bosom like a noble calf, you are eligible,
May your beloved heart be long of days—
An has determined this for you, he will not alter it,
Enlil, the decreer of the fates, will not change it. [19]

[19] Thus ends the part of the tablet devoted to the pilgrimage to Inanna of Erech; the text then continues with Shulgi's journey to Utu at Larsa who lauds him as a great hero and blesses his return to Ur; and breaks off in the middle of a passage depicting his arrival at the city where the god Ninazu has his main seat of worship.

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whatever, it is the normal, not yet contracted, name for the Sea.

The possibility of still later arrival of the story is, however, not excluded; the uncontracted *ti'amtum* "sea" is still fully alive in Old Babylonian, and one cannot help thinking of the Western Semites that founded the First Dynasty of Babylon, the Dynasty of Amurru as the Babylonians themselves called it. Which word these invaders used for "sea" is not known, but there is nothing to exclude the possibility that they used the term *tihāmatum*—in status indeterminatus for use as proper name: *Tihāmat*. The occurrence of *tehōm* in Hebrew and *tihāmat* in Arabic shows that it is entirely possible—one can only hope that new evidence will one day allow us to see more clearly on this point. Until then our personal preference is for assuming that the motif was brought to Babylon late, with the Amorites.

## THE "BABEL OF TONGUES": A SUMERIAN VERSION

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN HIS MEMORABLE CONTRIBUTION TO BIBLICAL CUNEIFORM RESEARCH, the Anchor Bible *Genesis*, E. A. Speiser analyses with characteristic acumen, learning, and skill the Mesopotamian background of the "Tower of Babel" narrative, and comes to the conclusion that it "had a demonstrable source in cuneiform literature" (pp. 74-76). This paper will help to corroborate and confirm Speiser's conclusion by bringing to light a new parallel to one of the essential motifs in the "Tower of Babel" theme—the confusion of tongues.

Oxford's Ashmolean Museum still has in its tablet collection thirty-odd unpublished cuneiform tablets and fragments dating from the early post-Sumerian period inscribed with Sumerian literary works, some of which were no doubt composed during the Third Dynasty of Ur.[1] The majority of the pieces come from the Anglo-American excavations in Kish (1923-1932); the remainder form part of the Weld-Blundell collection purchased from antiquity dealers.[2] All are now being copied by the Oxford cuneiformist, Oliver Gurney, and will be published in due course with an introduction by the writer.

Some ten of the Ashmolean tablets and fragments are inscribed with hitherto unknown compositions.[3] The rest are of considerable importance for the restoration of broken parts of compositions long known.[4] One of these is a fragmentary tablet of 27 lines, copied by Gurney, that helps to restore a "Golden Age" passage known in part for the past quarter century, and provides us with a Sumerian version of the "Babel of tongues" motif.[5] This passage consisted of 20 lines, but

[1] For the dating of the Sumerian literary material, cf. e.g. Falkenstein, *SAHG* 11 ff.; Kramer, *The Sumerians* 168 ff., and Hallo, *JAOS* 83: 167 ff.

[2] The texts from both sources have been published primarily in the *OECT* volumes.

[3] Among the more noteworthy of these are (1) a collection of four letters: the first is from a king to one of his officials; the second is a letter to the god Utu from some important individual in Larsa, depicting the bitter suffering of the city at the hands of Elam, Subir, and the Su-people, and pleading for deliverance; the third is a letter to Rim-Sin lamenting the destruction of Larsa; the fourth is a letter probably addressed to the goddess Ninisinna, pleading for the welfare of Larsa and its king Sinidinnam; (2) a hymnal prayer to Ninisinna for Larsa and Sinidinnam; (3) a collection of prayers for Iddin-Dagan addressed to the gods Ninisinna, An, Enlil, and Ninlil (in that order; by far the longest is the prayer to Ninisinna), each ending in the obscure phrase a-mu-zu (cf. *UET* VI[1] pp. 93-94 for a collection of prayers for Šulgi that end in the same phrase).

[4] Among these are: (1) Three school-practice letters of the type described in *UET* VI[2] pp. 3-4 (comment to Nos. 173-183); (2) a tablet inscribed with lines 65-119 of the "Lamentation Over Sumer and Ur" (cf. for the present *UET* VI[2] p. 1 comment to Nos. 124-134); (3) a four-column tablet inscribed with the Nidaba hymn published in *OECT* I plates 36-39 (cf. *SAHG* No. 7 and *Bi Or* XI 172); (4) the lower half of a rather poorly preserved four column tablet inscribed with the "Instructions of Šuruppak" (cf. for the present *UET* VI[2] p. 3, comment to Nos. 169-171).

[5] This passage is part of the epic tale "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" that I published in 1952 as a University Museum Monograph. The poem is concerned with a struggle for power between the Sumerian hero Enmerkar, and an unnamed ruler of the as yet unidentified city-state Aratta, situated somewhere in

only the first 14 lines were well preserved, and these read as follows:[6]

136. Once upon a time there was no snake, there was no scorpion,
There was no hyena, there was no lion,
There was no wild(?)[7] dog, no wolf,
There was no fear, no terror,
140. Man had no rival.
In those days, the lands Šubur (and) Hamazi,
Harmony-tongued(?) Sumer, the great land of the decrees of princeship,
Uri, the land having all that is appropriate(?),
The land Martu, resting in security,
145. The whole universe, the people in unison(?),
To Enlil in one tongue. . . . .
Then a-da[8] the lord, a-da the prince, a-da the king,
Enki a-da the lord, a-da the prince, a-da the king,
a-da the lord, a-da the prince,[9] a-da the king. . . . .

The meaning of the first eleven lines of this passage was quite clear; they portrayed those happy golden days of long ago when man, free from fear and want, lived in a world of peace and prosperity, and when all the peoples of the universe, as represented by Šubur-Hamazi, Sumer, Uri (the later Akkad), and Martu, worshipped the same god, the leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon, Enlil. To be sure, the verb in line 146 was missing, but it was not unreasonable to surmise that it was something like "gave promise" or "spoke." However, this line contained the phrase "in one tongue" that was tantalizingly ambiguous; it could be taken literally, in which case the meaning would be that all the peoples of the universe spoke the same language, or it could be regarded as a figurative expression for unanimity, that is, all mankind was "of one heart" in acknowledging the supremacy of Enlil. Moreover lines 147-149 that concerned Enki, the Sumerian god of wisdom, were left hanging in mid-air, altogether unintelligible in the context, since the remainder of the passage was largely destroyed.

All this is now cleared up by the Ashmolean tablet[10] that provides us with the missing verb in line 146—it turns out to be "spoke" rather than "gave praise" as I had surmised[11]—and fills in virtually all of lines 150-155, so that the second part of the "Golden Age" passage (lines 147-155) can now be meaningfully translated as follows:

147. Then a-da the lord, a-da the prince, a-da the king,

Iran. The "Golden Age" passage is part of an address to the en of Aratta designed to persuade him to let himself become a vassal of Enmerkar, and to have his subjects bring down gold, silver, and semi-precious stones in order to build for him sundry shrines and temples, and especially the Abzu-temple of Enki's city, Eridu.

[6] The line numbering is that of the "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" monograph.

[7] More literally, perhaps, "the princely dog," or perhaps even "the Sumerian dog" (as contrasted with ur-nim "the Elamite dog"); for ur-sÈ=ur-gi$_4$(r) cf. now Gordon in *JCS* 12: 72 ff. and Falkenstein in *ZA* 57: 81, comment to line 23.

[8] This enigmatic word was translated (with some qualms) by "father" in the monograph, that is as if a-da stood for ad-da. But as has been pointed out to me verbally by several scholars, this rendering is quite unjustified and it is preferable to leave it untranslated for the present.

[9] The Ashmolean text has the variant -e for NE in this line, which indicates that en-NE is to be read en-ne and nun-NE is to be read nun-ne; that is, the two complexes consist of a noun followed by the subject elements -e (in a-da-lugal-la, where the final -a is presumably for -àm, there is no subject element since -àm cannot be followed by a grammatical element). Note, however, that the combination of a final n and the subject element is regularly written with the sign NI rather than NE.

[10] The indications are that this was an exercise tablet written by a student who was not yet overly proficient in the scribal art. Thus, for example, in line 4 (=line 139 of the Enmerkar monograph) he writes ŠUL for the expected SU in the complex su-zi-zi-i; in line 5 he writes ZU for SU in gaba šu-gar; in line 6 he writes ZU-bir$_4$ for su-bir$_4$. In all these cases there is a bare possibility that some dialectal phonetic or orthographic variant is involved, but certainly nothing but carelessness and incompetence is involved in the writing of NA for KI following ZU-bir$_4$ (line 6), or KI for NA in nam-nun-na(!)-ka (line 7) or U for KUR in kur(!)-me-te-gál-la (line 8), or KI for NA in gi$_6$-ù-na(!)-ka (line 26).

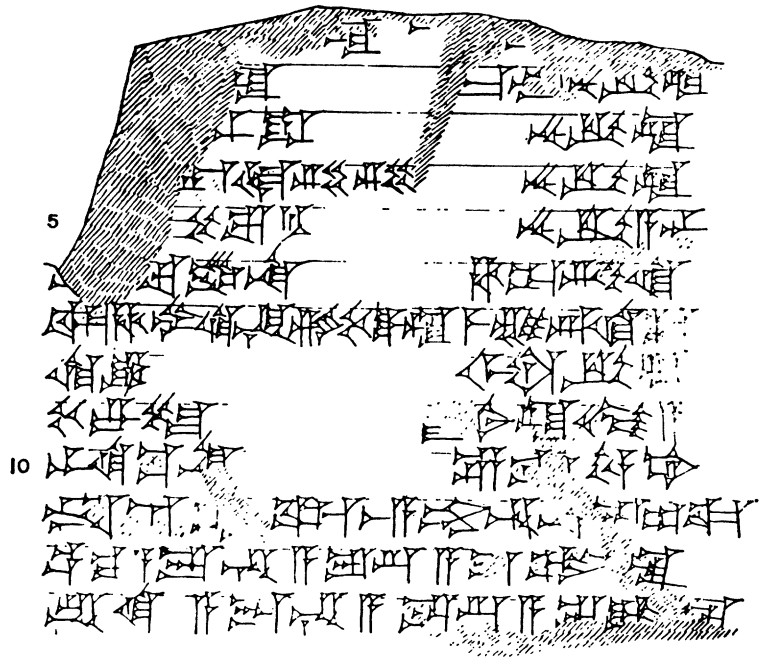
[11] The verb is ḫé-en-na-da-ab-dug$_4$ (the nuance intended here by the infix -da- remains uncertain for the present).

[12] The Sumerian for these lines can now be restored to read:

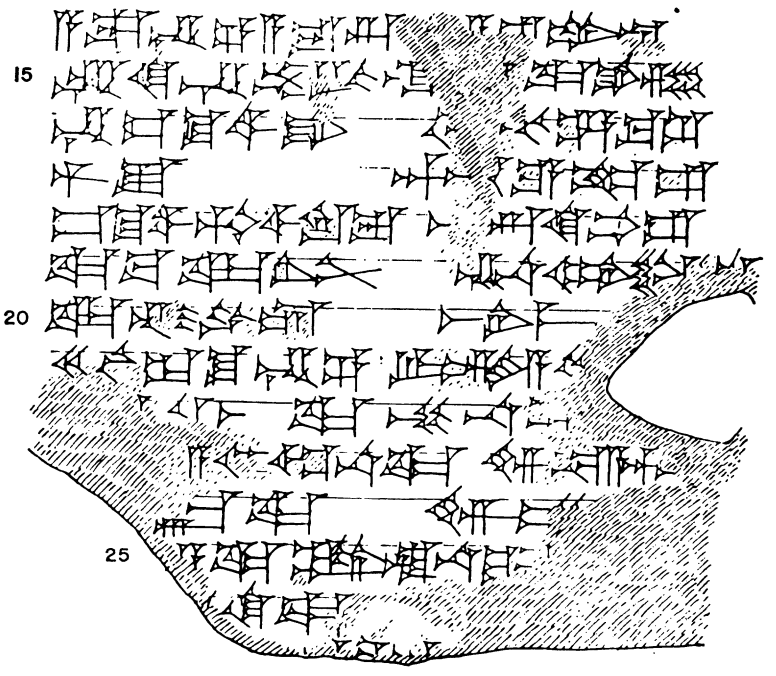
147. u$_4$-ba a-da-en a-da-nun a-da-lugal-la
$^d$en-ki a-da-en a-da-nun a-da-lugal-la
a-da-en-e a-da-nun-e a-da-lugal-la

Ash. 1924.475

Obv.



Rev.



Copy by Oliver Gurney

Enki a-da the lord, a-da the prince, a-da the king,
a-da the lord, a-da the prince, a-da the king,
Enki, the lord of abundance, (whose) commands are trustworthy,
The lord of wisdom, who understands the land,
The leader of the gods,
Endowed with wisdom, the l[ord] of Eridu,
Changed the speech in their mouths,
[brought(?)] contention into it,
Into the speech of man that (until then) had been one.[12]

Our new piece, therefore, puts it beyond all doubt that the Sumerians believed that there was a time when all mankind spoke one and the same language, and that it was Enki, the Sumerian god of wisdom, who confounded their speech. The reason for this fateful deed is not stated in the text; it may well have been inspired by Enki's jealousy of Enlil and the universal sway over mankind that he enjoyed.[13]

Turning now to Genesis 11:1-9, the first verse reads (in Speiser's translation): "The whole world had the same language and the same words," that is the Hebrew redactors of the Bible, like the Sumero-Akkadian mythographers, believed that there was a time when all men spoke the same tongue. Moreover, to judge from the second verse: "As men migrated from the east they came upon a valley in the land of Shinar and settled there," they were of the opinion that the inhabitants of Sumer, (or Sumer-Akkad)[14] originally spoke one and the same language, a view which no doubt goes back to cuneiform literary sources. On the other hand the Biblical explanation of the confuson of tongues that interprets the sky-reaching ziggurat as a product of man's deep-rooted hybris and as a threat to the gods, is quite different from our Sumerian version, and is undoubtedly a product of the Hebrew religious imagination and moralistic temperament.[15] Even so, the central motif was probably the same in both versions, that is, the "confounding" of tongues came about as the result of rivalry, except that in the Sumerian case this was between god and god, and in the Hebrew, between god and man.[16]

150. $^{d}$en-ki en-ḫé-gál-la-[du]g$_4$-ga-zi
en-geštug-ga ig[i-g]ál-kalam-ma-ke$_4$
mas-su-dingir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$
geštug-ge-pà-da e[n]-eridu$^{ki}$-ga-ke$_4$
ka-ba eme ì-kúr en-na mi-ni-in- . . .
eme-nam-lú-lu$_6$ aš ì-me-[a]

To be noted is the following: For the obscure a-da (lines 147-150), cf. note 8. For the variant -e (for -ne) in line 149, cf. note 9. In line 150, text C (plate XIV of the Enmerkar monograph) has only one dug$_4$. In line 151, the restoration igi-gál was suggested by Hallo. In line 164, the crucial en-na has nothing to do with the en-na that is usually rendered "as long as"; it is the en-na which is found as a parallel to nu-še-(ga) in line 131 of the Enḫeduanna hymnal prayer (cf. *UET* VI$^2$ pp. 10-11, comment to Nos. 107-110; a definitive edition of the text prepared by Hallo and Van Dijk is soon to appear as a publication of the Yale University Press), and in line 17 of the reverse of *BE* XXIX No. 4. Finally, the new text makes it clear that there was one line too many in the restored text on p. 14 of the Enmerkar monograph, that is, there are only 5 lines between lines 150 and the line there numbered as 156, but which is actually 155.

[12] For the assumed rivalry between Enki and Enlil, cf. my comment in *Aspects du Contact Sumero-Akkadian* p. 276 and note 22. Note, too, that in the Išme-Dagan hymn *TRS* XV 9 line 7, the initial complex $^{d}$en-ki-$^{d}$en-ki parallels the initial $^{d}$a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne of the preceding line; it is not unlikely, therefore, that $^{d}$en-ki-$^{d}$en-ki stands for the *Igigû* (usually written nun-gal-e-ne). If so, we may surmise that in the time of Išme-Dagan there was current a myth revolving about a struggle between the Enki-gods (that is, the *Igigû*) and the An-gods (that is the *Anunnakû*, who are specifically stated to be the children of An) in which the *Igigû* were victorious. This might explain why in later days, the *Igigû* were at times considered as the heaven-gods while the *Anunnakû* (or at least some of them) became Nether-World gods. For different views and for the difficulties, complexities, and ambiguities involved in the *Anunnakû-Igigû* problem, cf. Von Soden, *CRRA* XI 102-111; and Falkenstein and Kienast in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger*, 127-158.

[14] For the etymology of Shinar, cf. Poebel, *AJSL* XLVIII 26.

[15] The Biblical story-teller was no doubt inspired to invent his moralistic explanation by the two-fold aspect of the Babylonian ziggurat: (a) the high-rise, sky-reaching appearance of the structure in its prime, that could be interpreted as a threat to the gods and their power, and (b) its melancholy and pathetic appearance when in a state of disrepair and collapse (which was not infrequent), that could be viewed as a punishment by the angered gods (or Jahweh) for man's over-reaching ambition. The Mesopotamian, on the other hand, far from viewing the ziggurat as an outgrowth of man's rivalry with, and antagonism to, the gods, actually deemed it to be a bond between heaven and earth, man and god, and attributed its ruin and decay to the inscrutable will of the gods and their incontestable decisions.

[16] A tiny fragment in the University Museum very recently identified provides the missing last signs of line 154 as -gar-ra (presumably for -gar-ra-àm); the rendering "brought" should read "set up."

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# SUMERIAN SIMILES:

## A PANORAMIC VIEW OF SOME OF MAN'S OLDEST LITERARY IMAGES*

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

One of the rather popular poetic devices utilized by the Sumerians is the simile, characterized by the addition of *gim* 'like' to a word, phrase, or clause. This paper is a pioneering effort to collect and interpret the more intelligible similes found in more than twenty compositions ranging over the entire gamut of Sumerian literary genres. Though the comparisons involved are not overly imaginative and profound, they do reflect a measure of sensitivity and sensibility relative to the natural and animal world, as well as to man and his handiwork, and are not unrevealing for Sumerian culture and character.

FOR OVER THIRTY YEARS now I have been stating in publication after publication that one of the outstanding contributions of this century to the humanities is the recovery, restoration, translation, and interpretation of the Sumerian literary documents, the vast majority of which were composed from about 2100 to 1800 B.C. Since this assertion might sound subjective and self-serving, let me summarize the data in its support.

At present, scattered throughout the museums the world over, there are more than 5,000 tablets and fragments inscribed with Sumerian literary works. Many of these are now available to the scholarly world in one form or another—originals, copies, photographs and casts—and their contents have been, or are in the process of being, painstakingly reconstructed by a number of cuneiformists. As a result it is now known that, very roughly put, we have about 20 myths varying in length from just over 100 to close to 1,000 lines (about 5,000 lines in all); 9 epic tales varying in length from just over 100 lines to over 500 lines (about 3,000 lines in all); over one hundred hymns, royal and divine, varying in length from under 100 to close to 500 lines (about 10,000 lines at least); a score or so of lamentations and lamentation-like texts with about some 3,000 lines; 12 disputations and school essays with about 4,000 lines; a dozen or so collections of proverbs and precepts with about 3,000 lines). All in all, a total of some 28,000 lines!

To be sure not a few of the compositions listed above still have considerable gaps in their text. But to make up for this, there are quite a number of tablets and fragments whose contents are as yet unidentifiable and unplaceable, and these will no doubt add several thousand lines to the total. Moreover we now have a number of literary catalogues compiled by the ancient schoolmen themselves, that list quite a number of compositions of which little or nothing has been recovered to date, but some of which will no doubt turn up in future excavations; these may well increase the total to forty or even fifty thousand lines. There is every reason to conclude, therefore, that quantitatively speaking the Sumerian *belles lettres* surpassed by far such ancient literary compilations as the Iliad and Odyssey, the Rigveda, and the more literary books of the Bible.[1]

* Presidential address delivered March 20, 1968, at the 178th meeting of the American Oriental Society, Berkeley and San Francisco.

[1] For fuller details on the character and quantity of the Sumerian literary works, cf. Kramer, "Sumerian Literature: A General Survey," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, pp. 249–66; *The Sumerians* (Chapter Five); the introductions to *TuMNF* III and IV, *UET* VI parts 1, 2, and the forthcoming part 3 (copied by A. Shaffer); *CT* XLII (cf. Kramer's review article in *JCS* XVIII, pp. 35–48); the introduction and catalogue to the forthcoming two volumes on the Sumerian literary tablets and fragments in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul (close to 900 pieces in all, copied by Muazzez Çığ, Hatice Kizilyay, and S. N. Kramer); the forthcoming Ashmolean Museum volume of Sumerian

As for quality, most scholars, and I among them, would agree that the Sumerian literary works are inferior to the Greek and Hebrew classics in sensibility, perception, profundity, and artistry. Literary evaluation and appreciation, however, are matters of taste, and it is my feeling that when, in the course of time, the Sumerian *belles lettres* come to be better understood, and lose some of the strangeness that veils them from the mind and heart of the modern reader, they will compare not too unfavorably with the literatures of the ancient Hebrews and Greeks. Nor is it altogether irrelevant to note that these later and more sophisticated literatures might never have come into being at all, had it not been for the innovative, pioneering Sumerian poets and scribes who prepared the way.

The vast majority of the Sumerian literary works are written in poetic form, characterized primarily by the skillful manipulation of repetition and parallelism patterns, as well as by such figures of speech as metaphor and simile. This paper is a pioneering attempt to collect and interpret the more intelligible similes found in more than a score of compositions representing virtually every Sumerian literary genre—myth, epic tale, hymn, lament and "wisdom."[2] The images evoked in these similes derive from nature, the animal world, as well as man and his handiwork. Much of the "footwork" for this paper was done by my young colleague in the University of Pennsylvania,

literary tablets and fragments (cf. Kramer, "The Babel of Tongues," in the Speiser Memorial Issue, *JAOS* LXXXVIII, pp. 108–111). In addition, there are several hundred pieces in the Yale Babylonian Collection (to be published under the editorship of W. W. Hallo); some 400 tablets and fragments excavated by the Joint Oriental Institute-University Museum Expedition to Nippur in its first three seasons (1948–51), a catalogue of which is being prepared by M. Civil; close to sixty well-preserved Sumerian literary tablets in the British Museum identified by Sollberger and Kramer (cf. Kramer, "New Light on Old Myths," in the London Times, Nov. 14, 1964). As for the ancient catalogues of Sumerian literary works, cf. last Kramer, "New Literary Catalogue from Ur," in *RA* LV, pp. 169–76, and Hallo, "On the Antiquity of Sumerian Literature," in *JAOS* LXXXIII, pp. 167–76; two new catalogues recently identified by E. Sollberger contain the titles of more than a hundred still unknown compositions.

[2] The following compositions have been utilized in this study:

Angim — Epic Angim dimma (cited from E. Bergmann's MS. in the University Museum).

BF — Disputation Between Bird and Fish (cited from M. Civil's MS. in the University Museum; for complete bibliographical references, cf. Civil's forthcoming volume on disputations in the series, *Texts From Cuneiform Sources*).

CA — Curse of Agade (cited from MS. in the University Museum prepared by Adele Feigenbaum, utilizing Falkenstein's study in *ZA* 57, pp. 43 ff and a number of still unpublished Nippur pieces. For complete bibliographical references, cf. the forthcoming supplement to *ANET*).

DUN — Death of Ur-Nammu (cited from S. N. Kramer's MS. in the University Museum; cf. the forthcoming Goetze Festschrift Volume of *JCS*).

EE — Enki and Eridu (cited from S. N. Kramer's MS. in the University Museum. For bibliographical references, cf. Falkenstein, *SAHG*, p. 372 no. 31).

EH — Enlil Hymn (cited from MS. in the University Museum prepared by D. Reisman, utilizing Falkenstein's study in *SGL* I, pp. 5 ff. and a number of recently published, and unpublished pieces. For complete bibliographical references, cf. the forthcoming supplement to *ANET*).

ELA — Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (cited from S. N. Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta: A Sumerian Epic Tale of Iraq and Iran*, University Museum Monograph, 1952).

EN — Enki and Ninḫursag (cited from S. N. Kramer, "Enki and Ninḫursag: A Sumerian 'Paradise' Myth," *BASOR* Supplement I, 1945).

Enḫ — Hymnal Prayer of Enḫeduanna (cited from MS. of W. W. Hallo and J. J. A. van Dijk now in press).

GEN — Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld (cited from the dissertation of A. Shaffer, Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgameš, University of Pennsylvania, 1963).

GLL — Gilgameš and the Land of the Living (cited from MS. in the University Museum prepared by A. Shaffer, utilizing Kramer's study in *JCS* I, pp. 3 ff and a number of still unpublished pieces).

Barry Eichler, who plans to prepare, in the course of time, a far more comprehensive and thoroughgoing study of Sumerian imagery, and I take this opportunity to express to him my deep gratitude for his help in the preparation of this paper, which is but a faint, faltering harbinger of better things to come.

The cosmic spheres and entities represented in Sumerian imagery are heaven, earth and sea, and the heavenly bodies, moon, sun and star. Heaven appealed to the Sumerian poets because of its height. Nippur, Sumer's holy city is "as lofty as heaven;" the height of the goddess Inanna, according to a *magnificat* glorifying her powers and deeds—"is like heaven." Related to heaven's height is its distance from the earth; hence we find one of Sumer's most famous rulers, Ur-Nammu, crying out in the Nether World against the injustice of the gods whom he had served piously during his lifetime but who failed to stand by him in his time of need, that "his good omen is as far away as heaven." Heaven's beauty also impressed the poets. King Šulgi, son of Ur-Nammu, following his victory over the enemy, and the avenging of his capital Ur, builds a boat and decorates it with "stars like heaven"; Nippur is described by one poet as "beautiful within and without like heaven."[3]

Like the height of heaven, the width of the earth lent itself to ready comparison: the goddess Inanna for example, in the *magnificat* mentioned above, was not only "as high as Heaven," but also "as wide as the earth." The earth was also thought as eternally enduring; hence the rituals of the Ekur, Sumer's holiest temple, were "as everlasting as the earth." The sea, on the other hand,

HF Home of the Fish (cited from M. Civil, "The Home of the Fish," *Iraq* XXIII, pp. 154 ff).

ID*6 Iddin-Dagan: Hymn to Inanna-Dilibad (cited from MS. in the University Museum prepared by D. Reisman, utilizing Römer's study in *SKI*, pp. 128 ff and a number of still unpublished Nippur pieces).

IDN Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld (cited from S. N. Kramer, "Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld. . . ," *JCS* V, pp. 1 ff and *PAPS* 107, pp. 511 ff).

IH*12 Išme-Dagan Hymn (cited from MS. in the University Museum prepared by B. Eichler on the basis of Römer's study in *SKI*, pp. 39, ff and a collation of all the utilized texts).

LE Lugalbanda and Enmerkar (cited from C. Wilcke's MS. in the University Museum to be published in the near future).

LH*23, *24 Lipit-Ištar Hymns (cited from MSS. in the University Museum prepared by Gertrud Flügge, utilizing Römer's study in *SKI*, pp. 23 ff and 29 ff and a number of recently published, and unpublished pieces).

LSU Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur (cited from S. N. Kramer's MS. in the University Museum; for complete bibliographical references, cf. the forthcoming supplement to *ANET*).

Lugale Epic Lugale u melambi nergal (cited from E. Bergmann's MS. in the University Museum).

LU Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur (cited from *AS* XII; for bibliographical references, cf. *ANET*, p. 455, *UET* VI/2, pp. 1–2, and TuMNF IV, p. 16).

MHG Man and His God (cited from *VT* Suppl. III, pp. 178 ff; for complete bibliographical references, cf. the forthcoming supplement to *ANET*).

SAP Sumerian Animal Proverbs (cited from E. Gordon's article in *JCS* XII, pp. 1 ff).

ŠHa Šulgi Hymn A (cited from MS. in the University Museum prepared by J. Klein, utilizing Falkenstein's study in *ZA* 50, pp. 61 ff and a number of recently published, and unpublished pieces. For complete bibliographical references, cf. the forthcoming supplement to *ANET*).

ŠHd Šulgi Hymn D (cited from the dissertation of J. Klein on Šulgi hymnography presently being prepared at the University of Pennsylvania).

SMT Sacred Marriage Texts (cited from Kramer, "Cuneiform Studies and the History of Literature: The Sumerian Sacred Marriage Texts," *PAPS* 107, pp. 485 ff).

SP Sumerian Proverbs (cited from E. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs: Glimpses of Everyday Life in Ancient Mesopotamia*, University Museum Monograph, 1959):

[3] In this and the following notes, the references are in the order of the images treated in each corresponding paragraph. IH*12 139; Enḫ 123; DUN 160; ŠHd 244; IH*12 185.

seems to have been used sparingly in Sumerian imagery, there is not a single example in the compositions utilized for this study.[4]

Height, as might be expected, is also used in the imagery of the moon: mountains, for example, are as high as Nanna (i.e. "the moon") in the upper sky." But it is the beauty of its light that appealed most to the poets: Inanna (i.e. the Venus star) "shines forth like the moonlight"; she (Inanna) is filled with beauty like the "rising moonlight." Light, too, is naturally the most attractive feature of the sun: the king Lipit-Ištar boasts of "coming forth like the sun, the light of the land"; temples "fill the land with sunlight" and are adorned with "splendid horns like the sun coming forth from its *ganun* (sleeping chamber.)" But since according to the Sumerian theologians, the sun is also the god of justice, kings boast of making "just decisions" like Utu (the sun-god).[5]

In contrast to the light of the moon and the sun, it was the dimness of dusk that served for poetic comparison. Thus, the depth of the downfall of the Ekišnugal, the great temple of the moon-god at Ur, is described in these words:

> "It (the Ekišnugal) that had filled the land like sunlight, (now) has become as dim as dusk."

On the other hand, since dusk is the time of the golden sunset, one poet seems to describe it "as going to its house with blood-filled face." As for the stars, it was their permanence rather than their twinkling that seemed to impress the poets; hence the prayer that Ur "should not come to an end, like a star."[6]

Turning to weather phenomena, it is not surprising to find that the leading place was given to Mesopotamia's major affliction, the storm—the Near East counterpart of our hurricane and tornado. Fierce winds destroy cities "like a Floodstorm"; the vengeful Inanna attacks again and again in battle, "like the all-attacking storm"; when the great gods decreed the destruction of Ur during the reign of its last and rather pathetic king Ibbi-Sin, they sent a deluge that "roared like a great storm over the earth, who could escape it!"[7]

A weaker relative of the storm is the "torrent" (literally "the gushing forth high waters"). Thus we read that "fierce winds cannot be restrained like torrents"; that in order to destroy Ur, the gods sent the cruel Elamites who "trampled it like a torrent"; and if correctly interpreted, we find the oldest counterpart of our English "torrent of words" in the epic tale "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta", in the line "He (Enmerkar) spoke to his herald from where he sat, like a torrent."[8]

The imagery evoked by rain was that of plentitude and copiousness: kings boast of pouring out libations of strong drink "like rain gushing from heaven"; and on a far more sombre note, the *sag*-arrows of the enemy fill the bodies of the people of Ur "like heavy rain." The observation that rain sinks into the earth and does not return to heaven, provided the author of the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur" with the wishful curse against the storm that had attacked Ur that it "should not return to its place, like rain from heaven." As for water, we find the oldest counterpart of the sad but all too common simile "blood flowed like water," in the boast of Šulgi, that his weapon "made flow the blood of the people like water"; as well as the less apt but no less bitter image that "famine filled the city like water, there was no respite from it."[9]

The obvious and widespread image of flashing lightning has its Sumerian counterparts in such royal boasts as arrows "flash before me like lightning," or "I am one who flashes in battle like lightning." And when the wandering hero Lugalbanda, eager to return to Erech as quickly as possible, asks the grateful Anzu for his blessing, he pleads: "I would rise like a flame, flash like lightning." The flame not only rises but also trembles; hence the moon-god Sin, distraught because of the

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[4] Enḫ 124; EH 42.

[5] ELA 272; ID*6 111; Enḫ 147; LH*24 3; LSU 435; ELA 132; IH*12 229.

[6] LSU 435; ELA 272; LU 424.

[7] LU 199; Enḫ 28; LSU 112.

[8] LU 184; LSU 408; ELA 470.

[9] IH*12 160; LSU 387; LU 409; ŠHd 190; LSU 393.

suffering of his city, pleads before his father Enlil: "On the anguished heart that you have made tremble like a flame, cast a friendly eye."[10]

In the realm of nature, it was the mountain, high and pure, that played a significant role in Sumerian imagery: cities are made "pure as a mountain," temples are built in pure places "like a rising mountain," city walls reach to heaven like a mountain. But there was also the mined mountain whose cuts and gashes evoked thoughts of ruin and destruction; thus the angered Naram-Sin is depicted as forging mighty axes in order "to turn it (the Ekur) into dust like a mountain mined for silver, to cut it to pieces like a mountain of lapis lazuli." Rivers rarely served as images: in the material examined thus far, we find two rather forced and colorless similes: the gates of a city are said to open their mouths "like the Tigris emptying its waters into the sea," and the rivers of one unfortunate city were without water "like rivers cursed by (the water-god) Enki."[11]

Vegetation, as might be expected in a basically agricultural country, is well represented in Sumerian imagery. The tree most popular with the poets was the cedar: Šulgi boasts that he is a "good shade" (for the land) like a cedar; Iddin-Dagan heaped up incense "like a fragrant cedar forest". The date palm and especially the date-palm of Dilmun was highly thought of: Šulgi, according to one poet was cherished by the goddess Ningal "like a date-palm of Dilmun." But since virtually every part of the date-palm was broken up and utilized in one form or another by the ancients, one poet was moved to lament that "a heavenly throne," as well as the temple's choice oxen and sheep were cut to pieces like date-palms. The boxwood impressed the poets with its luxuriance and height; hence the lord Enmerkar wants the craftsmen of Aratta to build him a temple for Enki and make it "luxuriant like the boxwood." The still unidentified *mes*-tree was noted for its fruit, as may be surmised from such similes as "you (Šulgi) are a wondrous sight like a fertile *mes*-tree adorned with fruit"; or the *gipar* (part of a temple) is piled high with fruit "like a *mes*-tree." The *ildag*-tree, perhaps a variety of poplar, on the other hand, must have been remarkable for its strength; hence Šulgi is said to be "as vigorous as a mature *ildag*-tree planted by the watercourse."[12]

Though the reed of Mesopotamia was put to many practical uses, it evoked a sombre, melancholy mood in the poetic imagination; hence the city Ur in its travail "droops its head like a solitary reed," and when Dumuzi, doomed to die as a surrogate for his angered wife Inanna, dreams of a solitary, drooping reed, it is interpreted as his mother "drooping her head" in melancholy anticipation of his death. Moreover the reed-pipe was the musical instrument played on all sad, funereal occasions, and it is no wonder that the great Šulgi, who boasts of his love of music and his ability to play any number of musical instruments, asserts that one instrument he did not like to play was the wailing reed pipe that brought nothing but sadness to man's spirit and heart. Reed rushes evoked images of tearing and plucking, as did also the easily plucked crunched leek, in spite of its value as a staple food.[13]

The major source of imagery for the Sumerian poets was the animal kingdom, including wild and domestic animals, as well as birds and fish. The lion provided such expected stereotype similes as the king's inspiring terror like a lion, or his springing forward like a lion; a rather unusual example occurs in a mythical motif that describes angered waters attempting to destroy a boat by "devouring" its bow "like a wolf," and striking at its stern "like a lion." A messenger springing forward to hurry on his mission is like "a wolf pursuing a kid."[14]

The wild ox, or "mountain bull," to use the

[10] ŠHd 181; LH*23 74; LE 192; LSU 465.

[11] ELA 55; EH 38; CA 42; CA 108–09; CA 43–44; LSU 131.

[12] ŠHd 35; ID*6 145; ŠHd 34; LSU 198; LSU 419; ELA 131; ŠHd 33; ELA 217; ŠHd 32.

[13] LSU 301; for the references to the reed in connection with Dumuzi and Šulgi, cf. The Death of Dumuzi (Kramer, *The Sumerians*, p. 158) and Šulgi of Ur: A Royal Hymn and Divine Blessing (*JQR* LXXV, p. 375); LU 299; LSU 420–21; GEN 205; SP 2.69.

[14] ŠHa 56; ŠHa 71; GEN 24; GEN 26; ELA 509.

literal meaning of the compound sign for the word, was a high favorite with the Sumerian poets: the *kiur* of the Ekur of Nippur, for example, raises its shining horns over Sumer "like a wild ox"; Išme-Dagan boasts of being thick of neck "like a wild ox"; a man secure in his well-being is "like a wild ox," and (though this expressed a metaphor, rather than a simile), the city Ur, in its heyday, was "a great wild ox that steps forth confidently, secure in its own strength"; Šulgi is depicted as "adorned with splendid horns like a virile wild ox born to a large wild ox." But powerful though he was, there seemed to be Sumerian "cowboys" who had no difficulty in catching and throwing him, to judge from such similes as "He (Gilgameš) tied a nose-rope to him (Ḫuwawa), like a captured wild-ox," or "The *Ušumgal*-statues were hurled to the ground by nose-ropes like captured wild oxen." It sometimes took a considerable number of hunters to kill a large wild ox, as can be seen from a curse pronounced by the god Ninurta against the *šam*-stone, "Be divided up like a large wild ox killed by a company of men."[15]

Unlike the wild ox, the wild cow is rarely used in the similes; there is but one example in our texts, and that rather ambiguous: a herald who had received a pleasing message for delivery to his king is said to have "turned on his thigh like a wild cow" and proceed post-haste to his city. For the elephant, too, there is only one reasonably intelligible simile, and that relates to his clumsiness: "You are (the kind of man) who climbs on a sinking boat like an elephant." The gazelle, in spite of its speed, was readily trapped and therefore evoked an image of utter defeat: "Like a gazelle caught in a trap, they (the people of Ur) bit the dust"; "I (Šulgi) trapped them (the enemy) like a gazelle in the thicket." It was the mountain-kid rather than the gazelle that served as an image of speed; hence Šulgi's boast "Like a mountain goat hurrying to its shelter . . . I entered the Ekišnugal." The suffering of animals who have drunk contaminated water serves as a simile for the agony of Ur-Nammu's queen as a result of his death: "Like the beasts of the steppe brought to a foul well, a 'heavy hand' was placed upon her." Finally, the imagery of the snake relates to such obvious characteristics as crawling, slithering, and spitting forth venom.[16]

Turning to domestic animals, we find the bull (or ox) like his wild ancestor, the wild ox, a high favorite in the imagery of the poets. The bull's bellowing roar served as an image for the voice of rulers, the busy bustle of a temple in full swing, the utterance of temple oracles—no wonder that the sound-boxes of Sumerian lyres frequently terminate in the head of a bull. The image of the firm-standing bull appears in such similes as "He (Gilgameš) stood on the 'great earth' like a bull"; "the hero (Ninurta) whom I lean on like a bull." But firmness can be carried to the point of obstinacy, hence the Sumerian counterpart of our "bullheaded" in the proverb "you are (a man who) like a bull, does not know how to turn back." If angered, the bull becomes violent, hence the expression "to attack like a bull." At the end of the day's work he heads straight for home; thus the goddess Ningal who has abandoned her unfortunate city Ur is implored by the poet to return "like an ox to your stall, like a sheep to your fold." So too, the fish for whom a house—a kind of ancient aquarium—has been built is urged to enter "like a bull to your stall, like a sheep to your fold."

The ox who is not permitted to eat any of the grain he threshes serves as an image for the frustrated man: "He is a man deceived, like an ox escaping from the threshing floor." Oxen belonging to important bureaucrats were allowed to wander freely through the streets, to judge from the proverb "You wander about in the street like the ox of a *šabra* (a high official)." The oldest recorded example of "throwing the bull" (in the literal, not figurative, sense) is found in the Sumerian poet's lament that the great gods had made the bitter decision that Ur "the city of lordship and kingship, built on pure soil, be thrown

[15] EH 71; IH*12 110; SAP 5.4; LSU 52; ŠHd 29; GLL 148; LSU 431; Lugale X 14.

[16] ELA 298; SAP 5.2; LU 220; ŠHd 166; ŠHa 48–50; DUN 182; LE 254; IDN *PAPS* 107, p. 516 line 35; ŠHd 173; ŠHd 161.

instantaneously by the nose-rope, be fastened neck to earth, like a bull." And the pathos of the bull thrown to the ground is revealed in Ningal's bitter words "Like a fallen bull I cannot rise up from your wall ("your" refers to her destroyed city Ur)."[17]

The cow, unlike the bull, failed to inspire the poetic imagination. Of the two intelligible similes found in our texts, one seems to relate to compassion: the goddess Ningal, on witnessing the suffering of her city Ur, is said to prostrate herself on the ground "like a cow for her calf"; the other is in a proverb that characterizes a man given to illusions in these words: "Like a barren cow you keep on seeking your calf that does not exist." Ewes were images of fecundity, hence the oft-repeated simile "as numerous as ewes." But they were readily scattered, and the people of Aratta in distress are compared to "scattered ewes." Often they were deprived of their lambs, hence the goddess Ningal's bitter lament, "Oh my city, like an innocent ewe your lamb has been torn from you." The eagerness of sheep to return "home" prompted the simile cited earlier in connection with the ox "like an ox to your stall, like sheep to your fold," and the more "bookish" comparison in "When you (the fish urged to enter the house newly built for him) raise the head like a sheep to the sheepfold, the shepherd Dumuzi will rejoice with you."[18]

The image of the heavily-loaded donkey, the burden-carrier of the ancient world, prompted the rather obvious simile: "The Elamites and Subarians (Sumer's inimical neighbors) carried (to Agade) all sorts of goods like sack-laden donkeys." The characteristic stubbornness of the donkey seems to be the source of the rather strange-sounding proverb: "Into a plague-stricken city he has to be driven like a rebellious (?) donkey." Probably it is the stupidity of the donkey that is alluded to in a proverb of no little cultural significance that seems to say: "I will not marry a wife who is (only) three years old, like a donkey." "The Sumerian poets also knew of wild donkeys, "donkeys of the plain," and carefully-bred "noble donkeys," all of which evoked primarily images of speed on journeys made by heralds or by travel-minded kings, such as Šulgi, the oldest known counterpart of the modern speed-maniac.[19]

The dog and his character and way of life evoked a congeries of images which, if correctly interpreted, are of no little cultural and psychological significance: a woman suffering in silence is "like a dog imprisoned in a cage"; the blood-thirsty goddess Inanna devours dead bodies "like a dog"; a man who stands up for his rights is one "who hates to grovel as if he were a dog"; on the other hand there is the chap who whelps like "a 'noble' dog beaten by a stick," and the one who has to be admonished not to let himself be mauled by a 'noble' dog "like a bone"; and finally there is the man who acts high-handedly like the "bitch of the scribe."[20]

Birds and their imagery may be divided into two groups. The large birds of prey naturally invoked images of fearless flight: Šulgi boasts of rising (in flight) like a falcon; the soul flies from Dumuzi's body, "like a falcon flying against a(nother) bird." As for the smaller birds, it is perhaps not without significance for Sumerian culture and character, that they did not inspire images of "sweet song," but of terror and mourning: the goddess Ningal flees her destroyed city Ur, "like a flying bird"; the pathetic Ibbi-Sin led away captive by the Elamites "will not return to his city like a sparrow that has fled its house"; the high-priestess Enḫeduanna bemoans her fate, saying: "I was forced to flee the cote like a sparrow"; a husband lamenting the death of his wife moans "like a dove in its hole," thrashes about "like a dove in terror"; Šulgi boasts of swinging his arms "like a dove hysterically fleeing a snake." Bats evoke a similar imagery: "The Anunna, the great gods," flee before Inanna "like fluttering bats to the clefts," the *barbar*-arrows are said to fly in

[17] ELA 242; LSU 316; EE 15; GLL 82; Lugale I 32; SAP 5.13; Lugale X 23; LU 378; HF 43; SP 2.85; SAP 5.28; LSU 54; LU 320.

[18] LU 103; SAP 5.34; LSU 30; LSU 107; ŠHa 47; ID*6 81; ELA 445; LU 67; LU 378; HF 50–51.

[19] CA 50; SP 1.68; SP 2.81; ŠHa 74; ELA 415; ŠHa 72; ŠHd 169; ŠHd 31.

[20] DUN 184; Enḫ 127; SAP 5.92; SAP 5.93; SAP 5.75; SAP 5.122.

battle "like flying bats." A rare example of an image for tenderness is provided by the as yet unidentified *gamgam*-bird in the simile: "They (the friends of the sick hero Lugalbanda) gave him food to eat and water to drink like a *gamgam*-fledgling sitting in his nest."[21]

From the insect world, the locust is repeatedly used as an image of devouring and destruction: The possessions of Ur are devoured as by a "heavy swarm of locusts." Šulgi boasts of making the enemy "eat bitter dust like an all-covering locust," and of cutting down the enemy with throw-sticks (?) and sling-shots "like a locust." Flies, on the other hand, though assuredly a pest and nuisance in Sumer, provide but one simile in our texts, and that rather bland and uninformative: the two sexless creatures especially fashioned by Enki, the god of widom, and sent down to the Nether World to flatter its queen Ereškigal and thus gain access to the "water of life" under her charge, are said to "fly about the door (of Ereškigal's palace) like flies." The ant not unlike the sparrow, dove, and bat served as an image for terrified men and gods seeking refuge, who scurry into crevices "like ants." Finally, fish and their fate evoked the tragic image of death: The life of the people of Ur is carried off like "fish caught by the hand" or "like fish writhing for lack (?) of water"; the little children (of Ur) lying in their mother's lap "were carried off by the waters like fish."[22]

The imagery of inanimate objects, primarily man's artifacts and handiwork, is limited in number and rather poor in quality, but it does help to illuminate certain aspects of Sumerian culture. The city appears in one rather interesting simile that records the building of man's first road-house or "motel": "He (the night traveller) will find refuge there (in the rest-house especially built by Šulgi) like a well built city." In two other similes, however, it is the ruined city that is depicted: Ur is a ruin "like a city torn up by the pickaxe," and the impious Naram-Sin plans to raze the Ekur to the ground "like a city ravaged by Iškur." High walls and large doors are said to "lock" the approaches of Sumer or the neighboring highland. The gates of the cities were closed at night; hence the simile "may the door be closed on it (the destructive storm) like the gates of the night." Stalls, sheepfolds, and garden-huts serve as comparisons for destroyed cities because of the ease with which they cave in and fall apart. Copper is depicted as piled up on the city-quay "like (heaps of) grain." Molten copper and tin serve as an image for blood flowing in devastated Ur.[23]

Stones are said to be crushed "like flour," cut up "like sacks," and plucked "like rushes." Milk, strange as it may seem, provides an image for the emptying of a city or land in such similes as "Gaeš is poured out like milk by the enemy" or "Ningirsu emptied out Sumer like milk." As for fat, dead bodies melt away "like fat in the sun." Ghee, on the other hand, is used as an image for the ease with which goddesses give birth to their progeny. Honey naturally evoked sweetness: words are "sweet as honey" and the lover is a "honey-man." Thirty shekels, for some unknown reason, is an image of contempt and disregard: "Like a runner contemptuous (?) of his body's strength he treated the *giguna* (of the Ekur) like thirty shekels." Gilgameš is said to handle his armour weighing fifty minas as lightly as thirty shekels. The broken pot and the potsherd, the joy and delight of today's archaeologist, imaged shattering and abandonment. The parched oven is an image for the desiccated plain and steppe.[24]

Garments and linen are used for such comparisons as: "Your (Ninurta's) awe-inspiring *melam* covered Enlil's shrine like a garment"; "It (the storm) covered Ur like a garment, enveloped it like linen"; he (Gilgameš) clothed himself with "the word of heroism like a garment, enveloped

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[21] ŠHa 60; IDN *PAPS* 107, p. 516 line 36; LU 237; LSU 37; Enḫ 105; CA 218; CA 220; ŠHa 44; Enḫ 34–35; ŠHd 182; LE 250–51.

[22] ŠHd 176; ŠHd 188; IDN 225; LE 83; LSU 302; LSU 411; LU 229.

[23] ŠHa 35; LSU 346; CA 110; Lugale VIII 22; ELA 225; LE 102; LU 412; LSU 203; LU 132; LU 128–29; LU 122–23; CA 137; LU 217.

[24] Lugale X 11; Lugale XII 40; Lugale XIII 9; LSU 191; LSU 64; LU 218; EN 86; LH*24 15; SMT IX 5; CA 103–04; GEN 136–37; LSU 409; DUN 59; LU 274; LSU 133.

himself with it like linen." The clinging rag, on the other hand, served as an image of Namtar, the demon of death: "Namtar is a biting dog; he clings like a rag." The storm-tossed boat is an image for the distraught wife of Ur-Nammu who "was set adrift in a tempestuous storm like a boat, her anchor was of no avail." A man of vacillating character is one who "bobs up and down in the water like a boat." The boat provided a cumulative series of tersely worded comparisons in the most extended simile as yet known from Sumerian literature, that reads (the Anzu is speaking to the hero Lugalbanda who is eager to return to his city Kullab):

Come my Lugalbanda,
Like a boat (laden with) metal, like a boat (laden with) grain,
Like a boat (laden with) *balbale*-apples,
Like a boat (laden with) well-shaded (?) cucumbers,
Like a boat, a place of luxuriant harvest,
Go head high to the brickwork of Kullab.[25]

The gods and their attributes appear but rarely in the similes. In addition to the sun-god Utu, the moon-god Nanna, and the god of dusk, Usan, cited above in connection with cosmic imagery, we find two similes pertaining to the thundering storm-god Iškur: when Inanna thunders "like Iškur, all vegetation comes to an end"; sundry musical instruments are said to be played "like Iškur." There is also one relating to the warrior-god Ninurta: heroes are depicted as wearing helmets and "lion"-garments to battle "like Ninurta, the son of Enlil."[26]

The mythological creatures and monsters that occur in similes are the Mušḫuš (Raging Serpent): Šulgi boasts of releasing his bow, "ready to pierce like a Mušḫuš"; the Anzu: Šulgi runs as swiftly "as the Imdugud-bird whose face is lifted towards the highland"; the Gudanna (Bull of Heaven): (the people of) Kiš are put to death like the Gudanna; the Gudmaḫ (Giant Bull): the house of Erech was ground to dust like the Gudmaḫ; and above all the venom-spitting Ušumgal (Dragon): Inanna fills the (inimical) land with venom "like an Ušumgal"; weapons pour venom into the enemy "like an Ušumgal prepared to bite"; weapons devour corpses "like an Ušumgal"; Enmerkar's herald is said to travel as swiftly "as an Ušumgal seeking his prey in the steppe."[27]

Lastly we come to man and the imagery he invoked, which sheds some light on certain aspects of Sumerian character and culture. There was, of course, the kindly, protective father and mother: Išme-Dagan, for example, compares himself to a "good father and watchful mother," and as one to whom "all the lands direct their eyes like the father who begot them." The crying child is naturally an image of tragic suffering: A Sumerian "Job" says bitterly "Suffering overwhelms me like a weeping child"; desolated Ur goes about looking for its goddess Ningal "like a child (wandering) in the devastated streets"; and rather strangely, "the fish in its muttering is like a crying child."[28]

The well-to-do farmer is the very image of a happy man, if we may judge from Enkidu's report to Gilgameš about "life" in the Nether World, in which he states that the man who had four sons on earth is "as happy as the man who yokes four asses," and that the man who had six sons is "as happy as a ploughman." From the same report we learn that success came readily to a fluent scribe, for the man who had five sons could go straight to (Ereškigal's) palace "like a goodly scribe whose arm was open!" The shepherd appears in such similes as: "Let him (the Lord of Aratta) follow behind them like their shepherd" and "May he (the king), multiply the sheepfolds like a trust worthy shepherd." As for rich and poor, we find the lord contrasted with the slave in the tersely worded proverb: "Build like a lord, live like a slave; build like a slave, live like a lord." The sad plight of the poor prompted such similes as "Your (desolate) house stretches (its) hands to you (Mother Ningal) like a man who has lost all," and the command to the goddess

[25] Angim II 23; LU 204; GLL 80; SP 2.11; DUN 181; SP 1.92; LE 135–40.

[26] Enḫ 10; CA 200; LE 149–50.

[27] ŠHd 180; ŠHa 45; CA 2; CA 3; Enḫ 9; ŠHd 171; Angim III 28; ELA 352.

[28] IH*12 240; IH*12 227–28; MHG 71; LU 370; HF 82.

Ninšubur lamenting the death of her mistress Ianna: "Like a pauper in a single garment dress for me."[29]

Sumer had its share of drunkards, gluttons, bandits, and foul-mouthed prostitutes, hence such similes as "Your *laḫama*-statues that stand in the *dubla* (part of the temple) lie prostrate like huge fighting men drunk with wine;" "Your land holds its mouth, like a man who has overeaten." "He (Naram-Sin) erected large ladders against the house (the Ekur) like a bandit who plunders a city." "Its (the bird's) mouth hurled invectives like a prostitute."[30]

That the Sumerians were eager for fame and glory, admiration and applause, is well-known from their heroic epic tales and boastful royal hymns. Still, it is not uninteresting to read that Gilgameš longs to "become as one who sits to be wondered at on the knee" of his mother Ninsun; or that Naram-Sin is as contemptuous of the Ekur "as a runner is contemptuous (?) of his strength" (that is, presumably in his eagerness to win a race); or that heroes in single combat fight to the bitter end, if we may judge from the simile "Its cattle (the cattle of the devastated Ekišnugal) were hurled down in front of it like hero smiting hero"; or that the goddess Inanna goes forth to battle "like a hero hastening to his weapon." And it is not to heroes alone that deities are compared. The eagerness and zeal of Inanna to build up the prosperity of Agade is imaged in the simile: "Like a youth newly building (his) house, like a maid setting up (her) private chamber . . . Inanna permitted herself no sleep." The sun-god Utu shows mercy to Gilgameš "like a man of mercy." The "storm" overtakes the goddess Bau "like a mortal." Even the brickword of a desolate temple is said to cry out "like a human being, 'where are you'," to the goddess who had forsaken it.[31]

So much for this preliminary survey of Sumerian similes and their underlying imagery. Limited in scope and tentative in character, it might nevertheless prove of some value not only to the student of comparative literature, but to the cultural anthropologist and historian as well.

ADDENDUM: The MS of W. W. Hallo and J. J. A. van Dijk, cited under Enḫ, has now appeared as *The Exaltation of Inanna* (Yale Near Eastern Researches 3) Yale University Press, 1968). The MS of J. Klein cited under ŠHd, has now appeared in dissertation form as *Šulgi D: A Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymn*. For the animal imagery, cf. Wolfgang Heimpel, *Tierbilder in der Sumerischen Literatur* (Rome, 1968).

[29] GEN 262; GEN 266; GEN 264; ELA 481; SMT V 20; SP 2.137; LU 371; IDN 39.

[30] CA 229; LU 344; CA 105–06; BF 117.

[31] GLL 85; CA 103; LSU 429; CA 63–64; CA 10, 11 . . . 24; GLL 35; LSU 177; LU 372.

## THE AUTHORITY OF THE BROTHER AT ARRAPHA AND NUZI

AARON SKAIST

BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY, RAMAT GAN

ISRAEL

AMONG NEARLY ALL of the peoples of the ancient Near East final jural authority over members of the family was vested only in the father. One apparent exception to this norm was the Hurrian family of Arrapha and Nuzi, as inferred from the documents discovered there, which date from the middle of the second millennium B.C.[1] Though

[1] In the middle of the second millennium B.C. the Hurrians are to be found in the area extending from the

/ LAMENTATION OVER THE DESTRUCTION OF NIPPUR: A PRELIMINARY REPORT
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# LAMENTATION OVER THE DESTRUCTION OF NIPPUR

## A PRELIMINARY REPORT

*by* SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER
*University Museum, University of Pensylvania*

William Foxwell Albright was one of the first American scholars to recognize and realize the importance of Sumerian literature for Oriental studies, and to foster and promote its recovery in one way or another. It is therefore a profound privilege to dedicate this article to him; it concerns only one literary composition, but serves to illustrate graphically the progress made in the restoration of the Sumerian literary documents in the course of his lifetime.

The Sumerian lamentation is a literary genre originated and developed by the poets of Sumer and Akkad in melancholy response to the periodic and recurrent ravaging of their land and its cities and temples. Its incipient germ may be traced as far back as the days of Urukagina, in the 24th century B.C., one of whose archivists has left us a document inscribed with a remarkably detailed list of the temples and shrine of Lagaš that were burnt, looted and defiled by his fellow Sumerian, Lugalzaggesi of Umma.[1] To be sure, on the surface it seems to be nothing more than a matter-of-fact account of the impious deeds perpetrated by Lugalzaggesi against Lagaš, compiled for the purpose of 'keeping the record straight', so that the evildoer may receive his just punishment at the hands of the offended gods. Even so, the stark itemizing of the shrines destroyed, with its implication of bitterness and sorrow, its tone of resignation to the divine will, and its faith in retribution for the culprit, are all reminiscent to no little extent of the emotionally more explicit and demonstrative laments that have come down to us from later times.

Once on its way, the lamentation type of literary effort no doubt grew and developed among the Sumerian poets during the distressing days of the Dynasty of Akkad, when Sargon and his sucessors attacked and conquered such cities as Erech, Ur, Lagaš, Umma, and Adab; even holy Nippur was desecrated and despoiled, if we may believe the author of the 'Curse of Agade'.[2] But as of today, no lamentations from these days, when Akkadian power and influence was beginning to prevail in Sumer, have come down to us. Nor, for that matter from the Gutian era that followed, when chaos, anarchy and famine raged in the land, when its people were massacred and its cities destroyed, and when, therefore, the dirge and lament must have been a prevalent literary form of the Sumerian poets.

One period in the history of Sumer when, it may be assumed, the lamentation certainly did not flourish, or indeed exist at all, was that of the Third Dynasty of Ur. For following Utuḫegal's glorious victory over the Gutians[3] and Ur-Nammu's establishment of Ur as the capital of a renascent, powerful Sumer, the poets naturally turned to the joyous glorification of its gods and rulers, as well as to such compositions as heroic epic tales and divine myths — this was no time for weeping and lamenting, as is evident from the hymns composed for Ur-Nammu's son, Šulgi.[4]

Little did Šulgi and his court bards dream that only some fifty years later, the mournful, plaintive lament would become a major component of the Sumerian literary and liturgical repertoire, a role it would continue to have for almost two thousand years. For the tragic destruction of Ur by the Supeople and the Elamites, and the carrying off into captivity of its pathetic ruler, Šulgi's grandson Ibbi-Sin, left a distressing and harrowing impress on the poets of Sumer, particularly those who studied in the *edubba*s of Ur and Nippur that the wise, learned and mighty Šulgi boasts of establishing.[5]

[1] Cf. e.g. *The Sumerians*, Chicago, 1963, p. 58 and pp. 322–323.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 62–66; *ZA* 57 (1965), pp. 43–124.

[3] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 67 ff. and pp. 325–326.

[4] Cf. e.g. *JQR* 75 (1967), pp. 374 ff.

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 76.

And when in the years following this calamitous catastrophe some of these bards were called upon to help conduct the temple services and prepare the liturgies accompanying them, they were moved to compose songs of considerable length consisting primarily of mournful and sorrowful laments over the bitter fate of Sumer and its cities, especially Ur and Nippur, though they ended on a note of confidence and hope in deliverance and restoration.

In the centuries that followed, the lamentation genre was altered and modified with time and place, gradually evolving into a liturgical stereotype used throughout the temples of Babylonia right down to the Seleucid period[6] — it seems to have struck a responsive note in the rather melancholy, jaundiced and ominous Mesopotamian experience. Just how deeply this mournful literary genre affected the neighboring lands is unknown, no lamentations have as yet been recovered from Hittite, Canaanite and Hurrian sources. But there is little doubt that the biblical *Book of Lamentations* owes no little of its form and content to its Mesopotamian forerunners, and, that the modern orthodox Jew who utters his mournful lament at the 'western wall' of 'Solomon's' long-destroyed Temple, is carrying on a tradition begun in Sumer some 4,000 years ago, where 'By its (Ur's) walls as far as they extended in circumference, laments were uttered.'[7]

As archaeological fate would have it, we now have at our disposal, wholly or in large part, three of the very earliest post-Ur III lamentations,[8] primarily as a result of the excavations conducted at Nippur and Ur[9]. One of these was published more than a quarter century ago under the title 'Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur.'[10] A second, now generally known as 'Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur', is in the process of preparation for publication.[11] The third commonly known as 'Lamentation Over the Destruction of Nippur'[12] is the subject of this paper. The poem which is a lamentation in its first and smaller part only — the second and larger part is actually a song of jubilation celebrating the deliverance of Nippur by Išme-Dagan,[13] the third ruler of the Isin Dynasty — is composed of 12 stanzas or *kirugus*[14] written pri-

[6] Cf. the *Introduction* in Raphael Kutscher's dissertation *a-ab-ba ḫu-luḫ-ḫa: The History of Sumerian Congregational Lament*.

[7] Line 382 of the 'Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur', cf. the forthcoming *Supplement* to *ANET*.

[8] For a discussion of the time of the composition of these lamentations, and their historical relevance cf. Edzard: *Zwischenzeit*, pp. 53–58 and 86–90.

[9] There were of course lamentations over other Sumerian cities, composed in this period. Cf. e.g. the Lagaš fragment in Cros: *Tello*, pp. 198–212; the lament over a still unidentified city in *TRS* I, No. 1; the lamentations concerned primarily with Erech and Eridu in *UET* VI, part 2, Nos. 141, 142. Some of the Dumuzi laments, too, are related in one way or another to the lamentations over the destruction of cities, cf. for the present, such texts as *CT* XLII, No. 15 and comment in *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 45.

[10] *AS* 12 (1940); cf. also *SAHG*, No. 38, and *ANET*, pp. 457–463. Five new pieces belonging to this lament have been published in *UET* VI, part 2, Nos. 135–139, and eight additional pieces have been published in the *TuM N.F.* IV.

[11] Formerly the texts making up this composition were thought to belong to different lamentations; for full details, cf. *UET* VI, part 2, pp. 1–2 (comment to Nos. 124–134); a translation of the entire composition will be published in the forthcoming *Supplement* to *ANET*.

[12] For bibliographical details, cf. *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 47, comment to No. 31, and Kramer: *SLTN*, p. 33. An analysis of the contents of this lamentation will now be found in *TuM N.F.* IV, together with the copy of a six-column tablet originally inscribed with the entire composition that is of considerable importance for the restoration of the text. Since then several new unpublished duplicates of the lamentation have been identified, and the detailed sketch of its contents here presented supersedes that found in *TuM N.F.* IV.

[13] As will be evident from its contents, the document, to some extent, concerns Sumer and Akkad as a whole, but by and large it is Nippur that is predominant in the poet's mind. For a possible correlation of the bitter events depicted in our Nippur Lamentation with an actual attack on Sumer and Akkad by Ilušuma of Ašur, cf. Edzard: *Zwischenzeit*, pp. 90–93. For the transliteration and translation of a number of passages from the Nippur Lamentation, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 86–90, and note the following: Passage 1 corresponds to lines 5–6 of the composition (the reading udu-su is to be corrected to lil-lu, 'by a wind'). Passage 2 corresponds to lines 26–27 (the rendering of the passage is 'Nippur, the city in whose wide shade the blackheaded people had refreshed themselves'). Passage 3 corresponds to lines 34–35. Passage 4 corresponds to lines 63–64. Passage 5 corresponds to lines 95–101. Passage 6 corresponds to lines 224–244 (a number of the broken signs in this passage as well as the last lines of the eighth *kirugu*, that is lines 245–247 of the composition, can now be restored — it is these lines that concern Ninisinna's son, Damu).

[14] For the reading of this rubric, cf. especially *ZA* 49 (1950), p. 105, but note that the reading is not absolutely certain. Each *kirugu* is usually followed by an antiphon of one or two lines, which is designated as GIŠ-$gi_4$-GÁL, a

marily in the Emesal dialect, though the poet is by no means consistent in this respect.[15] Stanza by stanza, its contents may be sketched as follows:

The first *kirugu*[16] begins with a passage dominated by the plaintive refrain, 'When will it be restored?', the 'it' referring to such shrines as Duranki, the *kiur*, the Ekur, the *ubšukinna*.[17] There follows a lament over the destruction and despoliation of Nippur: Its rites and rituals feasts are no longer celebrated; the city in whose midst the Anunnaki issued their instructions for the guidance of mankind, and in whose *ubšukinna* they made known their decisions, the city where the gods have established their dwellings and where they partake of their sacred food, the city that refreshes the blackheaded people with its shade — that city, Nippur, has been made desolate, and its people have been dispersed like scattered cows; its gods no longer care for it, and its great estates that were full of hustle and bustle lie waste and abandoned. Why, cries the poet, have the multitudinous shrines of Nippur perished! How long will the blackheaded people lie prostrate, eat grass like sheep, and suffer in body and spirit! Why do the musicians and bards spend the day in wails and laments, mourning in exile for their destroyed city and abandoned families, so much so that all reason is lost and understanding confused!

In the second *kirugu*[18] the poet depicts the city itself bewailing and bemoaning the dreadful misfortunes that have befallen it: The desecration of its rites and rituals; the slaughter and despoliation of its people; the massacre or its young men and women; the bitterness of its temple that walks about like a mother cow separated from its young. No wonder, the poet continues, that the minstrels accustomed to sweet music now turn their songs to a lament that sounds like a nursemaid's lullaby.[19] Because the lord of the city[20] had turned away from it, its temple that had been the foremost in the land, and had given guidance to the blackheaded people — how it was despoiled and destroyed!

Beginning his third *kirugu*[21] with the plaintive query: The city — till when will its angered (?) lord not turn to it and utter its 'enough' (to its suffering), the poet continues with such anguished cries as: Why has he forsaken its 'brickwork' and made its cooing doves fly away from their cotes! Why has he turned away from the house accustomed to sweet music! Why did he abandon and reject its *me* as if they were unsanctified, and its rituals as if they had not placated (?) all the lands! Why, indifferent to its fate, did he strike it down as if it were of no account! Why has he banished joy from its brickworks, and filled its heart with lament day and night! Lo, continues the poet, because he treated the city with bitter enmity, because its lord has turned his hand against it like an evil wind, its house been destroyed, its foundations uprooted, torn up by the pickax and its women and children put to death. The city has fallen into ruins, its possessions have been carried off, its reason gone, its conduct confused, its food and drink carried off. The house (the Ekur), the poet concludes, has been treated with bitter enmity, and, therefore, multiplies its wailing and lamenting, while its sweet-singing minstrels echo its suffering. Its lord has banished its *me*; he no longer 'touches its arm', or takes heed of its condition.

But now, in the fourth *kirugu*,[22] comes the first

rubric of which only the reading of the middle sign is reasonably assured.

15 This is true of a number of compositions, cf. especially *AS* 12 (1940), p. 7.

16 This *kirugu* consists of 49 lines, the majority of which are fully preserved. It is followed by a one line antiphon, of which only the verbal form mu-un-dù is preserved.

17 *Duranki* 'Bond of Heaven and Earth' is an epithet applied to Nippur's Ekur temple complex. For the *kiur* as Ninlil's 'private quarters', cf. last *JNES* 26 (1967), p. 205, line 37. The *ubšukinna* is the divine assembly hall.

18 This *kirugu* consists of 21 lines of which the first 10 are rather poorly preserved. It is followed by the one line antiphon: 'Because its great *me* had been banished from its midst, it (the city) uttered its bitter words (for the *me* cf. e.g. *The Sumerians*, pp. 115–117).

19 The Sumerian expression for lullaby is ú-a, an onomatopoetic expression that can also be rendered 'woe', cf. the article: *ua aua*: a Sumerian Lullaby, in the forthcoming *Volterra Festschrift*.

20 This is Enlil, of course, but his name is not mentioned until the very end of the fourth *kirugu*.

21 This *kirugu* consists of 35 lines in virtually perfect condition; it is followed by the two line antiphon: 'How has he driven out(?) its great *me*; he has not touched its arm, has not looked after it.'

22 This *kirugu* consists of 20 fully preserved lines, and is followed by a one line antiphon that still reflects the city's

glimmer of hope for Nippur's deliverance and restoration. The stanza consists entirely of a soliloquy uttered by the city itself, the burden of which is that as a result of the persistance of her poets, minstrels and bards in lamenting and bemoaning her bitter fate, her suffering spirit, her anguished heart, the destruction of her shrines and her 'land' as a whole, the lord Enlil, the father of all the 'blackheads', took pity on her and ordered her restoration.

The hopeful note of Nippur's deliverance is further developed in the fifth *kirugu*,[23] consisting entirely of an address by the poet to the city. He first make the joyous annoucement of the good news that Enlil had accepted her tears and her laments, and then implores her to keep on praying to Enlil for help and support. The *kirugu* concludes with the happy promise that Enlil will show her mercy and kindness, and transform her anguish to cheer; he will joyfully grant that she hold high her head, and will turn back any inimical deed directed against her.

In the sixth *kirugu*[24] the poet continues to address the city, depicting her deliverance no longer as a promise for the future, but as an actual reality: Her lord has taken pity on her and blessed her; he has put an end to lamenting, said 'it is enough' and brought her joyfulness of spirit; he has made the god Ninurta, the mighty *maškim*, her guardian (?).[25] And best of all he has commissioned Išme-Dagan, his beloved shepherd, to rebuild the mightly Ekur and to restore everything that befits it; to restore its *giguna* and make it as bright as the sun; to reinstate its rites and rituals that the enemy has suppressed and its *me* that have been dispersed.

In the seventh *kirugu*[26], the poet continues to comfort Nippur with the glad tidings that Enlil has taken pity on her; that he has caused lamenting to depart from the city and brought in its stead happiness of spirit; that he has commanded its restoration. Moreover, Ninlil, the great mother, has offered a prayer to her husband Enlil, pleading with him to rebuild her house. And so, after the two deities had taken counsel together, Enlil has turned the destroyed house into a gracious house; has turned back its tears and made joy enter; has decreed for it the hum of the pouring of libations; has cried 'it's enough', 'till when', 'cease weeping'; has blessed it with a long 'reign'.[27] Enlil, the poet continues, has also blessed the *gašua*-shrine;[28] both Enlil and Ninlil have set up their daises in the Ekur and supplied it with food and strong drink, and have taken counsel to establish firmly the blackheads in their dwelling-places; Enlil has returned to Nippur the people who had departed in all directions, 'the children from whom their mothers had turned away', 'the people who had wandered to wherever they could rest (?) (their) head'.

The theme that it was not Nippur alone, but all of Sumer-Akkad that was delivered by Išme-Dagan from enemy hands is elaborated in the eighth *kirugu*,[29] according to which some of the major cities were liberated and restored: Eridu, the seat of wisdom; Ur, the city founded in 'meadow'-land; Erech and Kullab, 'the handiwork of the gods'; Zabalam whose 'strength had come to an end like the hierodule of An';[30] Lagaš, An's 'great sword'; and Girsu 'founded in days of yore'; Umma and its temple Sigkuršag that had been occupied by the 'uncivilized' Tidnumites;[31] Kiš, the leading city of

suffering prior to its deliverance: 'My heart is blood-choked, is crushed to pieces.'

23 This *kirugu* consists of 17 lines, some of which are rather poorly preserved, and does not seem to be followed by an antiphon.

24 This *kirugu*, in which Nippur's deliverer Išme-Dagan is first mentioned, consists of about 25 lines of which only the first 15 lines are fully preserved; it is followed by a one line antiphon consisting of the poet's exclamation addressed to the city: 'Till when will you grieve!'

25 Ninurta is the son of Enlil and his avenger, who therefore played a leading role in Nippur, as the *maškim*, 'guardian', of the city.

26 This *kirugu*, consisting of 30 well-preserved lines, is followed by a one-line antiphon that still dwells on the city's suffering rather than on its deliverance: 'Your spirit — how it is oppressed! The anguished heart — how it grieves you!'

27 The Sumerian word is *bala*; 'reign' here refers not to political control — Nippur was never the political capital of Sumer — but to religious supremacy.

28 For this shrine as Ninlil's 'storehouse', cf. now *JNES* 26 (1967), p. 205, line 36.

29 This historically significant *kirugu* (cf. above, n. 13) consists of 30 lines, and is followed by the comforting antiphon: 'An, Enlil, Ninmaḫ have ordained its "power".'

30 The meaning of this enigmatic line is obscure.

31 The Tidnumites (cf. e.g. Edzard: *Zwischenzeit*, p. 194, sub. *tidanum*) are designated as destroyers of Ur rather than Umma according to line 259 of the 'Lamentation Over the

Sumer and Akkad; Marda, the city blessed with fresh water and rich grain. And lastly there was Isin itself, the city whose 'reign' the gods Enlil, Enki, and Ninmaḫ had set to endure for a long time, the city that they had turned over to Ninurta,[32] the mighty hero, and where they had ordained that Ninisinna, 'the great daughter of An', 'the dream-interpetress of the land', should refresh herself in her lofty temple, and that her son Damu should subdue all the foreign lands.[33]

In *kirugu* nine[34], the poet depicts the days of prosperity and well-being that Enlil has now brought to Nippur and all of Sumer and Akkad, days in which: 'Nippur raised high its head,' 'the Ekur prospered,' and 'the *kiur* became lofty and resplendent'; days in which 'Sumer and Akkad expanded,' 'houses were built, fields fenced about,' 'seed came forth, living creatures were born'; 'stalls were built, sheepfolds founded,' 'adversity was turned into prosperity,' 'justice was proclaimed in the land,' 'the ewe gave birth to the lamb, the goat gave birth to the kid,' 'the ewe multiplied its lambs, the goat multiplied its kids.'

The theme of divine deliverance and restoration is continued and developed in *kirugu* ten,[35] although it is primarily Nippur and the Ekur rather than than the land as a whole, that the poet celebrates, and especially the joyous reestablishment of the food-offerings for the tables of the gods, which the pious Išme-Dagan provided in large quantities in the Ekur, once again purified and sanctified.

In *kirugu* eleven,[36] the poet depicts the utopian days Enlil has ordained for his people: days when no man will utter an unfriendly word to his fellow man and the son will respect the father, days when humility will prevail in Sumer and 'when the noble will be honored by the lowly'; days when the younger brother will show deference (?) to his older brother, the weak will not complain against the strong, and kindliness will prevail; days when man will travel wherever his heart desires without fear and hindrance; days when bitterness will have departed from the sun-drenched land, when blackness will have been expelled from the land and all breathing creatures will rejoice.

The twelfth and last *kirugu*[37] is devoted almost entirely to Išme-Dagan's acts of piety. After shedding tears before the merciful Enlil, Išme-Dagan put in good order the *me* that had been defiled, sanctified the rites that had been abrogated, sanctified the *giguna*, made it preeminent, filled it with abundance, comfort, and joy. He then offered prayers, supplications, and orisons to Enlil who was pleased with his piety, humility, and religiosity and, therefore, ordained for him a happy and successful reign during which the people will live in security. And so, concludes our poet, all the people of Sumer and Akkad in unison will ever glorify the loftiness of Enlil, the great mountain, the ruler of heaven and earth.

Destruction of Sumer and Ur' (cf. the forthcoming *Supplement* to *ANET*).

32 Ninurta, under the name Pagibilsag was the husband of Ninisinna, cf. last D. O. Edzard: *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* (ed. H. W. Haussig), Stuttgart, 1965, p. 117, under Pabilsang.

33 For Damu, cf. last *PAPS* 107 (1963), pp. 476–477, n. 8.

34 This *kirugu* consisting of 14 fully preserved lines is not followed by an antiphon.

35 This *kirugu*, the second to mention Išme-Dagan by name, consists of 19 fairly well preserved lines, and like the preceding is not followed by an antiphon.

36 This *kirugu* whose contents are quite revealing for Sumero-Akkadian ethical and cultural values consists of 12 lines, and is not followed by an antiphon.

37 This, the concluding *kirugu* of the composition, consists of 26 fairly well preserved lines, and is not followed by an antiphon. To judge from the last lines of the composition, it was written by a Nippur temple-priest in joyful celebration of Išme-Dagan's restoration of the Ekur, and in glorification of Enlil who delivered his 'blackheaded people'.

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# Enki and his Inferiority Complex

Samuel Noah KRAMER – Assyriological Institute
University of Copenhagen

Enki, one of the four leading deities of the Sumerian pantheon is celebrated in myth and hymn as the god of wisdom, the king of the Abzu, the decreer of fates, the joy and terror of the sea and the rivers, "the lord of the Land", "the father of all the lands", the "šeš–gal of the gods", etc. etc. He is a god whose "command is unquestioned", who is "foremost in all things", who organized the earth and its cultural activities, who is responsible for its fertility and fecundity, and for the prosperity and well-being of its people. In spite of all this adoration and glorification, the fact is that Enki's ambition outreached his achievement, and that he failed to win the supreme position he yearned for. As a result, he may be said to have suffered from an inferiority complex and to have carried a chip on his shoulder throughout much of Sumerian history (1).

Actually, of course, it is not the god to whom this unhappy psychological state should be attributed, but to his creators: the theologians, priests, and poets of Eridu who conceived of his existence, assigned to him his vast powers and prerogatives, and tried hard to acquire for him a leading position in the pantheon, but with only partial success. For in the course of their efforts in behalf of their favorite, they came into conflict with the priests and theologians of Nippur who had conceived and propagated a national pantheon in which the gods An, Enlil, and Ninḫursag were the supreme

(1) This thesis was first broached in my article "Sumero-Akkadian Interconnections: Religious Ideas" in "Aspects du contact suméro-akkadien" (Extrait de *Genava* N.S. 8 [1960]) 272-283, where I suggested that both Inanna and Enki were originally Semitic deities who were integrated into the Sumerian pantheon some time about the beginning of the third millennium B.C. (cf. especially 274-277).

deities and who looked with little favor upon an interloper "muscling in" on their territory. It is true, as will soon become evident, that over the centuries, the Eridu theologians did succeed in making Enki third in the divine hierarchy, following An and Enlil, but preceding Ninḫursag (1). In spite of this partial victory, however, they never felt altogether secure about Enki's august position, and so kept up a constant barrage of poetic, mythopoetic propaganda, proclaiming, glorifying, and eulogizing Enki's vast endowments and accomplishments (2).

To be sure, this thesis that Enki and his city Eridu were never all-supreme in Sumer, runs counter to the generally accepted assumption that Eridu was the oldest and most hallowed of all the cities of Sumer. But this surmise is based on archeological and epigraphic evidence which on closer examination fails to stand up and is far from convincing. To take first the archaeological evidence, the fact that as of today, the excavations at Eridu seem to have uncovered the oldest painted pottery and temple architecture thus far known in Southern Mesopotamia is largely a matter of accident, and sooner or later, I venture to predict, sites of comparable age will be discovered in the region. A priori, it seems most unlikely that Eridu, one of the most southerly of Mesopotamian sites, was the first to be settled; on the theory now gaining ground that it was largely immigrants from earlier agricultural settlements in the north who gradually filtered down into the region that later came to be known

(1) It might even be said that Enki was second in rank, since the powers of An had, as a result of some as yet obscure political event, been turned over to Enlil; it may have taken place in the days of Enmebaraggesi of Kiš, if there is a kernel of truth in the initial lines of the Tummal text (cf. S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* [Chicago 1963] 48-49) that it was Enmebaraggesi who built "the house of Enlil" in Nippur, and his son Agga who "made the Tummal preeminent" (cf. also page 110, note 1 where it is suggested that An had been dislodged from his high position in Erech by the goddess Inanna, with the help of Enki of Eridu as early as the days of Enmerkar).

(2) Cf. the list of myths in which Enki played a significant role, S. N. Kramer "Sumerian Literature: A General Survey" in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright [Garden City, New York 1961]) 254; it was the myth "Enki and the World Order" (cf. p. 107, n. 1) and especially its first half with its passages of boastful self-glorification, that first led me to suspect that the god's behavior was compensation for a feeling of insecurity.

as Sumer, it seems more likely that the prehistoric Eridu settlement was among the last established, rather than among the first (1).

As for the presumed epigraphic evidence—and it is the inscriptional material that was primarily responsible for the assumption that Eridu was Sumer's first settlement—it consists of the following: (1) the King List that begins with the statement "After kingship had descended from heaven, Eridu became (the seat) of kingship", and then proceeds to name four more antediluvian cities as seats of royal dynasties (2); (2) the similarly arranged list of antediluvian cities in the Sumerian "Flood"-tablet (3); (3) the creation myth that speaks of Eridu as the first city in Sumer (4); (4) the collection of temple-hymns that begins with a hymn to Enki's temple, the E'engurra in Eridu, and not with Enlil's temple, the Ekur of Nippur, the latter taking second place in the collection (5). But all these texts date from the Early Post-Sumerian period, and though some of them may have been first composed as Early as the Third Dynasty of Ur, or even somewhat earlier, there is little likelihood that their authors had any substantially factual and historically verifiable data for their notion that Eridu was Sumer's first city—all of them are no doubt the result of subjective interpretation by Sumerian theologians, schoolmen, and poets, based on ideas, beliefs, and explanations current throughout the last half of the third millennium B.C. Thus it is by no means surprising that contemporaneous with the above-mentioned Eridu-oriented documents we find others in which Enlil and Nippur precede Enki and Eridu, e.g. some of the god-lists(6), and especially, the composition "Enki and Eridu" (7), according to which Enki, after building Eridu and its temple, travels to Nippur

(1) Cf. e.g. Joan Oates, "Ur, Eridu and Prehistory" in *Iraq* 22 (1960) 32-50; James Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations of the Near East* 129 ff.; Kramer, *The Cradle of Civilization* 16 and 31; Al Wailly's reports on the excavations at Samarra (*Sumer* 20, 21 [1964, 1965]) that have revolutionary implications for Mesopotamian prehistory.

(2) Cf. Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Assyriological Studies, 11 [Chicago 1939]) 70 ff. and S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* 328.

(3) Cf. Poebel, *PBS* IV p. 14.

(4) Cf. last A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago 1942) 61-63.

(5) Cf. now Sjöberg and Bergmann, *The Temple Hymns* (Chicago 1969).

(6) Cf. last J. van Dijk in *AcOr* (Havniae) $28^1$ (1964) 6 ff.

(7) Cf. S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (Philadelphia 1944) 62-63, Falkenstein, *Sumer* 7 (1951) 119-125, and *SAHG* 133-137.

by boat in order to receive Enlil's blessing, which indicates in no uncertain terms that the author of this work believed that Nippur existed before Eridu (1). In short, the epigraphic evidence in support of the conclusion that Eridu had actually ever been Sumer's first city, and its corollary that Enki had been the leading deity of the Mesopotamian pantheon, is late and ambiguous, and therefore not to be taken at face value.

On the other hand, the evidence for the thesis that Enki, far from ever having been the first in the divine hierarchy, had a hard time getting even third place, stems in large part from historical and literary documents of pre-Ur III day that are reasonably trustworthy. For as was first pointed out by Arno Poebel, the inscriptions beginning with Eannatum of Lagaš, roughly about 2400 B.C., and running to the time of Gudea (2), generally list the leading gods in the order Enlil, Ninḫursag, and Enki. It is only with the Early Post-Sumerian period—contemporary data from the Ur III period are lacking at the moment—that Enki begins to precede Ninḫursag (3). But even then, as is evident from several myths, Ninḫursag continues to dominate Enki in one way or another. Thus in "Enki and Ninḫursag: A Sumerian Paradise Myth" (4), we find the goddess pronouncing a curse against Enki that well-nigh brought about his death In "Enki and Ninmaḫ: the Creation of Man" (5), the goddess, displeased with Enki's efforts at creation, pronounces a curse against Enki that he seems to accept submissively. In "Enki and Eridu" (6), we find the goddess sitting alongside of An and Enlil in Nippur as if she were their equal to participate in a banquet

(1) Note, too, that in the pre-Sargonic (or Early Sargonic) cylinder published by Barton in *MBI*, No. 1, inscribed with an as yet largely unintelligible myth (cf. now J. van Dijk, *AcOr* 28¹, 35-39) Enlil and Nippur precede Enki and Eridu (cf. col. III — Barton's col. XIII).

(2) Cf. also Ch. F. Jean, *La Religion sumérienne d'après les documents sumériens antérieurs à la dynastie d'Isin* (Paris 1931) 32 ff. For the days earlier than the Dynasty of Lagaš, the inscriptions do not provide any clear criteria for the ranking of the gods (cf. e.g. J. van Dijk in *AcOr* 28¹, 6).

(3) Cf. e.g. the "Flood-tablet" obv. i, line 13, and "Lugalbanda and Mt. Ḫurrum" (see for the present S. N. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer*, 211).

(4) Cf. *BASOR*, Supplement I.

(5) Cf., for the present, *Sumerian Mythology* 68-72.

(6) Cf. p. 105, n. 7.

prepared by Enki who is eager to obtain a divine blessing for Eridu. In his paean of self-glorification "Enki and the World Order" (1), the god exults in the fact that Ninḫursag held him dear and called him by "a good name".

But if Enki finally succeeds in displacing Ninḫursag from third place in the pantheon, he (and his Eridu supporters) failed in his more ambitious attempt to topple Enlil from his supreme position, and set himself up in his place. And sad to say this failure led to frustration and jealousy on the part of the overly ambitious Enki, which, if we may trust the myth-making Sumerian sages, brought about the direst of calamities for mankind — the "confusion of tongues", a rupture of communications from which man has not recovered to this day.

I first came upon the notion of a power-struggle between Enlil and Enki, some twenty years ago, when preparing the manuscript for *Sumerian Mythology*. At the time I tried to isolate and clarify some of the Sumerian cosmogonic theories and assumptions as far as they could be pieced together from the literary documents, and especially the Sumerian myths and epic tales. The major source for the Sumerian conception of the creation of the universe, it became clear, was the passage near the beginning of "Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Nether World", that reads:

> After heaven had been moved away from earth,
> After earth had been separated from heaven,
> After the name of man had been fixed,
> After An had carried off heaven,
> After Enlil had carried off the earth.....

In analyzing the context of these lines, I was struck by the rather anomalous fact that while it was the heaven-god An who, as might have been expected, carried off heaven, it was Enlil, that is the "Lord Air", who carried off the earth (2) — it seemed much more reasonable

(1) Cf., for the present, *The Sumerians* 171-183.

(2) Note, too, that in early days there might also have been a cosmic deity Kur (corresponding to An and Ki), and that his name was perhaps en-kur (comparable in form to en-líl); hence perhaps the myth of Enki's journey to conquer Kur (cf. the passage of "Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Nether World", on p. 200 of *The Sumerians*), and the name of his temple *é-engur-ra* (the house of *Enkur*).

to expect that in line with the male deity An carrying off heaven, it was a female deity named Ki who would carry off the earth. This led to the surmise that at some early period in the development of the pantheon, the Sumerian theologians decided that it would be preferable to have a male deity as the god in charge of so all-important a cosmic entity as the earth, and those among them who were Nippur-oriented, succeeded in having Enlil, originally the god of the atmosphere that separated heaven from earth take over the lordship of the earth. At the same time, however, this hypothesis continues, the Eridu theologians pressed forward the claims of their god, whose name was probably Ea [1], and who was a local, rather than a cosmic deity, for the position as "lord of the earth", and in an effort to insure his claim, applied to him the epithet e n - k i . And since the name Enki is found on tablets dating as far back as the Jemdet Nasr period, it seems not unlikely that the Enlil–Enki rivalry stemmed from about 3000 B.C., or even earlier.

Just how bitter this rivalry was, however, did not become clear until quite recently, when with the help of an Ashmolean tablet copied by Oliver Gurney, it became possible to restore the second half of the twenty-line "Golden Age" passage that begins with line 136 of the epic tale "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" [2], a poem whose date of composition is unknown — the available copies all date from the Early Post Sumerian period — but which may well contain traditions current as far back as the first half of the third millennium B.C. Here now is this newly restored passage in full:

> Once upon a time, there was no snake, there was no scorpion,
> There was no hyena, there was no lion,
> There was no wild(?)-dog, no wolf,
> There was no fear, no terror,
> Man had no rival.
> In those days, the lands Šubur, Hamazi,
> Harmony(?) tongued Sumer, the great land of the *me* of princeship,

[1] Ea, I took to be Semitic for the reasons stated in "Aspects du contact suméro-akkadien" 276, note 36; it may however turn out to be Proto-Euphratean, cf. my "Dilmun: Quest for Paradise" (*Antiquity* 37 [1963] 111-115).

[2] Published in 1952 as a University Museum monograph, cf. also *JAOS* 63 (1943) 191; *JCS* 2 (1948) 56, n. 15; Aspects 276, n. 22.

Uri, the land having all that is appropriate,
The land Martu, resting in security,
The whole universe, the people in unison.
To Enlil in one tongue gave speech.
Then *a–da* the Lord, *a–da* the prince, *a–da* the king,
Enki, *a–da* the lord, *a–da* the prince, *a–da* the king,
*A–da* the lord, *a–da* the prince, *a–da* the king,
Enki, the lord of abundance, whose commands are trustworthy,
The lord of wisdom, who understands the land,
The leader of the gods,
Endowed with wisdom, the lord of Eridu,
Changed the speech in their mouths, set up contention in it,
In the speech of man that (until then) had been one.

It is clear from this passage that Enki, jealous of Enlil's universal sway, confounded the speech of mankind, and turned it into a " Babel of tongues", in order to break up the unanimity with which he was worshipped and adored (1).

But in spite of all his efforts, Enki was unable to dislodge Enlil from his supremacy in the Sumerian pantheon, and settled for second best, that is as an Enlil-banda a kind of "Junior Enlil" (2). What is more, like other gods, he had to travel to Nippur to obtain Enlil's blessing after he had built Eridu and his E'engurra (3); he had to fill Ekur with possessions so that Enlil might rejoice with him (4); he had to admit that though he had charge of the *me* controlling the cosmos and all civilized life as well as all the arts of craftsmanship (5), they were not originally his, but were turned over to his

(1) For fuller details cf. *JAOS* 88 (1968) (Speiser Memorial Volume) 108-111.

(2) Cf. e.g. line 127 of "Enmerkar and the Land of Aratta", J. van Dijk in *AcOr* 28[1].

(3) Cf. the end of "Enki and Eridu"; for the journey of Nanna to Nippur, cf. S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (Philadelphia 1944) 47-49.

(4) Cf. e.g. the relevant passages of "Enki and the World Order" in *The Sumerians* 179 and 181.

(5) Enki seems to have had some difficulty in holding on to the *me*, if we may judge from UET VI, No. 2, a rather obscure extract from a myth in which Ninurta, the young of the *Imdugud*-bird, and Enki are the protagonists.

keep by a generous An-Enlil; in short, he never was able to free himself of his inferiority complex (1).

A d d e n d u m : " Enki and the World Order" (cf. p. 107, n. 1) and "Enki and Ninmaḫ: the Creation of Man" are now available as a University of Pennsylvania dissertation by Carlos A. Benito; "Enki and Eridu" (cf. p. 105, n. 7) is now available as a University of Pennsylvania dissertation by Abdul-Hadi Al-Fouadi. Note, too, that I would now render *a-da* (cf. p. 109) as "contestant", "disputant", on the surmise that it is identical with the first part of *adamin* "contest", "dispute" (perhaps originally "two contestants", "two disputants").

(1) There are also indications of a power struggle between An and Enki; cf. note 13 of "The Babel of Tongues" in *JAOS* 88 (1968) 108-111. An's loss of prestige seems to be related in some way to Eridu, if there is but a kernel of truth in "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta", where Enmerkar seems to treat Inanna, rather than An, as the main deity of Erech, with Enki as a very special favorite (cf. the Introduction to the monograph). Note, moreover, that there was a very close relationship between Enki and Inanna, to judge from such myths as "The Transfer of the Arts of Civilization from Eridu to Erech", "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World", "Enki and the World Order", etc. Note, finally, that Inanna seems to have taken over An's powers in Erech, to judge from the long-known Enḫeduanna hymnal prayer (cf. Hallo and van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna* (New Haven-London 1968) and my translation in *ANET*[3] (Princeton 1969) 579-582.

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# COLLATIONS TO *CT XLII*

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

University Museum
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

In 1968, I spent the months of May and June collating *CT XLII*, a volume consisting almost entirely of Sumerian literary tablets copied by H. H. Figulla.[1] On the whole, I found the copies outstanding for accuracy and trustworthiness, and that, in spite of the fact that the copyist is not a specialist in the field of Sumerian literature. There are, to be sure, as the following collations indicate, a considerable number of miscopies; but these are nearly always in the case of tablets where the writing is poorly preserved, or where the signs are so compactly written, that they are extremely difficult to read — in many instances it would have been impossible for me to make the corrections, had I not had the benefit of duplicating material unavailable to the copyist. It is not out of place to repeat here a statement in my review of the volume in *JCS XVIII: 35*, that "Figulla has made available to the scholarly world a highly significant group of Sumerian tablets which have been lying in the cupboards of the museum, unknown, unidentified, and unutilized, a feat which will earn him the deep gratitude of cuneiformists everywhere."

No. 1. There is no ruled line dividing the tablet into columns either on the obverse or the reverse, and there should not be any in the copy. In obv. 1, the sign following ḫu-luḫ-ḫa-zu is poorly preserved, but it is probably A not Ú.[2] In obv. 8, the fourth sign from the end is LUL. In rev. 19, the sign following ME (about the middle of the line) is probably EN (not NU). In rev. 45, between NU and TIL is probably AL (not AŠ and RI). The line at the very bottom of plate 3 was accidentally omitted by the scribe who therefore drew a ruled line (not shown in the copy) indicating its proper place between lines 6 and 7 of the obv.[3]

No. 2. This tablet has quite a number of erasures, most of which are correctly indicated in the copy. Note, however, that A (the third sign in line 7), EN (the second sign from the end in the same line), and A (the third sign in line 8) are all erasures.[4]

No. 3.[5] In iv 1, the sixth sign is DAM (not NIN$_9$); the traces of the last legible sign point to NIN (copy is misleading). In iv 4, the third sign is DU$_6$ (not ZU). In iv 20, the third sign is correctly copied. In iv 35, the last sign but one is ŠÁR written over another sign, probably a KUR. In iv 52, the sign following GAL is AMA (copy is misleading). In v 2 there is nothing missing between NÉ and SI at the end of the line, the space between should not have been shaded. In v 3, the sign EDIN (second from the end) is correctly copied. In v 4, the third sign is SIG$_7$ (not IGI);[6] the sign following is MA (copy is misleading). In v 8, the sign following NIN is BAR (not MAŠ). In v 26, the fourth sign from the end is LÀL.[7] In v 27, the third sign from the end is TUM (copy is misleading). In v 32, the second sign is not as clear as in the copy; the remainder of the line reads: unu(!)$^{ki}$-ga dim-me-ir kul(!)-aba(!)$^{ki(!)}$ (the copy is quite misleading). In v 35, the sign following KI is probably the number 15 (not KÙ) and the illegible sign following is not GA.[8] In v 38,

1. Cf. my Review Article in *JCS* XVIII, pages 35–48, where a number of corrected readings have been suggested, and to which there will be frequent reference throughout this article.

2. The suggestion in note 3 is therefore to be corrected accordingly [*N. B.* The note numbers here and throughout this article refer to the Review Article mentioned in the preceding note].

3. Cf. my suggestion in note 3.

4. In rev. lines 4 and 5, the seemingly unjustified -zé-en at the end is actually on the tablet.

5. Cf. notes 7–15; also note that on p. 38 of the Review Article the numbers 11, 12, and 13 following the word *kirugu* (near top of page) should read 12, 13, and 14 respectively.

6. It is therefore not a variant reading as suggested in note 8.

7. My reading x-diš in note 8 is to be corrected accordingly.

8. The reading *ki-kù-ga* suggested in note 8 is therefore incorrect.

between MA and E is the sign AL (copy is misleading); the third sign from the end is not as clear as in copy. The remainder of the tablet is correctly copied, except that the fourth sign from the end in vi 2 is probably BI (copy is misleading), and the blanklooking sign at the beginning of vi 8 should have been shaded.[9]

No. 4. In i 2, the first and last signs might be È and BI respectively (the copy is misleading). In i 3, the fifth sign is NA (not KI).[10] In i 8, the first sign is KI (not ŠU).[11] In i 19, the third sign is ḪÚL (the copy is misleading). In ii 6 the sign ŠÈ (middle of the line) is correctly copied. In ii 8,[12] the sixth sign is correctly copied; the seventh sign from the end is ḪA (copy is misleading); the second sign from the end is $U_4$ (not E). In ii 14, the first sign in each of the two glosses is DA (copy is misleading). In iii 3, the second sign is $DU_6$ (not ŠU); the fourth sign from the end is $KE_4$ (not ZU).[13] In iv 4, the last sign is probably MA written over another sign.

No. 5. No corrections.

No. 6. In i 20, the DINGIR(?) before -e-ne is correctly copied. In i 30, the third sign is ŠÈ (not KU). In i 33, the copy of the signs between LA and È is correct.[14] In ii 15, the second sign is correctly copied.[15] In ii 29, the fifth sign is probably NIM (copy is misleading). In iii 1, there is probably nothing after NA (the last sign). In iii 4, the second sign is probably ÚR (not UR). In iii 24, the third sign from the end is RU (copy is misleading). In iii 26, the last sign should have been shaded, it is hardly GIŠ. In iii 35, the first sign is not as clear as in the copy.

No. 7. In i 15, the two signs following GÚ should have been shaded — they are KI and ŠÈ. In i 16, the sign preceding the first PA is probably Á (copy is misleading); the sign following PA should have been shaded, it is ŠÈ. In i 17, the fifth sign from the end should have been shaded, it is ŠÈ. In i 19, the sign following NU is KU (copy is misleading). In i 25 there is only one sign, ḪÚL between NU and LA (the copy is misleading). In ii 3, the first sign is probably BAR written over an erasure. In ii 11, the fifth sign is SÌR (copy is misleading). In ii 13, the sixth and seventh signs (DA and MÀ) should not have been drawn so close together. In ii 20, the fifth sign is correctly copied. In ii 30, the third sign from the end is RI.[16] In ii 34, the third sign is LUM (not MI). In iii 1, the signs immediately preceding gú-mu are probably ZA (not A) and MU (copy is somewhat misleading). In iii 2 ff. the sign EDIN is correctly copied. In iii 5 and 6, the sign preceding NAG is GA (not BI). In iii 7, the third sign from the end is E (not $U_4$; the copy should have been more shaded). In iii 8, the third sign is correctly copied.[17] The seventh sign in iii 11, and the fourth in iii 12, is TAR (not GAM; the copy should have been shaded). In iii 21, the fourth and fifth signs are probably both GABA (the copy is misleading). In iii 23, the fourth sign is probably E (not A, the copy should have been shaded). In iii 34, the third sign is LUL. In iii 37, the second sign is LÚ (copy is misleading). In iii 41, the second sign is TU (copy is a bit misleading); the strange looking sign between DA and EN may be an erasure. In iv 19 and 20, the sign between ḪU and ḪA is LUḪ (not LU). In iv 21, the copy of the sign KI is correct, it seems to be written over another sign. In iv 31, the number 28 is correct. (Only 4 lines are therefore missing at the beginning of this ír-šem-ma, not 6 as the copy assumed).

No. 8.[18] In i 1, the first legible sign is GAL (copy is rather misleading). In i 3, the second sign is URU[19] (the copy is misleading). In i 6, the verb reads ba-i(!)-ra-šÈ (the -i- is probably written over another sign).[20] In i 7,

9. Note that in vi 21, the last sign is actually ZI (not NAM as suggested in note 13), and that in vi 42, 44, 45, and 47, the fourth sign from the end is actually BI (not GA as suggested in note 15).

10. Cf. my correction in note 18.

11. The sign KI looks somewhat like ŠU throughout this tablet, but the bottom horizontal is more slanting than in the copy.

12. Cf. my suggestions in note 22. 13. Cf. note 24.

14. The reading ba(!)- in note 30, therefore, seems to be unjustified.

15. The reading -dib(!) in note 30, therefore, seems to be unjustified.

16. For this correction, and several others to follow, cf. note 35.

17. It does not look like ŠU, as suggested in note 35.

18. For some of the corrections, cf. notes 39, 40, 41, 42, and 43.

19. Not ÈŠ as suggested in note 39.

20. The suggested reading LA for the last sign but one is therefore erroneous.

the third sign from the end is correctly copied. In i 10, the fourth sign from the end is probably TE, but the copy is close to the original. In i 13, the first sign is ŠU (written over another sign).[21] In i 16 the second sign is GAL (copy is misleading); the sign following b a - r a - is correctly copied (that is, it is DU not È). In i 17, the fourth legible sign is É, the sixth is LA, the ninth is NE (the copy is misleading). In i 23, the sign following n u - m u - n i - is written over another sign and is neither AB, nor the expected - i b - (the copy is misleading). In ii 21, the fifth sign is ḪÚL (copy is misleading). In ii 24, the fourth sign (that is, the expected MÀ) is correctly copied; the sixth sign is $UL_6$ written over another sign (it is identical with the eighth sign); the third sign from the end of the line (copied at the bottom of the plate) is probably $U_4$ (not A). In iii 9, the sixth sign is LU (copy is misleading). At the end of line 13 (copied tandem on the plate) the sign following AB is an erasure.[22] In iii 25 the seventh and eighth signs are URU and ZÉ (the copy is misleading). In iii 27, the copy of the third and fourth signs is close to the original. In iv 4, the second sign from the end is $U_4$ written over a KI. In iv 5, the rather strange-looking last three signs are correctly copied. In iv 7, the strange-looking sign following ŠE is correctly copied. In iv 31 and 34, the fifth sign from the end is probably DA (not NA).

No. 9. In this excellently copied piece, note only that the first sign in ii 15 is UB (copy is somewhat misleading); that the end of iii 5 is copied close to the original; and that the last sign in iii 29 is ŠÈ (not KI).

No. 10. The first sign in obv. 1 is correctly copied. In obv. 7, the tenth sign is probably ḪU (not NÍG; it is poorly preserved); the copy of the following three signs LUḪ, LUḪ, and ḪI (!) is quite close to the original, but the first LUḪ may be an erasure. In rev. 2, the fifth sign from the end is correctly copied. In rev. 4, the second and third signs are GA (not BI), and BI (not GA); the strange-looking third sign from the end is correctly copied.

No. 11. No corrections.

21. Cf. note 84.

22. The verb, therefore, reads: [d u $g_4$ - g ] a - n a - a b, not g a - n a - a b - d u $g_4$ as suggested in note 43.

No. 12. The copy is well-nigh perfect except that there is no ruled line dividing the tablets into columns either on the obverse or reverse.[23]

No. 13. In line 13, the traces of the sign between the two DINGIR signs, point to AM (copy is misleading).[24] In line 15, the traces of the signs following $^{d}$a s a r do not point to the expected -l ú - ḫ i.[25] In line 18, the sixth and seventh signs from the end are both DUMU (the copy is misleading). In line 25, the second sign is MÈ (not AG). In line 30, the fourth sign is SI (not E). In line 35, the signs following A are URUDU, ŠEN, and LIŠ. From line 36 to end there are no corrections.[26]

No. 14.[27] In line 2, the first two signs are [N] U and GIG (copy is misleading). In line 3, the first sign is KUR (not NU); the expected -a n after g a - š a - was actually omitted by the scribe. In line 5, the sign AMAŠ (third from the end) is correctly copied. In line 11, the third and fourth signs are correctly copied.[28] In lines 16, 17, 18, and 19, the KA - signs are probably all KA × ŠU (the surface of the tablet is very poorly preserved). In line 18, the eighth sign is probably ÈM, and the ninth is probably ZU (not BA). In line 19, the second sign (that is, the sign between s i - and - a n - n a) is MUL (a DINGIR - sign between and below the two DINGIR - signs is omitted in the copy). In line 20, the fifth sign is poorly preserved, but it is probably LA (not MA). In line 28, the sign following b a - (near the end of the line) is probably DA (copy is misleading). In line 29, the seventh sign is KAL (not E). In line 30, the fourth sign is MÙŠ (not NUN). In line 42, the first sign is ṬU (not UR). In line 43, the sign between UN and E is probably an erasure. In line 49, between the second ZA and MA there are two signs ḪA and AM (the copy is quite

23. Note that the sign NUNUZ in obv. 18 is copied as on the tablet (it is correctly made by the scribe in rev. 27), and that in obv. 27, the - b i - of the expected m u - š e d - b i - i m was actually omitted by the scribe.

24. Cf. note 60.

25. The suggestion in note 60, therefore, seems to be unjustified.

26. Cf. note 61.

27. For a number of suggested corrections, cf. notes 70 and 71.

28. My suggested reading ḪUL in note 70 is therefore erroneous.

misleading; AM is written over an erasure). In line 64, the sign preceding b a - a n - t ú m is probably ZU (not BA). In line 66, there is actually an unexpected A following MU (near end of line). In line 68, the fifth sign seems to be written over an erasure.

No. 15.[29] In i 15 and 16, the first legible sign is DUL (not SAG). In i 17 (and ii 3), the first sign is correctly copied (that is, the sign actually looks like NIN rather than the expected DAM). In ii 5, the sign following A (about the middle of the line) is Ù (not KI). In ii 8, the second sign is correctly copied as GI (not $GI_4$). In line 16, in the complex written small below the main part of the line, the sign following EN is GI (not DÙ). In iii 13, the last sign is $E_{11}$ (not KA). In iv 9, the first sign is KI (copy is misleading). In v 10, the fourth sign is Ḫ É (copy is misleading). In v 11, the copy has an extra É (between ù - m u - u n and é - e) that is not on the tablet. In v 14, the end of the line (following A) reads g u $r_7$ ḫ é - d u b (?) - b é. In v 16, the shaded sign preceding NI is an erasure. In v 23, the second sign is probably ZU (rather than LU); following $^{d}$a - n u n - n a is probably the word a - r a (!) - z u (!). In vi 9, the second sign is probably KI (not ZU). In vi 14, the second sign is Š Ú (copy is misleading).

No. 16. No corrections.

No. 17. No corrections.

No. 18. No corrections, but note that in rev. 4, the third sign from the end is not as clear on the tablet as in the copy, and in rev. 5, the signs preceding the last sign Ḫ É, are very squeezed and difficult to read.

No. 19. In obv. 4, the fourth sign from the end is MU (not ŠEŠ). In obv. 7, the fourth sign from the end is KA (copy is misleading). In obv. 8, the fourth sign is NIGÌN (the copy is misleading). In obv. 16, the fifth sign from the end is correctly copied. In obv. 21, the sign UN (fifth from the end) is correctly copied (that is, it does not end in the expected broken vertical. This is true of the UN-signs throughout this tablet). In obv. 27, the sign following GIL (about the middle of the line) is LI (copy is close; the scribe seems to have had some difficulty in writing the sign). In obv. 36, the second legible sign is probably GA (copy is misleading). In rev. 6, the sign preceding DA is KÈŠ.

No. 20. In obv. 14, the sign preceding s a g - k a l a m - m a is Ḫ U R (not KI). In obv. 15, the vertical between MAŠ and KALAM may be an erasure. In obv. 19, the first legible sign is GAM (not BAD).[30] On the rev. there is no ruled line separating the lines numbered 2 and 3 in the copy (that is, line 3 is an indented part of line 2).

No. 21. No corrections, but note that there is no ruled line dividing the tablet into columns.

No. 22. No corrections.[31]

No. 23. In A 3, the sign preceding MU (the last legible sign) is LAM (not ŠUL). In A 4, the sign after the first AN is probably ŠÈ (copy is misleading). In A 5, the sign preceding E is LUGAL (copy is misleading).[32] In A 15, the second sign may turn out to be NIR (rather than KAL). In A 18, the sign following ì a - n u n - n a is ÉŠ (not ŠU). In A 20 the fourth sign is probably NAM (not ZI); the strange looking sign before E (middle of the line) is correctly copied. In A 23, the last sign of the ideogram for *gizzal*, is correctly copied (it is written over an erasure). In B 14 and C 16, the NU-signs are correctly copied.

No. 24. No corrections.

No. 25.[33] In obv. 1, the third sign is É (copy is misleading). In obv. 3, the third sign seems to be LAGAB (not É or KISAL). In obv. 6, the third sign from the end is SAG (not KA). In obv. 11, the eighth sign is ERIN (copy is misleading). In obv. 12, the sixth sign is GURUN (not GÁL; copy is correct). In obv. 21, the sign before ZU is actually ÚR (not ÚR × NUN). In obv. 23, the fourth sign is followed by MAŠ (not ME). In rev. 3 the first sign is KA × NUN (as in copy). In rev. 12, the third sign from the end is PÀD (not RU).

No. 26. In obv. 14, the first sign is Ṭ U (not UR). In obv. 23–24, the sign A is correctly copied. In obv. 33, the sign before RA is not

29. Cf. the corrections suggested in notes 76 and 82.

30. Cf. note 89; note too that the -s i- of é - s i - i g - t a is a misprint for -ṣ i -.

31. Note that the sign MÈ in obv. 11, as the copy shows, is correctly made on the tablet; in obv. 12 and 14, on the other hand, it is written as AG on the tablet (the copy is quite correct).

32. Cf. note 95.

33. Cf. M. Civil, *Iraq* XXIII pages 154 ff.

as clear on the tablet as in the copy. In rev. 8, the end of the line is correctly copied.

No. 27. No corrections, but note that in line 4, the sign following A is probably ŠE written over an erasure.

No. 28. In line 1, the sign preceding TU is Ù (copy is misleading); the little horizontal over the vertical of the sign preceding ÀM (the last legible sign on the line) is unjustified (it is not on the tablet). In line 3, the signs following LUGAL (about the middle of the line) are LA (copy is wrong) and KA (not SAG). In line 9, the second sign is BAR (not MAŠ). In line 10, the fifth sign is probably SU (not ZU); the end of the line reads nu-gar(!) àm(!)-ma-ši-in-dím. In line 11, the fifth sign is probably SU (not ZU). In line 12, the sign preceding MU is probably E (copy is misleading); the sign following IN is $SA_4$ (copy is misleading). In line 13, the second complex is correctly copied (that is, the NIGIN is before the šu. In line 15, the first two signs are probably EN and GAL, the last sign is probably E (not DA; the signs are tightly squeezed here). In line 16, the first complex reads lú-šu-dím-ma-zu(!)-šè; the sign following NÍG (near the end of the line) is poorly preserved and not as clear as in the copy. In line 17, the sign following the half-broken ZA (about middle of line) is probably E (copy is misleading). In line 19, the SI-looking sign after mu-na-dé is E, and there is probably nothing following (the copy is misleading). Lines 20–30 are very poorly preserved, but the copy is close to the original. In line 31, the last sign is E (copy is misleading). The numeral to the left of this line is 28 (not 8), and this is the actual number of lines on the tablet.[34]

No. 29. In line $3^a$, the traces following im-mi- point to -in- (not -mu-).

No. 30. The obv. and rev. are to be interchanged. In obv. (that is the rev. of the copy) 2, the sign NE before ÍB (near the end of line) is correctly copied (it actually has a broken vertical). In obv. 3, the sign following ÍB (towards end of line) is KÍD; in the sign following, the enclosed IGI is not as certain as in the copy. In rev. (obv. of copy) 4, the first and second signs are correctly copied; so, too, is the fourth sign of the line following.

No. 31. In line 2, the first sign is SUḪUŠ (not DU); the third sign is GI (copy is misleading). In line 3, the third sign is KUL (not ŠEŠ); the signs following uru-kù read giš-kin-ti(!). In line 4, the sign following im-mi-in- is EŠ (copy is misleading). In line 5, the sign following mu-un- (near end of line) is TI (copy is misleading). In line 6, signs 8 and 9 are KAR and RI (copy is misleading). In line 7, the sign following AB (about the middle of the line) is GÍR (copy is misleading); the Ù-looking sign at the end is probably BA written over an erasure.[35] In line 8, between IGI (the sixth sign) and GA is one sign only, $ŠAG_5$ (copy is misleading). The first half of line 9 reads: é-bi(!) umma(!)$^{ki}$ $sig_4$-ḫur(!)-šà(!)-ab(!)-ba(!)-ka. In line 10, the second sign is BI (not BAD); the signs following ti-id(!)-nu-um probably read nu(!)-gar(!)-ra(!) (they are tightly squeezed and difficult to make out). In line 12, the first sign is SUḪUŠ (copy is misleading); following bí-in- the traces point to the sign EŠ (copy is misleading). Line 13 reads: [amar]-da(!)$^{ki}$ uru-íd-bi(!)-a(!)-zal(!)-le(!) [a-š]à-ga še(!)-gu(!)-nu(!). Line 14 reads: [$^d$a-n]un-na-$ke_4$-ne íb(!)-ta-an(!)-kar(!)-re-eš-àm íb(!)-ši(!)-in-gur(!)-re-eš-àm. In line 15, the fifth sign is URU (copy is misleading). In line 16, the fifth sign from the end is SÙ (not BU). The beginning of line 18 reads $^d$nin-urta(!) šul(!)-. In line 20, the eighth sign from the end is BU (copy is misleading). In line 21, the fifth sign from the end is ZU; the third sign from the end is GÁL (copy is misleading). In line 22, between KUR and E (about the middle of the line) are two GAM-signs. In line 23, the number is 8 (not 7); the unjustified KAM (before -àm) is actually on the tablet.

No. 32. Not collated.

No. 33. No corrections, except that in rev. 5,

34. Figulla has 31 lines since he counts indented lines as full lines.

35. The signs LA and GÍR to the left of this line are actually so written on the tablet; they probably indicate that the scribe had a variant reading for the first part of this line that omitted the determinative KI between ŠIR.BUR.LA and gír-su$^{ki}$.

the fifth sign from the end is probably KU written over an erasure, and that the verbal form in rev. 17 and 18 reads: ù nu-mu-ši-ku (!)-ku (!) in both cases.[36]

No. 34. No corrections.

No. 35. No corrections.[37]

No. 36. The copy of this tablet, with its glosses written in small, tightly squeezed characters running over the right edge, is masterful, but until duplicates turn up, some of this text remains illegible, and much of it remains unintelligible. In obv. 10, the first legible sign is GIŠ (copy is misleading); the second is TÚG (not ŠU). In line 11, the third sign from the end is probably GIM (copy is misleading). In rev. 5, there is no vertical at the end of the break preceding ba-an-tù m. In rev. 14, the sign preceding RA (near end of line) is probably written over an erasure.

No. 37. In line 8, the ÀM (middle of the line) is not as certain as in the copy. In line 17, the fourth sign is ZU (not UR); the fifth sign is SA written over an erasure. In line 26, the last legible sign is a clear NU.

No. 38. No corrections.

No. 39. In line 15, the third sign is DÙG (not KASKAL). Line 18 begins with [d]a š nan (copy is misleading). In line 21, the verb probably reads ba-ab (!)-sì (!)-mu (!). In line 25, the fifth sign from the end is BARAG (copy is misleading).

No. 40.[38] In obv. 5, between NI and RU (about middle of line) are two signs NU and KÚR. In obv. 6, the third sign from the end is BA.[39] In obv. 11, the first sign is GÁ (copy is misleading). In obv. 13, the third sign, LUL, is correctly copied.[40] In rev. 5, the fifth sign, MU, is correctly copied.[41] In rev. 9, the sign copied as NA (sixth from end of the line) is an erasure.[42] In line 10, between GIM and SA (fifth sign from end of line) is GIL (copy is misleading). In rev. 14, the vertical at the end of the fourth sign is probably an erasure, and the sign may be identical with the one preceding it.

No. 41.[43] Obv. and rev. are to be interchanged.[44] In obv. (rev. of copy) 4, the sixth sign, SAL, is correctly copied. In obv. 5, the fifth sign is DÍM (not MA); the strange-looking sign preceding GAR (near end of line) is correctly copied. In obv. 8, the first legible sign, TA, is correctly copied.[45] In line 12, the sign following GAR is GA.[46] In rev. (obv. of copy) 3, there is the sign SI between IR and IM (copy is misleading). In rev. 6, the fifth sign looks like AMAR (rather than GA) on the original.

No. 42. In i 7, the rather strange-looking signs before the last sign, are poorly preserved. In i 8, the second sign is PA (copy is misleading). The blank space at the bottom of col. i is quite unjustified (lines 10–13 should have been copied roughly on the same level as lines 11–13 of col. ii), but there is actually a ruled line below line 12. In ii 6, the sign before RA (near end of line) is LAGAB (copy is misleading). In ii 10, the third sign from the end is probably GABA (rather than BI). In line 13, the first sign is É (not SI). In iii 1, the last sign is KAR (copy is misleading). In iii 6, the sign before AMA (towards the end of the line) and the sign after NI, are correctly copied.

No. 43. In i 1, the third sign from the end is GIM (not MA). In ii i, the first sign is MI (copy is misleading).[47]

No. 44. Between lines 5 and 6 is probably a ruled separating line. In obv. 13, the first legible sign is probably ANŠE (not LUL). In obv. 15, the DAM (?) (preceding MA) is correctly copied.[48] In obv. 19, the UŠ (near beginning of line) is not as clear on the tablet as in the copy.

No. 45.[49] The copy follows closely the rather cursive script of this tablet. In line 3, the sixth

36. Not ù nu-mu-ù-kù as I read it in note 102.

37. Note that in line 22, the fifth sign, LÀL is correctedly copied; it does not have the expected vertical at the end of the sign.

38. Cf. Falkenstein, *Iraq* XXII, pages 139–150 for several suggested corrections, not all of which are justified however (cf. following notes).

39. Copy is correct; it is not MA as suggested by Falkenstein.

40. It is not ḪUŠ as suggested by Falkenstein.

41. Cf. Falkenstein's comment, *ibid.* page 147.

42. Falkenstein's translation and comment are therefore to be corrected accordingly.

43. Cf. M. Civil, *JNES* XXIII page 1 ff. for several suggested corrections, not all of which are justified.

44. So previously recognized by Civil.

45. It is not TE as Civil suggests in his list of variants.

46. Not BI as Civil suggests in his list of variants.

47. Cf. Falkenstein, *ZA* 55: 35–42, where both signs are correctly read.

48. But cf. the correctly written DAM in the line following.

49. Lines 10–19 correspond to *UET* VI No. 98, 1–13.

sign is ŠÈ (not ŠU). In line 4, the signs following bí-in- are LÁ LÁ (not ME ME) and É (not MA). In line 6, the sign preceding LA is ḪÚL; the verb reads ba-ni (!)-in (!)-kur$_4$. In line 7, the eighth sign is ḪÚL. In line 18 the first sign is GIŠ (not AB).

No. 46. In obv. 3, the verb reads: ba-ni-in-zal (!)-za-l-ta. In obv. 6, the sign preceding kal-kal-la is KI (not NA). In obv. 8, the last sign is probably KU (copy is misleading). In line 10, the copy of the second sign is close to the original, but the surface of the tablet is rather damaged, and it is not as clear as in the copy. In rev. 2, the first and third signs are KI (not DI). In rev. 4, the line begins with the signs U$_4$ and ME (not URU); toward the end of the line, there is nothing between SÚG and E[N] (the copy is misleading). In rev. 5, the first sign is LÚ × BAD (not LÚ); the fourth is ŠÀ (not MI); the eighth is ŠÈ (not KI); the last is EN (not ME-EŠ). In rev. 7, the fourth sign from the end is BA (copy is misleading). In rev. 9, the third sign from the end is KÍD (not TAR).

No. 47. The obv. is quite difficult to read; the signs crowd each other, and the surface of the tablet is poorly preserved in spots. In obv. i 8, the last three signs are probably EN, TE, and EN. In obv. ii 8, the sign following DIRIG (middle of the line) is ZU (not BA). In obv. ii 12, the last sign is ZU (copy is misleading). In obv. ii 15, the sign preceding ŠI (near end of line) is ÍB (copy is misleading). In rev. 6 the verb reads ù-mu-e (!)-ni-lá (!). In rev. 17, the last sign is probably ZU.

No. 48. In obv. 4, the third sign from the end is SI (copy is misleading); the last sign, DAM, is correctly copied. In obv. 5, the last sign is DAM (copy is misleading). In rev. 2, the second sign is correctly copied; it is actually AG (not MÈ) on the tablet. In rev. 6, the seventh sign is ŠÈ (the little horizontal at the beginning is not on the tablet).[50]

50. There is a slight crack at this point that misled the copyist.

puf

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fact, the logogram is a single sign, namely ZUKUM[1], that is, the sign $\frac{\text{ZI}}{\text{ZI}}$ + LAGAB, which in the NB script looks like UN.SAR. The omen protasis is thus to be read simply *(imitta/ šumēla) ikabbas* « she (the pregnant woman) walks (or rather : waddles) toward the right (resp. left). » The solution was suggested to me by the sign group looking like UN.SAR in a commentary to Tablet III of a-A = *nâqu*, to be published by M. Civil and W. G. Lambert, where from the context (commentary on the equivalents of the sign ZI and the combinations into which it enters), the group $\frac{\text{ZI}}{\text{ZI}}$ + LAGAB was expected. It may be noted that the NB form of the sign ZUKUM has puzzled many a scholar, since its end always looks like the NB SAR sign and its beginning like UN, or PA.PA, or the like. (E. REINER, 27-11-71.)

**11.** Une inscription royale élamite, qui sera publiée dans un prochain numéro de la Revue, se termine ainsi : *si-ia-an, ta-ri-in,* $^{d}$*na-pi-ri-ša,* $^{d}$*ki-ri-ri-ša,* $^{d}$*in-su-uš, -na-ak,* $^{d}$*si-mu-ut-me, e-ri, -en-tum*$_4$*-ià, [pi]-ip-si-ih, [ku]-si-ih* « j'ai conçu (et) bâti en briques cuites le temple *ta-rin* de Napirisha, de Kiririsha, d'Insushnak (et) de Simut ». La lecture *napirisha* pour le groupe faussement transcrit $^{d}$GAL qu'il faut écrire DINGIR-GAL, était démontrée dès 1965 par W. Hinz dans *JNES 24*, 351, cf. Erica Reiner, *The Elamite Language*, p. 58, n. 1 (Handbuch der Orientalistik I, 2). (M. LAMBERT, 4 décembre 1971.)

1. i.e., GUG$_4$ ; for other readings and paleographic variants, see LANDSBERGER, *MSL 2*, p. 68, *Date Palm*, p. 39, and notes 136-137, 140.

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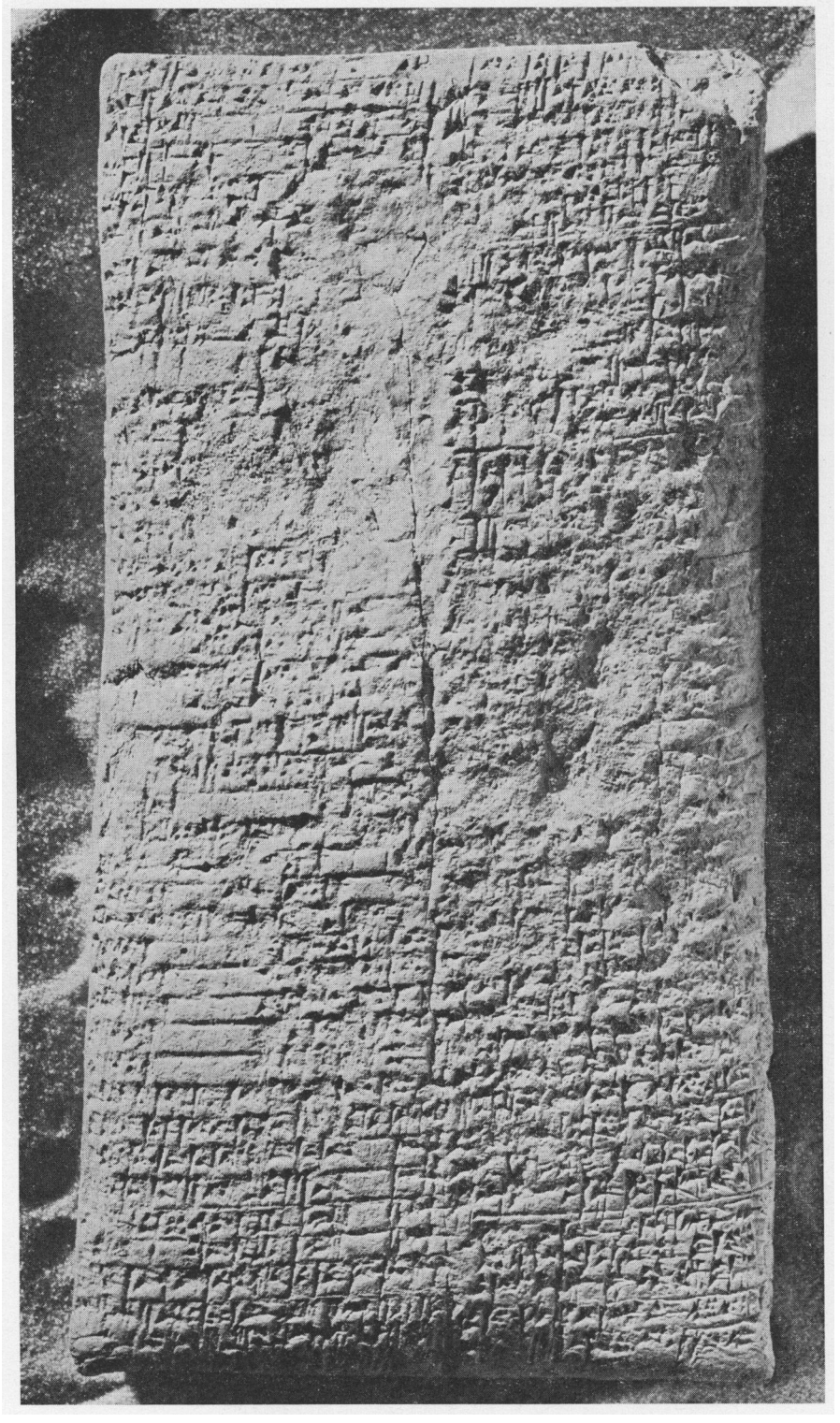
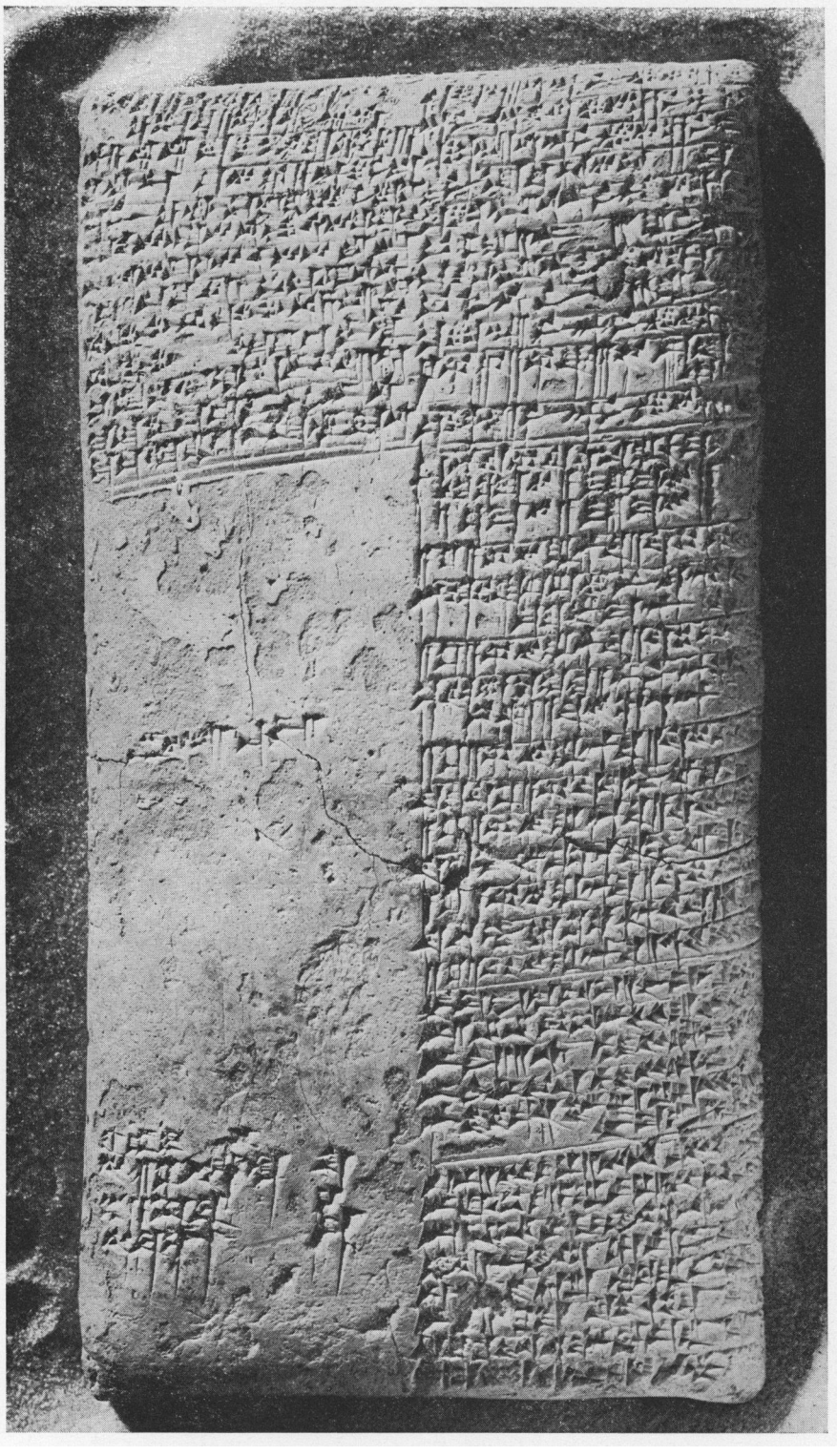
# TEXTES ET DOCUMENTS

During the summers of 1969 and 1970, I spent some time in the British Museum collating the Sumerian texts published many years ago by Leonard King in *CT* 15, and by the late, lamented C. J. Gadd in *CT* 36. On examining the tablet 96681, published on plates 47-50 of *CT* 36, I noted that its obverse was badly incrusted, and that though Gadd, one of the leading cuneiformists of the past half century, and an excellent copyist, had done what was possible with the poorly preserved obverse, its text would become considerably more legible, if baked and treated in the laboratory. At my request, therefore, Richard Barnett, Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities, and Edmund Sollberger, Deputy Keeper, turned the tablet over to Mr. Bateman, in charge of tablet treatment, and as a comparison of the copy with the photographs shows, a fuller text of the obverse came to the fore. This is not to say, however, that its contents are intelligible fully, or even in large part. The translation and interpretation of this unique, obscure, and still partly fragmentary composition are difficult and uncertain ; a tentative edition of the document, "Keš and Its Fate : Laments, Blessings, Omens", has appeared in the *Gratz College Jubilee Volume* (Philadelphia, 1971).

Samuel Noah KRAMER.



BM 96681. Face



BM 96681. Revers

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# *CT XV* : CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

by Samuel Noah KRAMER

During the summers of 1969 and 1970, I spent some weeks in the British Museum collating the Sumerian tablets published in *CT XV*, with the following results :

BM 29615 (plates 7-9)[1]. In lines 3-5, the last sign is probably TA rather than DU. In line 17, the first partially preserved sign is AB (copy is misleading) ; the beginning of the line is therefore probably to be restored as [*àm-da-a*]*b-íl-e* (cf. *SKl*, p. 214). In line 25, the eighth sign, $KAŠ_4$, actually ends in a broken vertical (cf. line 28 where the same sign, the third from the end, ends in an unbroken vertical). In line 32, the expected LU between MU and DA in the last complex but one, is actually missing on the tablet. In line 39, the first sign, certainly AMA, is correctly copied. In line 50, the expected A following GIR (fifth sign from the end) is actually missing on the tablet. In line 54, the fourth sign is ḪI (not BI). In line 63, note that the final *-èm-e* of the verb is written on the line below, that is on line 64 (as in the copy). In line 64, note that the scribe has omitted the refrain *a-ba ba-an-zé-èm-e* due to lack of space. In line 65, the first complex *ki-sikil-mu* is now visible in large part ; the verb at the end of the line, *ba-an-⟨zé⟩-èm-e*(!), is correctly copied. In line 66, the first sign, to judge from the traces, may be NAGAR ; in the verb at the end of the line, the sign ZÉ (preceding ÈM) was actually omitted by the scribe ; so, too, in line 67. In lines 69-70, the verb, which was no doubt *ba-an-zé-èm-e*, is copied as on the tablet ; the scribe, badly squeezed for space, wrote the final signs very carelessly. In line 72, the last sign $U_5$ (not RU, cf. the line following) is copied as on the tablet (here, too, the scribe was badly squeezed for space).

1. This composition (for bibliographical details, cf. *AnOr 10*, p. 363 ; for lines 7-31, cf. *SKl*, pp. 211-220), designated by the scribe as an *iršemma* of Enlil, might well be entitled "The Goddess and Her Harp : A Doleful Dialogue". It begins with a bitter soliloquy by the goddess in which she laments the tragic misfortune that has befallen her when the storm-like cruel "word" of An-Enlil overtook her ; her city and house have been destroyed ; deprived of her possessions, and of her husband and child, she wanders about, aimless and prostrate ; her Dilmun-boat has been sunk in the canebrake, and her fishing (-boats) are lost in the marshes ; she is an enemy in her own city, despised in her birthplace, without strength and will-power (lines 1-31). Following an obscure seven-line passage in which the goddess continues to lament her destroyed city and house (lines 32-38), she proclaims that she has decided to flee the "word" of An-Enlil, and hide where no one can find her, not even they who seek her in the most desolate places (lines 39-45). These mournful words so move her harp which the poet imagines to be within earshot of the soliloquy, that it breaks into a lamentful song addressed to the goddess (lines 46-47), the burden of which seems to be that her flight from the "word" of An-Enlil, will only make matters worse : her adorer(?) *(lú-gam-ma)* and her "princely son" *(dumu-gi$_7$)* will flee pell-mell from the byre, and the "word" of An-Enlil will cut them down as if by an axe (lines 46-57). The response of the goddess (lines 57-71) is obscure, but to judge from the general tone of her speech, which seems to continue to dwell on the dreaded "word" of An-Enlil (note especially that she speaks of the death of her *dumu* and *ki-sikil* in lines 65-66), she probably remains firm in her decision to flee. The poet ends the *iršemma* with a two-line narrative statement (lines 72-73) that the goddess "set sail for her brother", a motif reminiscent of Geštinanna's journey to Nether World to comfort Dumuzi (cf. e. g. *UET*, Nos. 24-25).

BM 13963 (plate 10)[1]. In line 9, the last sign is, no doubt, DI, but the copy is close to the original. In line 10, the last sign is correctly copied as RA. In line 14, the first sign is, no doubt, KI, but the copy is close to the original. In line 18, the seventh sign is correctly copied as DI (not KI) ; the relevant complex is therefore *a-silim*. In line 23, the indented part is correctly copied, but the signs SAG and DÉ are written over erasures. In the main part of line 25, the second sign is LUL written over GÌR (the copy is close but rather misleading).

BM 29644 (plates 11-12)[2]. In line 3, the first sign from the end is E (not UD). In line 5', the sixth sign from the end is actually AG on the tablet (not the expected MÈ). In line 9, the third and second signs from the end are certainly SUM, but the copy is close to the original. In line 18, the fourth sign from the end is a clear BI on the tablet.

BM 29623 (plates 13 and 12)[3]. In line 4, the fourth sign is KA (not SAG). In line 10, the sixth sign is actually ZU on the tablet (not TA, as might have been expected). In line 21, the last sign is ZU (not BA).

BM 22741 (plate 14)[4]. In line 11, the first sign of the line, as well as the first sign of the gloss, which are copied as TÚG, are not as clear on the tablet as in the copy (it seems to be part of a larger sign beginning with two "Winkelhacken") ; moreover on the left edge of the tablet there is another gloss (not in the copy) that reads x-*pa-ri-ma*, x being probably the same sign as that which begins the line as well as the copied gloss. In line 18, the fifth sign is DI (not KI). In lines 24-28, the sixth sign from the end is TÚG throughout on the tablet (even in lines 25-26 where the copy has ŠÈ). In lines 25 and 27, the fifth sign from the end, which, to judge from the lines preceding and following, should be DA, is correctly copied. In line 33,

1. For the contents, cf. *SAGH*, pp. 76-77 and 365 ; *BiOr 11*, p. 173, *sub* No. 11.

2. For the contents, cf. *SAHG*, pp. 77-79 and 365 ; *BiOr 11*, p. 173, *sub* No. 12.

3. This composition (for bibliographical details, cf. *AnOr 10*, p. 260 ; for lines 11-18, cf. *SKl*, p. 81 ff.) designated by the scribe as an *iršemma* of Enlil, begins with an epithet- and refrain-laden address to Enlil, the burden of which is that because he (Enlil) had turned away from his city, it (the city) uttered a cry of woe (lines 1-20). Following a brief passage (lines 21-24) that dilates on the misfortune brought about by Enlil to his city, the poem ends with an itemized description of the laments uttered by the city that has been abandoned by all, great and small, its streets empty of bystanders, and desolation widespread in its places of entertainment (lines 25-34).

4. This difficult, obscure composition (cf. *SBP*, p. 272 ff.), designated by the scribe as an *iršemma* of Nergal, consists of several speeches and addresses, but it is not clear where they begin and end, nor by whom they are uttered. Very tentatively, its contents may be described as follows : The first thirteen lines consist of an address to a "dying" god, perhaps uttered by his mother, bemoaning his suffering and death. Following a three-line narrative statement by the poet that the suffering deity answers his mother (lines 16-18), comes the brief response in which he informs her that the *galla* had maimed his eyes and mouth, and were pressing close to his side (lines 19-20). Whereupon his mother strikes up a mournful song for him (lines 21-23), the main burden of which is that she will garb him in a garment, perhaps a shroud (lines 24-29). The remainder of the text seems to be an address to Gilgameš (perhaps, therefore, he is the "dying" god of the preceding parts of the composition) by someone (probably his mother), asking him to sit weeping by his/her side (lines 31-37 ; the meaning of the crucial two last lines which also seem to concern a garment, is obscure).

the third sign is ḪÚL (the copy is rather misleading). In line 35, the first three signs are GIŠ, A, and AM, just as in line 37 (the copy is misleading).

BM 29631 (plates 15-16)[1]. Copy is correct throughout.

BM 13930 (plates 17 and 16)[2]. Copy is correct throughout, except for the first sign in the last line, which is SÚG (not MÁ).

BM 15821 (plate 18)[3]. In lines 16-17, to judge from the traces; the first sign is AM (not GUD); in line 17, the eighth sign is a clear ÙZ. In line 18, the fourth sign is DA (the copy is misleading). In line 30, the first sign is Ú (the copy is misleading). In line 36, the seventh sign is probably MÙŠ, written over an erasure. In line 37, the first sign is probably KA, written over EZEN. In line 38, the first sign is probably KI (the copy is misleading).

BM 29628 (plate 19)[4]. Copy correct throughout. Note that in line 20, the verb actually reads *ba-e-e*, while in line 24, the verb ends in *-ba-al*. Note also the strange *mu-ib*-DU-DU (line 30) and *mu-ib*-DU (line 31) where *mu-ib-* seems to be an erroneous writing for *mu-ri-ib-*.

BM 15795 (plates 20-21)[5]. Copy correct throughout. Note that probably no more than 2 lines are broken from the obverse, and no more than 3 lines from the reverse.

1. For the contents, cf. *SAHG*, pp. 81-83 and 366 ; *BiOr 11*, p. 173, *sub* No. 14.

2. For the contents, cf. last *MNS*, pp. 45-54 (note, however, that note 15 on p. 44 of the book, is unjustified ; the copy is close to the original and there is no *-lu-a*).

3. The contents of this composition (for bibliographical details, cf. *AnOr 10*, p. 321 ff.) designated by the scribe as an *iršemma* of Dumuzi (Abu is mentioned in line 35, but in obscure context), may very tentatively be sketched as follows : Following a soliloquy proclaiming that the god is no longer alive (lines 1-15), the poet utters several bitter exclamatory phrases addressed to the dead Dumuzi (lines 16-17). He then proclaims that he will make inquiries at the "mound" (grave ?) of Dumuzi, about his whereabouts and (perhaps) that of the inhabitants of his city, who as a consequence of the god's death, suffered privation and perished with him (lines 18-24). The answer to these inquiries is that Dumuzi has ridden off to the Nether World, and (perhaps) that the inhabitants of his city did perish with him (lines 25-35). The remainder of the composition (lines 36-end) continues to portray Dumuzi's tragic fate.

4. The contents of this composition (for bibliographical details, cf. *AnOr 10*, p. 317 ff.), designated by the scribe as an *iršemma* of Dumuzi, may tentatively be sketched as follows : Dumuzi has been taken captive (presumably by the *galla* who carried him off to the Nether World, as recorded, e. g. in "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World"), and was mourned by his city, by his wife Inanna, and by his sister Geštinanna, who abandoned her churn and her flocks as a consequence (lines 1-18). Whereupon a *gutug* appears on the scene with the demand for a reward from Inanna and Geštinanna in turn, if he will show them where Dumuzi is, a demand that is granted by the two goddesses (lines 19-25). Now that she knows where her brother is, the text continues, Geštinanna hastens to the *arali-* "steppe", and (seemingly) comforts him with the announcement that she is bringing him food and clothing.

5. The contents of this composition (for bibliographical details, cf. *AnOr 10*, p. 440 ff.) designated by the scribe as an *iršemma* of Dumuzi, are as follows : Following a brief mournful lament for the suffering Dumuzi (obv. lines 1-13), and a sketchy portrayal of his weeping mother (obv. lines 14-19), the poet relates of a meeting between Geštinanna and an individual who had seen the *galla* with his own eyes, and who describes to her the sorry plight of her brother who was bound and tortured by these cruel demons (obv. lines 20-end). There follows an obscure address by Geštinanna to her brother in which she tries to comfort or advise him (rev. line 1-5). But Dumuzi "takes not her words to heart" (rev. line 6) ; he wants his mother to lacerate her body and proceed prayerfully to the house of her god so that he might escape from the *galla* (rev. line 7-end).

BM 85005 (plate 22)[1]. Copy is correct throughout. Note that the MA of the verb *nam-ma-ra-è* in line 16 (instead of the expected BA) is correctly copied.

BM 23584 (plate 23)[2]. Copy is correct throughout. In lines 16-17, the sixth sign is not as clear on the tablet as in the copy, but it does seem to be ŠÈ, rather than KU, as might perhaps have been expected. Note, too, that in the last line but one, the verb is correctly copied as *mu-un-na-ni-me-en.*

BM 23117 (plates 24-25)[3]. Copy is virtually correct throughout, but note the following : In line 10 (of the second composition), the fifth sign from the end is NU ; in line 13, the last sign but one is correctly copied ; in line 16, the last sign but one is LUḪ ; in line 29, the last sign but one is correctly copied.

BM 23658 (plates 26-27)[4]. In line 5, the last sign is copied as on the tablet. In line 10, the sixth sign is ŠE (copy is misleading). In line 33, the first sign is Á (not DA). In line 46, the seventh and eighth signs are A and NA, written over an erasure.

BM 23702 (plates 28-29). An edition of this text is planned for the near future ; for the present, cf. my *Sacred Marriage Rite*, pp. 102-103.

BM 88384 (plate 30)[5]. Copy is correct throughout, but note that in lines 21-22, the verb is *mu-ni-ib-bar(!)-e(!)* ; the last two signs are written over an erasure.

1. This composition (for bibliographical details, cf. *AnOr 10*, p. 284 ff.) designated by the scribe as an *iršemma* of Bau, consists of a lament over the destruction of Lagaš and its environs.

2. The contents of this composition (cf. *SBP*, p. 288 ff.), designated by the scribe as an *iršemma* of Ningirgilu (one of the names of Inanna), may be sketched as follows : The goddess, held captive in the Nether World, is eager to be freed and to leave it for the world above (lines 1-9). With tears in her eyes she sends a messenger to plead with her mother (presumably Ningal) and her father Nanna (lines 10-23). The poet then continues to depict the goddess weeping for her city and temple that lay in ruins, presumably as a result of her disappearance into the Nether World (lines 24-35), but ends on a note of comfort : her prayer is heard and she leaves the world below (lines 36-38). Following the main text of the composition, there are seven lines which may be the beginning of a new *iršemma*, or perhaps merely variants of some of the lines of the composition.

3. This tablet contains two compositions concerned with the suffering of a goddess when the cruel "word" of An-Enlil overtakes her (for a similar motif, cf. note 1). Of the first composition that consisted of 27 lines, only the last 13 are preserved wholly or in part (cf. *SKl*, p. 214) ; for the second composition which is preserved in large part, cf. *SAHG*, pp. 183-185 and 375.

4. The composition inscribed on this tablet (for bibliographical details, cf. *AnOr 10*, p. 28 ; for partial translations, cf. *SAHG*, pp. 185-186 and 175 ; also *PAPS 107*, pp. 475-476) consists of two sections. In the first (lines 1-21), a goddess, probably Ninisinna, laments for her son Damu, whose death has put an end to virtually everything essential for prosperity and well-being of the land. In the second section (lines 22-end, except for the very last line that marks the beginning of a new composition), the goddess depicts herself as garbed in variegated vegetation, and proceeding mournfully to where her son is lying in a "treacherous" sleep, perhaps in order to free him in the steppe, and to watch over him like a shepherd over his flocks.

5. The first section (lines 1-26) of this composition, designated by the scribe as the sixth *kirugu* (of a long composition of which BM 88384 is but an extract) duplicates the second section of BM 23658 (cf. preceding note). The second section (lines 28-41 ; line 27 is but a rubric indicator), designated by the scribe as the seventh *kirugu*, consists of a song glorifying the god Damu, his house and city, his features and lineage. In the third section (lines 43-46 ; line 42 is a rubric indicator), designated by the scribe as the eighth *kirugu*, the goddess speaks of her comforting Damu (cf. also *TRS 1*, plate XIII, lines 155 ff.), a theme that seems to be continued in the two broken lines that end the available text, and which began, no doubt, the ninth *kirugu*.

M.E.Sharpe

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CAUSERIES

# *The First Case of Tax Reduction*

The first recorded social reform took place in the Sumerian city-state of Lagash in the twenty-fourth century B.C. It was directed against the abuses of "former days" practiced by an obnoxious and ubiquitous bureaucracy, such as the levying of high and multifarious taxes and the appropriation of property belonging to the temple. In fact, the Lagashites felt so victimized and oppressed that they threw off the old Ur-Nanshe dynasty and selected a ruler from another family altogether. It was this new *ishakku*, Urukagina by name, who restored law and order in the city and "established the freedom" of its citizens. All this is told in a document composed and written by the Urukagina archivists to commemorate the dedication of a new canal. To better understand and appreciate the contents of this unique inscription, here is a background sketch of some of the more significant social, economic, and political practices in a Sumerian city-state.

By and large, the inhabitants of Lagash were farmers and cattle breeders, boatmen and fishermen, merchants and craftsmen. Its economy was mixed—partly socialistic and state-controlled, and partly capitalistic and free. In theory, the soil belonged to the city god, and therefore, presumably, to his temple, which held it in trust for all the citizens. In actual practice, while the temple corporation owned a good deal of land, which it rented out to some of the people as sharecroppers, much of the soil was the private property of the individual citizen. Even the poor owned farms and gardens, houses and cattle. Moreover, because of Lagash's hot, rainless climate, the supervision of the irrigation projects and waterworks, which were essential to the life and welfare of the entire community, necessarily had to be communally administered. But in many other respects the economy was relatively free and unhampered. Riches and poverty, success and failure, were, at least to some extent, the result of private enterprise and individual drive. The more industrious of the artisans and craftsmen sold their handmade products in the free town market. Traveling merchants carried on a thriving trade with the surrounding states by land

and sea, and it is not unlikely that some of these merchants were private individuals rather than temple representatives. The citizens of Lagash were conscious of their civil rights and wary of any government action tending to abridge their economic and personal freedom, which they cherished as a heritage essential to their way of life. It was this "freedom" that the Lagash citizens had lost, according to our ancient reform document, in the days before Urukagina's reign. It was restored by Urukagina when he came to power.

Of the events that led to the lawless and oppressive state of affairs, there is not a hint in the document. But we may surmise that it was the direct result of the political and economic forces unloosed by the drive for power that characterized the ruling dynasty founded by Ur-Nanshe about 2500 B.C. Inflated with grandiose ambitions for themselves and their state, some of these rulers resorted to "imperialistic" wars and bloody conquests. In a few cases they met with considerable success, and for a brief period one of them actually extended the sway of Lagash over Sumer as a whole, and even over several of the neighboring states. The earlier victories proved ephemeral, however, and in less than a century Lagash was reduced to its earlier boundaries and former status. By the time Urukagina came to power, Lagash had been so weakened that it was a ready prey for its unrelenting enemy to the north, the city-state of Umma.

It was during these cruel wars and their tragic aftermath that the citizens of Lagash found themselves deprived of their political and economic freedom. In order to raise armies and supply them with arms and equipment, the rulers found it necessary to infringe on the personal rights of the individual citizen, to tax his wealth and property to the limit, and to appropriate property belonging to the temple. Under the impact of war, these rulers met with little opposition. Once domestic controls were in the hands of the palace coterie, its members were most unwilling to relinquish them, even in peacetime, for the controls proved highly profitable. Indeed, our ancient bureaucrats devised a variety of sources of revenue and income, taxes and imposts, that might well be the envy of their modern counterparts.

But let the historian who lived in Lagash almost 4,500 years ago, and was therefore a contemporary of the events he reports, tell it more or less in his own words: The inspector of the boatmen seized the boats. The cattle inspector seized the large cattle, seized the small cattle. The fisheries inspector seized the fisheries. When a citizen of Lagash brought a wool-bearing sheep to the palace for shearing, he had to pay five shekels if the wool was white. If a man divorced his wife, the *ishakku* got five shekels, and his vizier got one shekel. If a perfumer made an oil preparation, the *ishakku* got five shekels, the vizier got one shekel, and the palace steward got another shekel. As for the temple and its property, the *ishakku* took it over as his own. To quote our ancient narrator literally: "The oxen of the gods plowed the *ishakku*'s onion patches; the onion and cucumber patches of the *ishakku* were located in the god's best fields." In addition, the more important temple officials, particularly the *sanga*'s, were deprived of many of their donkeys and oxen and of much of their grain.

Even death brought no relief from levies and taxes. When a dead man was brought to the cemetery for burial, a number of officials and parasites made it their business to be on hand to relieve the bereaved family of quantities of barley, bread, and beer, and various furnishings. From one end of the state to the other, our historian observes bitterly, "There were the tax collectors." No wonder the palace waxed fat and prosperous. Its lands and properties formed one vast, continuous, and unbroken estate. In the words of the Sumerian historian, "The houses of the *ishakku* and the fields of the *ishakku*, the houses of the palace harem and the fields of the palace harem, the houses of the palace nursery and the fields of the palace nursery crowded each other side to side."

At this low point in the political and social affairs of Lagash, our Sumerian historian tells us, a new and god-fearing ruler came to the fore, Urukagina by name, who restored justice and freedom to the long-suffering citizens. He removed the inspector of the boatmen from the boats. He removed the cattle inspector from the cattle, large and small. He removed the fisheries inspector from the fisheries. He removed the collector of the silver which had to be paid for the shearing of the white sheep. When a man divorced his wife, neither the *ishakku* nor his vizier got anything. When a perfumer made an oil preparation, neither the *ishakku*,

nor the vizier, nor the palace steward got anything. When a dead man was brought to the cemetery for burial, the officials received considerably less of the dead man's goods than formerly, in some cases a good deal less than half. Temple property was now highly respected. From one end of the land to the other, our on-the-scene historian observes, "There was no tax collector." He, Urukagina, "established the freedom" of the citizens of Lagash.

But removing the ubiquitous revenue collectors and the parasitic officials was not Urukagina's only achievement. He also put a stop to the injustice and exploitation suffered by the poor at the hands of the rich. For example, "The house of a lowly man was next to the house of a 'big man,' and the 'big man' said to him, 'I want to buy it from you.' If, when he (the 'big man') was about to buy it from him, the lowly man said, 'pay me as much as I think fair,' and then he (the 'big man') did not buy it, that 'big man' must not 'take it out' on the lowly man."

Urukagina also cleared the city of usurers, thieves, and murderers. If, for instance, "a poor man's son laid out a fishing pond, no one would now steal its fish." No wealthy official dared trespass on the garden of a "poor man's mother," pluck the trees, and carry off their fruit, as had been their wont. Urukagina made a special covenant with Ningirsu, the god of Lagash, that he would not permit widows and orphans to be victimized by the "men of power."

How helpful and effective were these reforms in the struggle for power between Lagash and Umma? Unfortunately, they failed to bring about the expected strength and victory. Urukagina and his reforms were soon "gone with the wind." Like many another reformer, he seemed to have come "too late" with "too little." His reign lasted less than ten years, and he and his city were soon overthrown by Lugalzaggisi, the ambitious ruler of nearby Umma, who succeeded in making himself the king of Sumer and the surrounding lands, at least for a very brief period.

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER
Abridged from *History Begins at Sumer*


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# THE DEATH OF DUMUZI: A NEW SUMERIAN VERSION

By SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

As of today there are several variant versions of the myth relating to the death of Dumuzi, the more important of which are: "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World",[1] "Dumuzi's Dream",[2] "Dumuzi and the *galla*."[3] The text here edited, inscribed on a hitherto unpublished tablet, BM 100046, consists of an account of Dumuzi's death that parallels to some extent the hitherto known versions, but includes a number of rather unusual themes and intriguing motifs not found in any of them.[4] It is a pleasure and a privilege to dedicate this study to Oliver Gurney with whom I collaborated in preparing a volume of Sumerian literary texts in the Ashmolean Museum (*OECT* V), and who moreover published in the year 1962 an exemplary summary of what was then known about Dumuzi and his tragic death.[5]

The new version of the death of Dumuzi is composed of four sections. The first (lines 1–19) is in the form of an Emesal address by some individual to Dumuzi consisting of such exclamatory questions as: why does he walk about with covered head while his ewes and their lambs, his she-goats and their kids, as well as his holy little donkey-mares have been seized and carried off, and his holy churn lies shattered; why do his large kids lie prostrate in the sheep-pen and why do his small kids shed bitter tears in the feeding-pen; why do the motherless lambs cry bitterly as they wander aimlessly about, while his weeping little sister utters supplications in their midst. His dog, continues the address, is uttering bitter cries in the desolate steppe; his spouse, holy Inanna, is weeping bitterly in the Eanna; his noble sister Geštinanna is rending her sinews and plucking out her hair at the gate of Lugalbanda and the boulevard of Ninsun.[6]

In the second section, written in Emegir (lines 20–43), Dumuzi is depicted weeping "at the meaning of the fate decreed (for him)."[7] and complaining that he had been singled out for misfortune after he had walked among men;[8] that all the calamities enumerated in the

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[1] Cf. now W. R. Sladek's very useful dissertation based almost entirely on my earlier researches and publications. Note, too, that *UET* VI No. 11 is a variant version of the second half of the myth that seems to end *in medias res*, and was probably continued on another tablet.

[2] Cf. now B. Alster's important monograph, *Dumuzi's Dream*, based largely on contributions by Falkenstein, Jacobsen, Van Dijk, and Kramer.

[3] The text is still untranslated in large part; for partial translations cf. Kramer, *The Sacred Marriage Rite*, pp. 127–130; Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness*, pp. 49–52; Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream*, p. 116. Note especially that the crucial concluding passage of the composition has been misunderstood to some extent in both *The Sacred Marriage Rite* and *Treasures of Darkness* (cf. my forthcoming study in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*).

[4] Though the text is well preserved and almost complete, its translation and interpretation are difficult and problematic, and the present study is a pioneering effort to be corrected and amended by scholars with deeper linguistic and philological insights.

[5] "Tammuz Reconsidered; Some Recent Developments" (*Journal of Semitic Studies* 7: 147–160).

[6] The fact that the poet envisaged Geštinanna as weeping for Dumuzi in localities named after Lugalbanda and Ninsun, localities which may have existed only in his imagination, indicates that the myth was composed during the Third Dynasty of Ur, when these two deities were deemed to be the parents of the king who was Dumuzi incarnate.

[7] That is, *šà-nam-tar-ra-ka* which may of course also be rendered "in the midst of the fate decreeing". In any case, it is to be noted that the "fate decreeing" motif appears rather abruptly and unexpectedly. It may be of course that Dumuzi's fate is adumbrated and foreshadowed in the address to Dumuzi that constitutes the first section of the composition, but it is also possible that our text is part of a Dumuzi myth of some length inscribed on more than one tablet.

[8] The significance of this statement, assuming the rendering is correct, is not clear; on the surface it seems to imply that Dumuzi was a god who for some unstated reason had decided to mingle with mortal men. In "Dumuzi's Dream" on the other hand, Dumuzi claims that he is the husband of a goddess (line 206), and the implication is that he was a mortal who became a god as a result of his marriage to Inanna.

speech addressed to him had indeed come upon him; that his spouse Inanna was indeed weeping for him in the Eanna, and that his sister was indeed lacerating her body racked with agony. Moreover, continues Dumuzi, he actually sees himself sliding into the grave that stands before him "like a big door," and from which he cannot rise while the cruel rain-pouring wind and the tempest maim and ravage him.[9]

The third section, written mainly in Emesal, consists of two parts. The first (lines 44–50), describes Dumuzi's seizure by the galla:[10] they surround him, torment him with thirst, hold on to his side, bind his hands that had been soiled in dung, seize him by his thighs as he is proudly seated, remove his crushed cover from his holy churn. The second part of the section (lines 51–59) begins with two lines that provide the reason for Dumuzi's death: his spouse Inanna had died and he was to take her place in the Nether World. Then follow seven lines, each ending with the refrain *giš-búr-ra ba-an-dib* ("he was held fast by the *gišbur*-trap"), that depict the wretchedness of the Nether World:[11] there was food there but it was not edible; there was water there but it was not drinkable; it was a place where Namtar dwelt, where arts and crafts were unknown, where lips were covered with blood.

The fourth section, also written in the Emesal,[12] introduces a number of themes and motifs relating to sorcery, witchcraft, and burial rites, that are altogether new to the Dumuzi myth as known hitherto.[13] The section consists of two parts. In the first (lines 60–74) we are introduced to seven *arali*-sorcerers who seem to be able to work magic with the *huluppu*-tree, and who are expert in the witchcraft relating to the *gu-bad-DU*[14] which they stretch out in heaven and on earth, and within which the shepherd brings his sheep secretly. In the second part of the section (lines 75–87), we find a witchcraft-practising shepherd who had dug a hole in the ground and had broken a jug of wine in the *edin* which was being churned like milk; also a young maid who "made an ornament" there, and a young bride who brought bitumen there; the *mes*-tree brought something (the relevant signs are destroyed) there, and the *asal*-tree whose fruit had perished stretched its shade there. All this seems to be preparatory to the burial of the shepherd with his dog which is probably depicted in the last four lines of the composition that read:

At the side of the corpse the dog lay,
In his hut the raven [dwelt],
The dog ate by (his) side, [lay] at his feet,
The raven ate by (his) side, ascended to heaven.

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[9] Lines 40–43 certainly seem to say that Dumuzi had some foresight and foretaste of his death and burial, but there is nothing in the text to indicate how this came about.

[10] The appearance of the *galla* on the scene is rather abrupt and unanticipated; there is nothing in the preceding passage to prepare us for their advent, and this again may indicate that our text consists of the conclusion of a myth inscribed on more than one tablet (cf. note 7).

[11] Actually it is not the Nether World as a whole that seems to be depicted, but only the *èš-lam* of Ereškigal. The meaning of *èš-lam* is quite uncertain, perhaps it means "the *lam*-shrine," *lam* being a rare word for "Nether World" (cf. *CAD sub lammu*, and note that the *lam* of $^{d}$*mes-lam-ta-è-a* may also refer to the Nether World).

[12] Cf. *e-zé* (for *udu*) in line 73, *me-ri* (for *gìr*) in lines 74 and 86, and *mu-tin* (for geštin) in line 76 but note the Emegir *lú-sipad* in line 75 (and perhaps *sipad* in line 72).

[13] Unfortunately as the commentary to this section notes, much of it is incomprehensible and the summary sketch of its contents here presented is far from assured.

[14] The literal rendering of *gu-bad-DU* may of course be "the separating thread" or "the distant thread," but neither meaning helps to clarify the witchcraft involved.

*Transliteration*[15]

1. [e-na ba-LU]-LU e-ne ba-LU-LU sag túg a-[na-aš bí-in-dul]
2. [za-e sipad-me-en] e-ne ba-[LU-LU]
3. [$u_8$-zu ì-díb $sila_4$-zu ì-$rig_7$] e-ne ba-LU-LU
4. [ùz-zu ì-díb máš-zu ì-$rig_7$] e-ne ba-LU-LU
5. [$eme_x$-tur-kù-zu i-im-da-díb] e-ne ba-LU-LU
6. [$^{duk}$šakìr-kù-zu líl-e ì]-sìg-ge sag túg a-na-aš bí-in-dul
7. máš-gal-gal-[zu é]-e-zé-ka gú ki a-na-aš ì-ma-al
8. máš-tur-tur-zu é-ubara[16]-ka ír-gig ì-[$še_8$]
9. $sila_4$-ama-nu-tuku-zu úr-bal-bàd-da-ka gù gig-bi im-[me]
10. $nin_9$-bàn-da-ír-ra-tuku-a-zu šà-bi šà-ne-$ša_4$ a-na-aš ba-gá-gá
11. ur-zu edin-líl-lá gù gig-bi im-me
12. nitalam-zu kù-ga-ša-an-an-na-$ke_4$
13. é-an-ta-ki-a-gub-ba-na ír-gig ì-$še_8$-$še_8$
14. $nin_9$-e-zu $^{d}$mu-tin-an-na-$ke_4$
15. ká-ù-mu-un-bàn-da-$ke_4$
16. sila-da-ma-al-la-ga-ša-an-sun-na-$ke_4$
17. sa-ì-sur-ra-ni im-sur-re síg-ni im-zé-e
18. sa-ì-bu-ra-ni im-bu-re síg-ni im-zé-e
19. síg-ni ú-šu-mu-búr šu mu-un-dúb-dúb-bé
20. guruš-e šà-nam-tar-ra-ka ír im-ma-ni-in-pàd
21. $^{d}$dumu-zi-dè šà-nam-tar-ra-ka ír im-ma-ni-in-pàd
22. mà-e sipad-me-en lú-da ba-an-da-gen[17]-ne-ta dili a-na mu-un-ag
23. $u_8$-mu ḫé-díb $sila_4$-mu ḫé-$rig_7$ dili a-na mu-un-a[g]
24. ùz-mu ḫé-díb máš-mu ḫé-$rig_7$ dili a-ma mu-un-a[g]
25. $eme_x$-tur-kù-mu ḫé-im-da-díb dili a-na mu-un-[ag]
26. $^{duk}$šakìr-kù-mu líl-e ḫè-sìg-ge dili a-na mu-un-[ag]
27. máš-gal-gal-mu é-udu-ka gú ki ḫu-mu-ni-[gál]
28. máš-tur-tur-mu é-ubur-ra ír-gig ḫé-$še_8$-[$še_8$]
29. $sila_4$-ama-nu-tuku-mu úr-bal-bàd-da-ka gù gig-bi ḫ[é-im-me]
30. $nin_9$-bàn-da-ír-re-tuku-a-mu šà-bi šà-ne-$ša_4$ ḫé-en-g[á-gá]
31. ur-mu edin-líl-la gù gig-bi ḫé-im-[me]
32. nitalam-mu kù-$^{d}$inanna-$ke_4$
33. é-an-ta-ki-a-gub-ba-na ír-gig ḫé-$še_8$-š[$e_8$]
34. $nin_9$-e-mu $^{d}$geštín-an-na-$ke_4$
35. ká-$^{d}$lugal-bàn-da-$ke_4$
36. sila-dagal-la-$^{d}$nin-sun-na-$ke_4$
37. sa-ni ḫé-sur-re síg-ni ḫe-im-zé-e
38. sa-níg-bu-ra-ni ḫé-sur-re síg-ni hé-im-zé-e
39. síg-ni numùn-búr-gim šu ḫé-im-dùb-dùb-b[é]
40. kur-ki-in-dar-ra-mà gìr-mà ba-an-zé-ir $ur_5$ nu-mu-un-da-[$e_{11}$]
41. unu-gal ig-gal-àm igi-mà ba-an-gub[18] $ur_5$ nu-mu-un-da-[$e_{11}$]
42. im-ḫul-šèg-gá me-ri-mà ba-an-zé-ir $ur_5$ nu-mu-un-da-[$e_{11}$]
43. $im\text{-}ul_6$-lu bal(!?)-ri-a im-ma-da-laḫ$_4$[19] $ur_5$ nu-mu-un-da-$e_{11}$

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[15] In the transliteration, three dots stand for two missing signs, four dots for three or more missing signs.

[16] The sign is glossed *ú-bu-ra.*

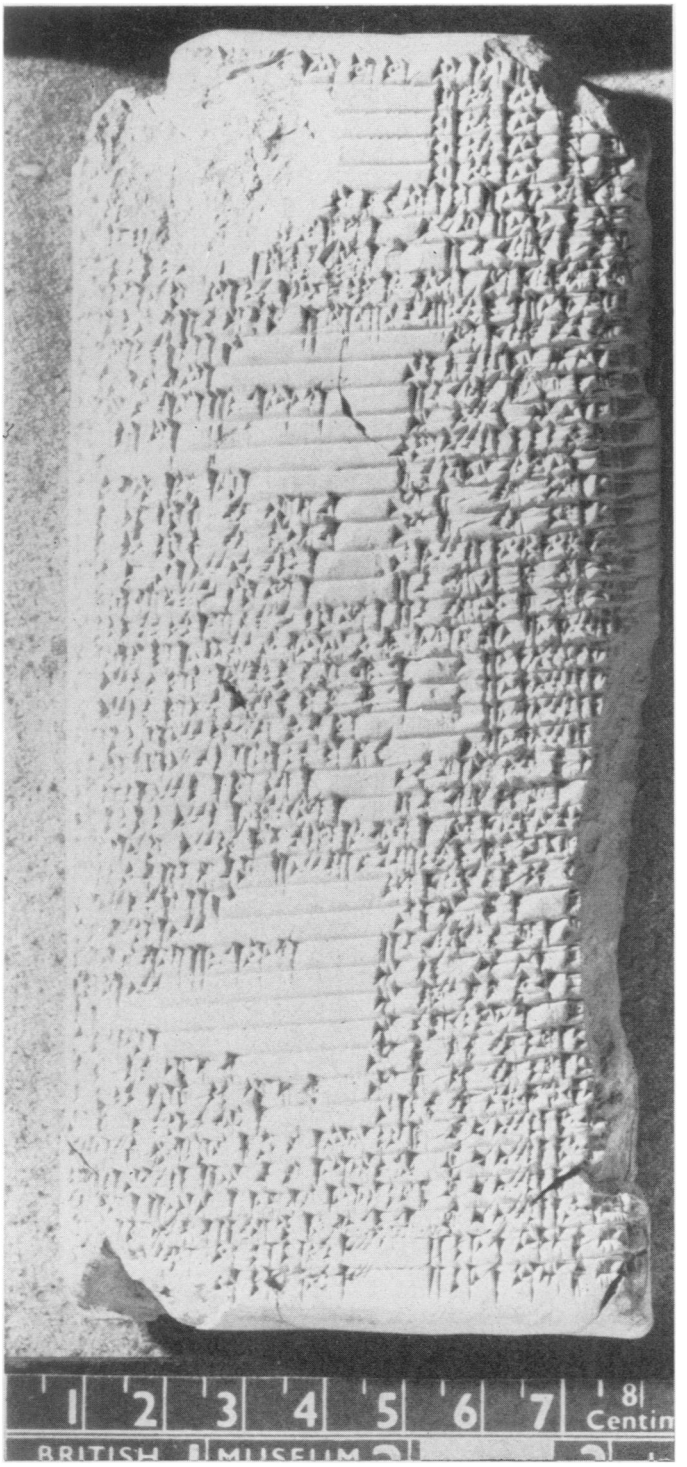
[17] The sign *DU* (read *gen*) is glossed by the sign *MI.*

[18] The sign *DU* (read *gub*) is glossed by the sign *GU.*

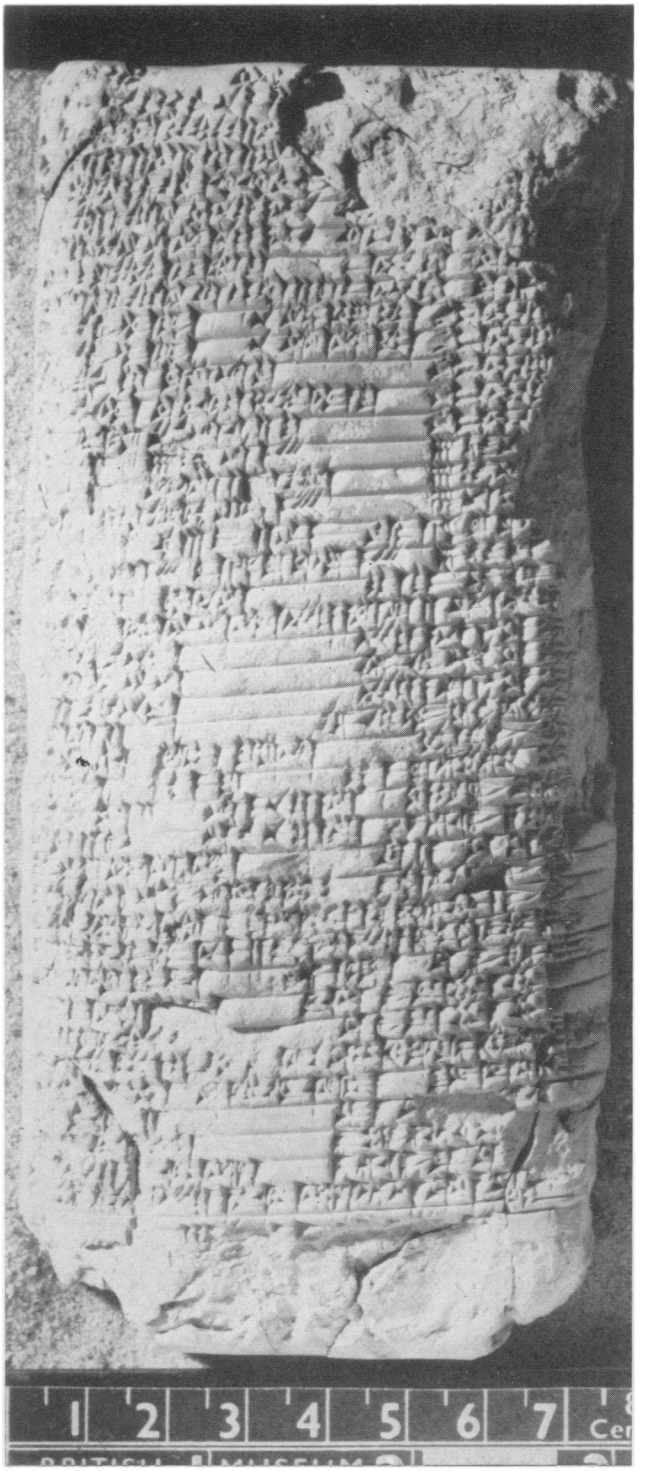
[19] Between and under *lah*$_4$ and *ur*$_5$ is an illegible gloss (perhaps *la-aḫ-*?).

44. gal[la]-gu-la ba-nigin-ne-eš a-nigín-na ba-an-ni-⟨$du_8$⟩-us
45. [galla-tur] ba-an-nigin-ne-eš a-nigín-na ba-an-ni-⟨$du_8$⟩-us
46. . . . . ba-an- . . . .
47. galla gi-NIGÍN-šukur-nu-me-a [zag-ga-na ba-an-díb-bé-eš]
48. šu-ni-šurim(?)-ma(?)-$du_8$-$du_8$-a[ba(!?)-an-dù-uš]
49. maḫ-a-dúr-a ba-gar-ra-àm[ḫaš$_4$-a-na i-im-díb-bé-eš]
50. $^{duk}$-šakír-kù-ga TUN-pad-pad-da-ni [ba-ra-bad-du-uš]
51. [$u_4$]-bi-a ga-ša-an-e nu-un-ti kur-[nu-$gi_4$-a-šè] ki-bi-[gar-na mu-un-sì]
52. dam-ušum-gal-an-na-ka mu-un-ti ki-bi-gar-na mu-un-[sì]
53. $^{d}$dumu-zi-dè èš-lam-šè giš-búr-ra ba-an-d[díb]
54. èš-lam-šè ga-ša-an-ki-gal-la-a-šè giš-búr-ra ba-an-[díb]
55. ú-bi ì-ma-al nu-kú-ù-dè giš-búr-ra [ba-an-díb]
56. a-bi ì-ma-al nu-nag-nag-dè gis-búr-ra [ba-an-díb]
57. ki-nam-tar-ra-durun-na-šè giš-bur-ra [ba-an-díb]
58. nam-galam-ma ba-da-ab-$ku_6$-lam-ma-šè giš-búr-ra [ba-an-díb]
59. šu-um-du-um-urí-na-šú-a-šè giš-bur-[ra ba-an-díb]
60. $u_4$-[bi]-a imin ḫé-na-me-eš imin ḫé-na-[me-es]
61. [e-ne-ne]$uš_x$-zu-a-[ra]-li imin ḫé-na-[me-eš]
62. [$uš_x$-zu]-a-ra-li ḫé-en-na-me-eš imin-na ḫ[é-en-na-me-eš]
63. . . . .-kar(?) sa-àm-me šu $^{giš}$ḫa-lu-$ub_4$-a[g-me-eš]
64. ?-?-sír-re-me-eš $^{giš}$ḫa-lu-$ub_4$-ag-me-eš imin ḫé-na-[me-eš]
65. šeš-nu-zu $nin_9$-nu-zu ad-gal-$u_4$-$gi_6$-ga
66. e-ne-ne-ne an-na $uš_x$ mu-un-zu ki-a $uš_x$ mu-un-[zu]
67. an-na gu-bad-DU mu-un-na-lá-e-ne
68. ?-?-?-an-na im-mi-in-bal-e-ne
69. ki-a gu-bad-DU mu-un-na lá-e-ne
70. ?-?-ki-a im-mi-in-$gi_4$-$gi_4$-ne
71. más-ùz-da $u_8$-gim dúr-ru-na bí-in-?-?
72. sipad(?)-dè ḫé-me-LU ḫé-me-LU zi-zi-dè(?)
73. gu-bad-DU-a na-me nu-un-zu e-zé-ni ba-ni-i[in-$ku_4$]
74. ki-tuš-a-ni bala nu-un-zu me-ri-ni za-ra-RI- . . .
75. lú-sipad-dè $uš_x$-$dug_4$-$dug_4$ ki-a ba-e-dar
76. edin-na duk-mu-tin-na ba-e-gaz edin ga-gim ì-ḫur
77. $bur_5^{mušen}$-$bur_5^{mušen}$-e edin-na mu-un-ḫur edin ga-gim ì-ḫur
78. ù-$bur_5^{musen}$ $^{giš}$ḫašḫur-nu-me-a edin-na mu-un-ḫur edin ga-gim ì-ḫur
79. ù-ki-sikil-tur-re suḫ-[20]kèš ba-ni-in-ag
80. ù-e-$gi_4$a-[tur-r]e esir ba-ni-ib-$ku_4$-$ku_4$
81. $^{giš}$meš-gi-bala . . . ba-ni-ib-$ku_4$-$ku_4$
82. $^{giš}$asal il-lu-ur-bi ba-ab-gul-la gizzu-bi ba-ni-ib-[lá]
83. ? ? ?-gim $su_{11}$-lum-dilmun$^{ki}$-gim túg-gim ba-e-dul
84. adda-da-ni-a ur ba-[e]-ná
85. gá-$rig_7$-ga-na uga $^{mušen}$[ba-e-tuš]
86. ur mu-un-da-ab-kú me-ri-ne-šè ba-[e-ná]
87. uga $^{mušen}$mu-un-da-ab-kú an-na ba-e-$e_{11}$

[20] Preceding *suḫ* is an illegible sign.




BM 100046: obverse.




BM 100046: reverse.

*Translation*[21]

1. [How you walk about!] How you walk about! [Why have you covered (your) head with a cloth!]
2. [You who are a shepherd], how [you walk about!]
3. [Your ewes have been seized, your lambs have been carried off,] how you walk about!
4. [Your she-goats have been seized, your kids have been carried off,] how you walk about!
5. [Your holy little donkey-mares have been seized with them,] how you walk about!
6. [Your holy churn is shat]tered, why have you covered (your) head with a cloth!
7. [Your] large kids lie prostrate in the sheep-pen,
8. Your small kids weep bitterly in the feeding-pen,
9. Your motherless lambs [utter] bitter cries at the wall's encompassing base.
10. Why does your little sister, overtaken by (their) weeping, utter supplications in their midst!
11. Your dog utters bitter cries in the desolate steppe,
12. Your spouse, the holy Inanna,
13. Weeps bitterly in her house which (having descended) from heaven, stands on the earth.
14. Your noble sister, Geštinanna,
15. By the gate of Lugalbanda,
16. By the boulevard of Ninsun,
17. Rends her rent sinews, rips out her hair,
18. Tears her torn sinews, rips out her hair,
19. Plucks out her hair like *bur*-rushes.
20. The lad wept at the meaning of the decreed fate,
21. Dumuzi wept at the meaning of the decreed fate:
22. "I who am a shepherd, after walking among men—how singularly I have been treated!
23. My ewes have indeed been seized, my lambs have indeed been carried off—how singularly I have been treated!
24. My she-goats have indeed been seized, my kids have indeed been carried off—how singularly I have been treated!
25. My holy little donkey-mares have indeed been seized with them—how singularly I have been [treated]!
26. My holy churn is indeed shattered—how singularly I have been [treated]!
27. My large kids are indeed [lying] prostrate in the sheep-pen,
28. My small kids are indeed weeping bitterly in the feeding-pen,
29. My motherless lambs are indeed [uttering] bitter cries at the wall's encompassing base,
30. My little sister, overtaken by (their) weeping, is indeed [uttering] supplications in their midst,
31. My dog is indeed [uttering] bitter cries in the desolate steppe,
32. My spouse, holy Inanna,
33. Is indeed weeping bitterly in her house which (having descended) from heaven, stands on the earth,
34. My noble sister, Geštinanna,
35. By the gate of Lugalbanda,
36. By the boulevard of Ninsun,
37. Is indeed rending her sinews, is indeed ripping out her hair,
38. Is indeed rending her torn sinews, is indeed ripping out her hair,
39. Is indeed plucking out her hair like *bur*-rushes.

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[21] In the translation, two dots stand for one missing word, three dots for two missing words, four dots for three or more missing words.

40. My foot has slid into my excavated grave, it does not let me [ascend] from it,
41. The tomb has stationed itself before me as a big door, it does not let me [ascend] from it,
42. My foot has slid into the rain-pouring cruel wind, it does not let me [ascend] from it,
43. The tempest has carried me off to the opposite shore, it does not let me ascend from it".
44. The big *galla* surrounded him tormented him with thirst,
45. [The little *galla*] surrounded him tormented him with thirst,
46. . . . ,
47. The *galla*—there being no surrounding reed hedge—[held on to his side],
48. [They bound] his hands that had been smeared in dung (?),
49. Him who had settled himself on a lofty seat, [they seized by his thighs],
50. [They removed] the crushed cover of his holy churn.
51. On that [day] the queen did not save his life, she [gave him over] to the land of no return [as her subst]tute,
52. The spouse of Ušumgalanna did not save his life she [gave him over] as her substitute,
53. Dumuzi was [held fast] by the *gišbur* at the *ešlam*,
54. He was [held fast] by the *gišbur* at the *ešlam* of(?) Ereškigal,
55. There was food there (but) it is inedible—he was [held fast] by the *gišbur*,
56. There was water there, (but) it was undrinkable, he was [held fast] by the *gišbur*,
57. At the place where Namtar dwelt he was [held fast] by the *gišbur*,
58. At (the place where) arts and crafts are non-existent he was [held fast] by the *gišbur*,
59. At (the place where) lips are covered with blood he was [held fast] by the *gišbur*.
60. In [those] days they were seven, they were seven,
61. [They], the sorcerers of *arali*, were seven,
62. [The sorcerers] of *arali* were seven, [they were] seven,
63. . . . . they were those who worked a *ḫuluppu*-tree.,
64. They were . . . ., they were those who worked a *ḫuluppu*-tree,
65. Who knew no brother, who knew no sister, the loud cry of day and night,
66. They are those who know (how to practise) witchcraft in heaven, who [know] (how to practise) witchcraft on earth,
67. In heaven they stretch for him the *gu-bad-DU*,
68. They make traverse there the . . . of heaven,
69. On earth they stretch for him the *gu-bad-DU*,
70. They cause the . . . of earth to return there,
71. They . . . the he-goats into his *dúr* like a ewe,
72. The shepherd(?) in order to arouse(?) . . . .,
73. Brought his sheep into the *gu-bad-DU*—no one knew,
74. His dwelling place knew not a trespasser(?) his foot . . . . .
75. The shepherd-man, he who practised sorcery, broke into the ground,
76. He smashed a wine-jug in the steppe, the steppe was churned like milk,
77. Swarms of birds churned it in the steppe, the steppe was churned like milk,
78. Also birds—there being no apple tree—churned it in the steppe, the steppe was churned like milk,
79. Also the young maid wrought there an ornament,
80. Also the young bride brought there bitumen,
81. The . . . *mes*-tree brought . . . there,
82. The *asal*-tree whose fruit had perished, [stretched] its shadow there,
83. The . . . like the . . , like a Dilmun-date, covered it like a garment.
84. At the side of the corpse the dog lay,
85. In his hut the raven [dwelt],
86. The dog ate by his side, [lay] at his feet,
87. The raven ate by his side, ascended to heaven.

*Commentary*

*Lines 1–19.* The reading and meaning of *e-ne ba-LU-LU* in lines 1–5 are uncertain (the translation assumes the reading *ba-dib-dib* for ba-LU-LU); for *e-ne* "how," cf. Krecher, *SKLy* pp. 100–101. For *sag túg--dul* in lines 1 and 6, cf. especially *sag-gá-a túg ba-an-dul*, "He (Dumuzi) covered (his) head with a cloth (*SK* 26 iv 25), which indicates that our *sag* is probably intended for *sag-gá*;[22] the reason for Dumuzi's covering his head with a cloth is not stated, but probably it was to avoid witnessing the calamities that had befallen him.[23] The restoration of line 2 seems reasonable but is uncertain; for the restoration of lines 3–7 cf. lines 23–27. In lines 3–5 the refrain *sag túg a-na-aš bi-in-dul* is not repeated by the scribe, probably only to save labor; this may also be true for the omission of *e-ne ba-LU-LU* in line 6. Line 5 provides us with the rather interesting and hitherto unknown detail that Dumuzi was the possessor of small donkey-mares in addition to sheep and goats. In line 6, *líl-e ì-sìg-ge*, literally "it is smitten by the wind," is an idiomatic expression for "it is shattered," "it is demolished";[24] the reason for the author's use of the present tense of the verb in this line, and not the preterite as in the preceding lines 3–5 and the following line 6, is not clear. To judge from lines 7–9, not all Dumuzi's sheep and goats were seized and carried off, as might have been concluded from lines 3–4. Line 9 may depict the aimless wandering of the motherless lambs around the city walls. The "little sister" in line 10, is not identifiable by name.[25] For Dumuzi's dog (line 11), cf. especially lines 95–97 of "Dumuzi's Dream." In line 13, one might have expected $e\text{-}_{11}$-*dè* following *an-ta* (cf. line 200 of "Temple Hymns" and line 31 of "Gilgameš and Agga"). For the rendering -e- following *nin-* (line 14) as "noble," cf. Falkenstein, *ZA* 56: 90–91. In lines 17–19, the poet makes use of several rather unusual repetitions to depict Geštinanna's self-torture and especially the tearing of her hair. The Emesal, *ú-šu-mu-búr* (line 19) corresponds to the Emegir *numún-bûr* (line 39), corroborating Falkenstein's deduction in *MSL* IV p. 23 that *šumu(n)* is the Emesal form of *numun*.[26]

*Lines 20–43.* For lines 20–21, cf. note 7. For line 22 cf. note 8. For *dili a-na mu-un-ag*, cf. lines 392 and 421 of "Enki and the World Order," where Inanna complains *dili-mu-dè a-na bi-ag* which may be rendered "how singularly I have been treated" (literally "in my singleness how I have been treated"). In lines 37–38, which correspond to lines 17–18, note the minor variants in the initial complexes. Lines 40–43 have no corresponding lines in the first section of the composition; they seem to depict Dumuzi's imaginary vision of his death and burial (cf. note 9). A more literal meaning of *kur ki-in-dar-ra-mà* in line 40 might perhaps be "in my excavated (funeral) mound". For *gìr--zer* (line 40, also *me-ri--zer* in line 42), "to slide." "to slip," cf. *AHw* sub *neḫelṣû*;[27] the restoration of the refrain in lines 40–43 is uncertain, as is also its translation. In line 42, the initial complex *im-ḫul-šèg-gá* seems to correspond grammatically to the initial complex of line 40, while *me-ri-mà* seems to be the Emesal of *gìr-mà*, but on the surface there

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[22] Cf. also line 103 of *a-ab-ba ḫu-luḫ-ḫa* (*YNER* p. 95) where the locative *-a* is governed by *túg-dul*. On the other hand, in line 205 of "Temple Hymns" where Inanna is said to cover the head of males with a cloth, the verbal form is *sag-túg-dul-lu*.

[23] Similarly in the *a-ab-ba ḫu-luḫ-ḫa* line cited in the preceding note, Enlil covers his head that he might not witness the suffering of his people.

[24] For other examples of *líl-e--sìg* cf. *umuš-bi in-suḫ-àm líl-e bi-in-sìg-àm*, "Its (Nippur's) reason has become confused, it has been demolished" (line 105 of the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Nippur"); *tùr-nun-e-ba-dù-a-bi líl-lu-gim íb-sìg*, "The stall built by the prince has been demolished" (literally, "has been smitten like by the wind"), ibid. lines 1–2; zaraḫ-e á mu-ni-tal-tal-la líl-šè (variant *líl-e*) *im-mi-in-sìg*, "The wailing that had engulfed him, he (the man's personal god) demolished" (line 127 of Jacob Klein's manuscript of "Man and His God").

[25] Dumuzi's *nin-bàn-da* is also mentioned in "Dumuzi's Dream" (line 14); for additional examples cf. Alster's comment to the line.

[26] For further details cf. note 4 of my article "Inanna and the *numun*-plant," in the forthcoming Cyrus Gordon *Festschrift*; for the possible meaning of *numún-búr*, cf. *CAD* sub *elpetu*.

[27] Note, however, that one might have expected *gìr-mu* rather than *gìr-mà* if the translation is correct.

seems to be no justification for the use of Emesal in this line;[28] the rendering of lines 42–43, which must relate in some way to Dumuzi's death vision, is quite uncertain.[29]

*Lines 44–50.* Lines 44–45 correspond in large part to lines 156 = 183 = 218 of "Dumuzi's Dream" where the verb reads *ba-ni-in-du*$_8$*-uš*[30]. The rendering "thirst" for *a-nigin*(*-na*) (literally probably "water deprivation," cf. the equation *ni-gìn* = *NIGÍN* = *ka-lu-ú ša A.MEŠ* in *CAD* 8:95) was first suggested in my translation of the "Lamenatation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur" (*ANET*$^3$ p. 611 ff.) where lines 393–395 read:

šà-gar-e uru$^{ki}$ a-gim ba-e-si gá-la nu-un-ta-dag-ge
šà-gar-e igi-bi in-gam-me-e sa-bi im-lu-gú-dè
un-bi a-nigín-na ba-e-si zi-ḪUR i-ag-e
Famine filled the city like water, there is no respite from it,
Famine bends low their faces, it swells their sinews,
Its people were filled with thirst, . . .

This rendering is further corroborated by lines 408–410 of the lamenatation which read:

uri$^{ki}$-ma $^{giš}$tukul-e duk-saḫár-gim sag-gaz i-ag-e
lú-kar-ra-bi dùg nu-um-gá-e bàd-zag-bi im-tab
ku$_6$-a-nigín-na-lu-ga-gim zi-bi I-tùm-tùm-mu-dè
Ur is shattered by the weapon like a saḫar-vessel,
They who flee it cannot run fast, they were pressed tight to the side of the wall,
Like fish writhing(?) in thirst, their life is carried off.[31]

For the restoration of line 47, cf. the last line of the Scheil text *RA* VIII p. 161 ff. For *gi-šukur* with the meaning "reed fence" (of a corral), cf. Civil *apud* Sladek's Dissertation "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" p. 216–217; the rendering "surrounding" for *NIGÍN* (following *gi*) seems reasonable but the complex is difficult to analyze grammatically. The restoration of the verbal form in line 48 is a guess based on the frequent depiction of Dumuzi as *šu-dù-a* and *á-lá-a*.[32] The restoration of line 49 is based on lines 349–350 of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World which read":

$^{d}$dumu-zi bara-maḫ-a i-im-tuš maḫ-a-DÚR-a dúr im-mi-gar
galla-e-ne haš$_4$-a-na i-im-díb-bé-eš
Dumuzi seated himself on a lofty dais, settled himself on a lofty seat(?),
The *galla* seized him by his thighs.[33]

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[28] In this line and the line following, Dumuzi seems to have envisioned vicious winds and storms accompanying his death; for similar motifs in connection with Dumuzi's death, cf. lines 12 ff. of the "Dumuzi and the *galla*" passage cited in the forthcoming study mentioned in note 3 (cf. also the Flood motif involving Inanna and Dumuzi in lines 35 ff. of "Inanna and the *numun*-plant," the composition mentioned in note 25).

[29] For *bal-ri*, cf. *CAD* sub *ebertan* and *ebertu*(A), and the rather obscure *bal-a-ri* of the Samsuiluna text published by Gertrud Farber-Flügge in the Kramer *Festschrift* p. 177 ff.

[30] Note that *du*$_8$ is also omitted in several of the variants cited in "Dumuzi's Dream" to lines 156, 182, and 218.

[31] Note that *a-nigín* can be read *a-nimin* and is probably therefore but a variant form of *enmen*, *immen* "thirst," (cf. *CAD* sub *ṣumu*). Note further that in *SK* 25 viii (cf. Krecher, *SKLy* p. 216) lines 45–46, *nigín* (without the preceding *a*) is to be rendered "thirst," since it is juxtaposed to *u*$_4$*-šú* "hunger" (this was first suggested by Mark Cohen in his forthcoming monograph on the *iršemma*, in his comment to lines 22–23 of the Nergal *iršemma*, *CT* 15 plate 14). Moreover a comparison of *SK* 25 viii 46 with its duplicate *CT* 15 plate 7 line 24, shows that the word for "thirst" can also appear in the form *anaman* (written a-nag-an) since it is juxtaposed to *ú-kú*, a variant of *u*$_4$*-šú*; the rendering of *CT* 15 plate 7 lines 23–24 is therefore: "I (Inanna) am one whose fledglings of the nest are hungry, I am one whose young of the stall are thirsty." For additional proof that *a-nigín* means "thirst," "water deprivation," cf. *BE* XXX No. 2 lines 30–31 that read:

ù-šub-ba-za ù-zi-ga-za sìr-re-eš na-ri-bé
guruš a-nigín-na-za šul(?) a-tar-ra-za sìr-re-eš na-ri-bé
Of your food that has been abandoned, of your food that has been carried off, she (your mother) will utter a chant for you,
Lad, of your water that has been with-held; young man, of your water that has been cut off, she will utter a chant for you.

Finally it is to be noted that the *a-nigìn* of line 71 of the Ninkasi hymn (Civil, *Oppenheim Festschrift* p. 61 ff.) is also probably best rendered as "thirst," though the context is not too clear.

[32] Cf. *Dumuzi's Dream* p. 112–113.

[33] Note, however, that there is no *dúr* immediately preceding *ba-gar-ra-àm* in our text, and that the grammatical structure of *maḫ-a-dúr-a* is rather uncertain.

For line 50, cf. lines 32 and 54 of "Dumuzi's Dream", and Alster's commentary on p. 92.

*Lines 51–59.* For the restoration of the second half of lines 51–52, cf. especially *UET* No. 11 line 27 which reads:

mà-e ki-gar-ra-bi-šè kur šè ba-ab-si-mu-dè

Me she gives over to the *kur* as its substitute.[34]

The restoration of *-nu-gi$_4$-a* between *kur-* and *-šè* in line 51 is a guess only.[35] In line 53, the *-dè* following $^{d}$*dumu-zi-* is grammatically unjustified; the restoration of the verbal form in this line and the following six lines is reasonably assured.[36] The rendering of line 54 assumes that the *-šè* following *èš-lam* is a scribal error. For *nam-galam* as the Sumerian equivalent of the English "arts and crafts," cf. especially lines 66–67 of "Enki and the World Order" which read:

é-kur-re é-$^{d}$en-líl-lá-ta

abzu-eridu$^{ki}$-mu-šè nam-galam mu-túm

From the Ekur, the house of Enlil,

I brought the arts and crafts to my abzu, Eridu.

*Lines 60–74.* This passage, which must be related in some way to the following and concluding section of the composition that begins with a sorcery-practising shepherd digging a grave in the steppe, is incomprehensible in large part. Lines 60–62 introduce seven sorcerers of *arali* in a style characteristic of Sumerian narrative poetry.[37] The remainder of the passage is largely obscure and the reading and rendering of many of the complexes are difficult and dubious.[38]

*Lines 75–87.* In line 75, the complex *ki-a-dar* (rather than *ki-dar* is rather unexpected; the *-e-* of *ba-e-dar* in this line (and in the relevant verbal forms in lines 76 and 84–87) is an as yet inexplicable pleonastic orthography, and is not semantically significant. The rendering of the verbal root *ḫur* in lines 75–78 is uncertain, as are also the real meaning and implication of the passage (note that the "it" in lines 77–78 may refer to the smashed wine-jug, and that line 78 may be no more than an amplification of line 77). The nuance intended by the initial *ù* in lines 78–80 is not too clear, the rendering "also" is not much of a help for its clarification. For *suḫ-kèš*, (line 79) cf. Adele Berlin's forthcoming *Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna* (comment to line 23); the significance of the making of an ornament in the steppe (assuming the rendering is correct) is not clear (nor is that of the bringing of pitch in line 80). In line 81, it is assumed that the *gú* (or *gú-bala*) qualifies the $^{giš}$*mes*, and that this complex is the subject of the verb (hence the absence of the subject element -e following $^{giš}$*mes*).[39] For the *asal*-tree (line 82), cf. *CAD* sub *ṣarbatu*, and note that to judge from our text it is a fruit tree. In line 83 there seem to be too many *gim*-complexes, which makes the meaning of the line as a whole uncertain. For lines 84–85, cf. *CT* 15 plate 18 lines 38–39 and Krecher, *SKLy* pp. 153–154. The rendering of the -da- in *mu-un-da-ab-kú* (lines 86–87) as "by his side," is far from certain.[40]

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[34] The *-bi* following *ki-gar-ra-* is rather difficult, the rendering assumes that it refers to *kur*, that is, the substitute has been given over to the *kur* as its possession; it is not impossible, however, that the *-bi* is an error for *-ni*.

[35] The rendering of lines 51–52 is rather uncertain because of the ambiguity of the complex *KI.BI.GAR.NA* which may be read *gišbun* (or šubun)-na, although this hardly fits the context; the matter is complicated, however, by the fact that in the phonetically written passage *SK* 44 rev. 2–7, following the statements "Inanna was not alive" and "the spouse of holy Inanna was not alive," there follows a word *ni-eš-bu-na* which is probably a phonetic writing for *gišbun*.

[36] Cf. especially Heimpel, *Tierbilder* p. 224 ff.

[37] Cf. *SEM* 20 obv. 6 ff. and "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" (B) line 31 ff. Note that the restoration of the initial complexes of lines 61–62 is a surmise only, and that the nuance intended by the *ḫé-* in *imin ḫé-na-me-eš* (lines 60–61) and in what seems to be no more than a variant writing *imin-na ḫé-en-na-me-eš* (line 62), is uncertain.

[38] Especially troublesome are the *-ag* complexes of lines 63–64; the seeming lack of a verb in line 65 and the uncertainty of this line's connection with what precedes and follows; the meaning of *gu-bad-DU* in lines 67, 69, 73; the identity of the individual to whom the *-na-* of the verbs in lines 67 and 69 refers (presumably it is Dumuzi); the meaning of *dúr* in line 71; the uncertainty of the reading and rendering of virtually all the complexes in line 72; the meaning of *bala* in line 74.

[39] Or perhaps $^{giš}$*mes* is followed by a relative clause just as $^{giš}$*asal* in the following line.

[40] In line 86 the missing subject element after *ur* may be due to the fact that *ur* is the subject of the intransitive *be-e-ná* as well as of the syntactically less important transitive *mu-un-da-ab-kú*.

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# SUMERIAN LITERATURE AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM: THE PROMISE OF THE FUTURE

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

Clark Research Professor Emeritus of Assyriology and Curator Emeritus of Tablet Collections, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

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ABSTRACT

The recovery and restoration of Sumerian literature is an ongoing process that began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and has continued intermittently over the decades to the present day, so that quite a number of Sumerian literary works have become available to the scholarly world. Still, these represent but a fraction of the literature current in ancient Sumer, and many a composition is still lying buried amid the *tells* and ruins of southern Iraq, awaiting the lucky spade of the future excavator. One rather unexpected and fruitful source for the recovery and restoration of at least some of the hitherto unknown Sumerian literary documents, has come on the scholarly scene quite recently as a result of the renewed cataloguing of the vast tablet collection of the British Museum, which has brought to light quite a number of Sumerian literary pieces that for one reason or another have been lying in the cupboards of the museum uncatalogued, unstudied, and unavailable to cuneiformists. This paper will present (1) a sketch of the contents of some of the more important Sumerian literary pieces newly "excavated" from the museum drawers; (2) an edition of the third and final tablet of the Ur version of the myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" that is located at present in the British Museum; (3) an *Excursus* that provides a translation of a hitherto misunderstood passage in a long known version of the myth "Dumuzi and the *galla*" that is of some relevance to "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World."

## 1. THE NEWLY UNCOVERED SUMERIAN LITERARY TABLETS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

One of the major contributions of this century to the humanities relates to the recovery and restoration of the Sumerian literary works inscribed on clay tablets from the early second millennium B.C., that constitute the oldest written literature of significant quality and variety uncovered by the archaeological spade. Sumerian myths and epic tales, hymns and laments, essays and disputations, proverbs and precepts, now serve as prime source material for the historians of literature and religion, for Biblical and classical scholars, for anthropologists and sociologists. In this ongoing archaeological and epigraphic achievement, the British Museum has played the initial, pioneering role—in fact it is not too much to say that the British Museum launched Sumerian literature on the modern scholarly scene with the publication in 1875 of volume 4 of its ground-breaking five-volume series, *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, conceived, planned, and edited by Henry Rawlinson, who may not unjustifiably be described as the father of Assyriology.

In the decades that followed, however, the British Museum published relatively few Sumerian literary pieces, and it was generally concluded that its immense tablet collection had little to offer as far as Sumerian literature was concerned. Then, in 1959, appeared *CT* 42,[1] and to the very pleasant surprise of cuneiformists the world over, it contained copies of more than forty Sumerian literary tablets autographed by one of its eminent researchers, H. H. Figulla, a refugee from Nazi Germany. And this was but the first intimation that the tablet collection of the museum, which was in the process of being completely catalogued under the far-sighted auspices of Richard Barnett and Edmond Sollberger, the keepers of its Western Asia Department, was by no means exhausted as far as Sumerian literature was concerned. The re-examination and cataloguing of this vast collection are now going on apace and there is good hope that hundreds of Sumerian literary tablets, or at least fragments of tablets, will be recovered and identified in the process.[2]

For some years now I have been privileged to spend the better part of my summers in the Student Room of the Western Asiatic Department of the British Museum for the purpose of cataloguing and studying the contents of the Sumerian literary pieces newly "excavated" from the museum cupboards, and have come to realize that they range over the entire gamut of the Sumerian literary repertoire. Some are extracts from compositions long known, others

[1] *CT* is the standard abbreviation for *Cuneiform Texts from the Babylonian Section in the British Museum*, a series whose publication began in 1896 and has continued intermittently to the present day.

[2] For a panoramic survey of the recovery and restoration of the Sumerian literary documents over the past hundred years, *cf.* my *From the Poetry of Sumer* (Berkeley, 1979), pp. 1–19.

are small fragments that often help to fill in the breaks and gaps in texts already published. But not a few of the tablets are inscribed with compositions hitherto altogether unknown. Two of these I edited and published in 1975 in a *Festschrift* dedicated to the Finnish cuneiformist Armas Salonen—these are two catalogues compiled by an ancient scribe, which between them itemize the titles of one hundred and ten compositions designated as *iršemma*, most of which relate to the goddess Inanna.[3] A third tablet I edited and published in 1977 in the Memorial Volume dedicated to the late J. J. Finkelstein, under the title "The *GIR*$_5$ and the *ki-sikil:* A New Sumerian Elegy."[4]

In the past year I have prepared editions of three more tablets of the British Museum. One, entitled "Inanna and the *numun*-plant: A New Sumerian Myth," will be published in the forthcoming Cyrus Gordon *Festschrift.*[5] Another, entitled "Lisin, the Weeping Goddess: A New Sumerian Lament," will be published in Leiden in the forthcoming *Festschrift* for F. R. Kraus.[6] The third, entitled "The Death of Dumuzi: A New Sumerian Version," is to appear in the forthcoming volume of *Anatolian Studies* dedicated to the Oxford cuneiformist, Oliver Gurney.[7]

And this is but the beginning. In the next several years I plan to edit for publication the following newly recovered British Museum tablets, all of which I have carefully transliterated and some of which I have copied by hand:

**BM 23104.** "A *balag*[8] Composition of the Nether World God Nergal." This is a four-column tablet, more than half preserved, that is inscribed with a rather unusual composition whose contents are difficult to penetrate. Much of it is narrative, and it may relate to Nergal's leaving his city to travel by boat to the Nether World.

**BM 23111.** "The Goddess in the Boat." This is the lower half of a single column tablet depicting a mournful, discontented goddess traveling by boat to the Nether World. The beginning and end of the text are missing, and at present there is no way of knowing the content and nature of the composition to which this fragment belongs, except to say that it is probably some hitherto unknown myth.

**BM 23666 and 88406.** "An Inanna Fertility Chant." These two duplicating tablets are inscribed with a hitherto unknown composition consisting of six *kirugu*.[9] Only about half of the text is preserved, and at present it is difficult to penetrate its meaning and implications, except to say that it probably belongs to the Sacred Marriage type of songs that celebrate Inanna as a goddess of fertility.[10]

**BM 23631.** "Two *nàm-šub*[11] Songs of the Sun-god Utu." This four-column tablet inscribed with

[3] *Cf. Studia Orientalia* **46**: pp. 141–166. The *iršemma* is a composition, often melancholy in nature, that is written in a dialect of Sumerian known as Emesal, presumably used by women only, and that was chanted by a temple singer known as the *gala* to the accompaniment of drum-like musical instruments.

[4] *Cf. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* **19**: pp. 139–142.

[5] For a translation of this composition *cf. From the Poetry of Sumer*, pp. 30–36.

[6] This composition consists of (1) an introductory passage in which the poet depicts the suffering of the woebegone, fasting Lisin, who sighs bitterly as she utters a brief lamentful chant; (2) a narrative passage that relates of Lisin's seeking her son by the river, and of her violent reaction upon his being brought to her; (3) a lament uttered by the goddess, the burden of which is that "the Father had instructed the watery deep," and that after opening up the abyss, he hurled the tempest against her, so that she was wrecked like a boat, and forced to surrender her son to the waters; (4) an address of the goddess to the skipper of a boat sailing downstream, warning him not to set aquiver her son who is also sailing, as it were, on the waters, and not to make him gash his nose as if he were a river-frog; (5) a melancholy stereotype three-line address by the poet to Lisin's dead son bemoaning the grievous suffering of his mother who is restless and unable to sleep because of him.

[7] This composition consists of four sections. The first is in the form of an Emesal address by some individual to Dumuzi consisting of such exclamatory questions as: why does he walk about with covered head while his ewes and lambs, his mother-goats and kids, have been seized and carried off, and his churn lies shattered; why do his large kids lie prostrate in the sheep-pen while his small kids shed bitter tears in the feeding-pen; why do the motherless lambs cry bitterly as they wander aimlessly about while his little sister utters supplications in their midst. His dog, continues the address, is uttering bitter cries in the steppe known as the *edin;* his spouse, holy Inanna, is weeping in her temple, the Eanna; his sister Geštinanna is rending her sinews and plucking out her hair. In the second section, written in the main Sumerian dialect known as Emegir, Dumuzi is depicted as bemoaning his bitter fate "after he had walked among men," and complaining that he had indeed been singled out for all the calamities enumerated in the speech addressed to him, and that moreover he actually saw himself sliding into the grave that stood before him like a big door and from which he was unable to rise. In the third section, written mainly in the Emesal dialect, the poet depicts the seizure of Dumuzi by the *galla*, the little devils of the Nether World, who cling to his side, and carry him off to the "Land of No Return" where he is held fast by a *gišbur*-trap. The section concludes with a portrayal of the Nether World: there is food there but it is not edible and there is water there but it is not drinkable; it was a place where the death-demon Namtar dwelt, where the arts and crafts were unknown, where lips were covered with blood. The fourth and final section is rather obscure—it introduces a number of themes and motifs relating to sorcery, witchcraft, and burial-rites that are altogether new to the Dumuzi cycle of myths known hitherto.

[8] The *balag* compositions are rather lengthy, lamentful liturgies divided into numerous stanzas whose interrelationship is often quite obscure, and which are separated from each other either by horizontal lines or by the rubric *kirugu*, an expression whose meaning is still uncertain, *cf.* last Mark Cohen, *balag-compositions* in *Sources for the Ancient Near East* 1, fascicle 2 (Malibu, 1974). The composition derives its name from the musical instrument known as *balag*, probably "the harp."

[9] *Cf.* preceding note for the *kirugu* rubric.

[10] For the Sacred Marriage fertility rites of *cf.* my *The Sacred Marriage Rite* (Indiana University Press, 1969).

[11] For the compositions designated as *nam-šub*-songs by the ancient scribes, *cf.* last Mark Cohen, *Jour. Amer. Oriental Soc.* **95** (1975); pp. 592–611.

over one hundred and fifty lines, about two-thirds preserved, is inscribed with two very unusual songs designated by the ancient scribe as *sìr-nam-šub-$^{d}$ utu-kam*. The first, about one hundred lines in length, of which sixty are well preserved, is divided into at least nine *kirugu*. The extant part of this song, rather unexpectedly, concerns primarily not Utu, but Enlil, who is provided with food and strong drink by his *sukkal*,[12] Nusku, so that he might generate an abundance of water and grain for the land and its people. The second song consists in large part of an address by Inanna to her brother Utu in which she asks to be taken to his cedar mountain, rich in aromatic herbs, silver and lapis lazuli, where "exhilarating plants grow." Protesting for some reason not clear in the text that she is totally innocent of sexual matters, she concludes her address with a plea that he send her back to her home and family as soon as they had eaten of the aromatic herbs and of the cedars of Utu's mountain.[13]

**BM 23696.** "The Weeping Goddess: An *iršemma* of Inanna." The composition inscribed on this tablet, designated by the scribe as an *iršemma* of Inanna," is forty-nine lines in length. It begins with a lamentful address by the poet to Inanna and concludes with the goddess bemoaning the destruction of her city and temple, the loss of her possessions, the death of her spouse and son.[14]

**BM 29616.** "The Fashioning of the *gala*-singer." This is a single column tablet of seventy lines inscribed with two chants. The first, thirty-seven lines in length, is well preserved, and relates how the singer of lamentful songs, known as the *gala*, came into being. According to the poet, it was Enki, the god of wisdom, who upon hearing that Inanna was vexing heaven and earth with her wrath, fashioned the *gala*, and provided him with an assortment of chants as well as accompanying drum-like musical instruments known as *lilis* and *ub*, in order to help soothe the goddess and calm her rage.[15] The second chant is very poorly preserved and its contents are altogether obscure.

**BM 86535.** "Chants Relating to Various Deities." This six-column tablet of close to two hundred lines, approximately two-thirds preserved, is inscribed with *kirugu* 47–65 of a composition that consists of a varied assortment of chants to various deities.[16] The first is the goddess Ninisinna who in one *kirugu* is depicted as weaving a garment with her spindle, and in another *kirugu*, as coming out of her stall and sheepfold bringing with her cream and wool, and as seating herself by the *balag-sag*, "the main harp" of Enlil and Ninlil,[17] where she is implored to bring forth cream and grain from her crown. The second deity is Enki and his circle including his wife Damgalnunna, his son Asarluḫi, and his mother Nammu. Ten rather brief *kirugu* are devoted to him, and in them he is depicted as riding the waves of the rivers and as multiplying all vegetable, animal, and human life; as a god who seeks out the manifold divine laws governing the universe and fastens them to his breast; as a deity who spreads his long net over the fish of the sea. Several of the *kirugu* speak of the power of his word that brings the floodwater as the god rides the waves in his deep-going boat known as the *magur*.

**BM 88318.** "Three Inanna Fertility Chants." This is a well-preserved tablet of fifty-two lines inscribed with three chants of the Sacred Marriage type related to the Dumuzi-Inanna fertility cult. In the first, Inanna sings of her sexual attraction and of her exalting the high-priests known as *en* in several of Sumer's more important cities. In the second she sings of "pouring out" legumes and grain for her "brother" Dumuzi who had invited her into his garden.[18] The contents of the third chant are repetitive, ambiguous, and obscure—it seems to consist of a dialogue between Inanna and Dumuzi who is depicted as piloting a boat.

**BM 96679.** "Enlil Accused: An *iršemma* of Inanna." It is a fairly well preserved tablet of fifty-two lines inscribed with a composition designated by the scribe as an "iršemma of Inanna," which consists almost entirely of a bitter diatribe uttered by the goddess against Enlil whom she accuses angrily of bringing about the destruction of her cities and temples, thus making her homeless with no place to sleep or rest.[19]

**BM 96680.** "The Suffering Goddess: A *balag* of Inanna." This four-column tablet of one hundred

[12] The word *sukkal* may be rendered by "vizier," "chamberlain," "messenger," etc.

[13] Perhaps the eating of the herbs and plants was related in some way to the knowledge of the sex-act; if so, it is reminiscent to some extent of the Biblical Adam and Eve story. For a translation of the second song *cf. From the Poetry of Sumer*, pp. 94–96.

[14] The inscipit of this composition, *šà-zu a-gim dù* which is perhaps to be rendered "Make your heart like water," is found twice on the British Museum "catalog" tablet 23771, *cf. Studia Orientalia* **46**: p. 147, comment to line 9.

[15] For a translation of the initial lines of this composition, *cf. From the Poetry of Sumer* p. 91.

[16] To date only one other tablet belonging to this composition can be identified: No. 10 of the texts published by Hugo Radau in pages 374–457 of the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* (Leipzig, 1909). This is a fragment of the obverse of a six-column tablet which originally contained all, or a large part, of the beginning of the composition, since its column vi, line 1 corresponds to approximately line 18 of our text. Note that the Radau piece utilizes a double-line to separate the stanzas instead of the *kirugu*-rubric, which may indicate that the composition is a *balag*-liturgy, *cf.* note 8.

[17] For Nippur, Enlil's city, as "house of the *balag-sag*," *cf.* Joachim Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik* pp. 136–137.

[18] For a tentative translation of this chant, *cf. From the Poetry of Sumer* pp. 93–94.

[19] For a partial translation of this *iršemma*, *cf. From the Poetry of Sumer* pp. 91–93.

and ninety-six lines, more than half preserved, consists of *kirugu* 16–22, that is, the last seven *kirugu*, of a composition known from the published British Museum tablet 96933.[20] The text inscribed on our tablet, which is structured somewhat differently from that inscribed on the published piece—it is divided into twenty-two *kirugu* as contrasted with twenty-nine in the latter, but some of these have a much fuller text—and has numerous variants, will be of immense value for filling in the gaps and breaks in the second half of the composition, which consists largely of a prayerful dialogue between some concerned individual and Inanna who is depicted as having suffered dire calamities because of the wrath of Enlil.

**BM 96692.** "Dumuzi's Prayer to Utu and Nanna." This is the rather poorly preserved lower half of a single column tablet which is inscribed with part of a hitherto unknown Dumuzi myth. The more intelligible passages consist of a prayer by Dumuzi to the sun-god Utu and the moon-god Nanna for the prosperity of his sheepfold and the well-being of his flocks, a prayer which the two gods heeded. But at present there is no way of knowing how the myth of which the fragment is a part began or ended, nor can the relevance of these passages for the plot as a whole be surmised.

**BM 96727.** "*iršemma*-chants for Four Deities." This large fragment is part of what was once an eight- or ten-column tablet that, according to the ancient scribe, was originally inscribed with "twelve *iršemma* of the gods:" three to the weather-god Iškur; two to Enlil, the leading deity of the pantheon; four to Ninurta, the god of the tempestuous South Wind; three to Enki the all-wise sea-god. The fragment, whose obverse contains the first column and part of the second, and whose reverse contains the last column and part of the preceding one, provides us with (1) a long list of deities that began the first *iršemma*, the rest of which is completely destroyed,[21] and (2) three hitherto unknown *iršemma* of Iškur. The first of these begins with the incipit *u₄-an-na-gù-dé*, "The roaring storm of heaven," and is only partially preserved, but its text of thirty-six lines can be restored in large part from another unpublished British Museum tablet, 65145. The central theme of this *iršemma* consists of Enlil's commissioning Iškur to harness the seven winds and proceed to attack the *ki-bala*, "the rebellious land," with thunder, lightning, and hailstones large and small, a task which the god carried out faithfully and thus brought misery and suffering to the people of the *ki-bala*, young and old, male and female.[22]

The second *iršemma*, whose approximately thirty-two lines are only partially preserved, begins with a line reading *gud-maḫ-pa-è-a mu-zu an-zag-šè*, "Noble, exalted bull, your name (reaches) heaven's bounds."[23] Following a passage glorifying Iškur, the composition, to judge from its better preserved lines, depicts some of the more beneficial aspects of the weather-god as "the lord of the *ḫegal*, abundance and prosperity," [24] and makes no mention of Enlil's sending him against the *ki-bala*. The last lines of this *iršemma* consist of a joyous address by Iškur to his *sukkal*, who is probably "Lightning" personified.

The third *iršemma*, whose initial line reads: *ù-mu-un-e di-di-dam a-nag im-ma-ra*, which may perhaps be rendered: "The lord gushes forth drinking water as he proceeds," has as its central theme Iškur's faithful execution of Enlil's charge to harness the winds and devastate the *ki-bala*, and thus resembles in this respect the first *iršemma*. It differs, however, from the latter by beginning with a depiction of Iškur as a beneficent weather-god, and by concluding with his exaltation as a noble, mighty, death-dispensing deity.

**BM96936.** "Chants Relating to the Goddess Ninisinna." This is the upper third of a six-column tablet inscribed with an assortment of chants concerned in one way or another with the goddess Ninisinna.[25] Several are melancholy laments of the "weeping goddess" type.[26] But others are reminiscent of the Sacred Marriage fertility chants, and one seems to consist of a blessing by Enlil. Two may be songs glorifying Pabilsag, Ninisinna's spouse, while the last chant ends on a rather happy note—it itemizes the boons granted her by heaven and earth, and by the lands known to the ancients as Elam, Magan, and Meluḫḫa.[27]

[20] *Cf. CT* **36**, plates 35–38, and my description of its contents in *Iraq* **36** (1974): p. 99. Rev. col i of this text begins with line 88 of our tablet, where however it is part of *kirugu* 18, a long sixty-one line *kirugu* that is broken up into several *kirugu* in the *CT* text.

[21] This list is comparable to that of *CT* **42**, No. 3: *cf.* my comment in the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* **18** (1964): pp. 37–38. As for the deity to whom this *iršemma* is devoted, there is no way of identifying him/her at present since the tablet breaks off before the substantive content of the *iršemma* had begun.

[22] Enlil's commissioning of Iškur to harness the winds and attack the *ki-bala* is also the central theme of the Iškur *iršemma* published in *CT* **15**, plates 15–16, but the latter stops short of depicting the execution of the mission.

[23] Note that this is also the first line of Iškur *iršemma CT* **15**, plates 15–16. The first twelve lines of these two *iršemma* are virtually identical, but from line thirteen on the texts are quite different.

[24] The text mentions the "grain of the land," which presumably Iškur, as the rain-god, helps to burgeon forth, and one line even depicts him as the mainstay of the orphan and the widow.

[25] The chants are separated by a ruled line, and this, together with the fact that the composition concludes with the rubric *kišubim* indicates that it is probably a *balag*-liturgy.

[26] For the image of the "weeping goddess" as a favorite recurrent motif in Sumerian dirges and laments, *cf.* my article "Lisin, the Weeping Goddess: A New Sumerian Lament," in the forthcoming *Festschrift* to F. R. Kraus.

[27] For a translation of the relevant lines *cf. Iraq* **39**: p. 65.

**BM 98396.** "The Mother-goddess in Search of Her Lost Son." This well-preserved tablet inscribed with thirty lines of a composition designated by the scribe as an "*iršemma* of Ninḫursag," portrays the goddess metaphorically as a cow who had lost her young and who wanders up and down the mountainside like a ewe who had lost her lamb or a mother-goat who had lost her kid, in tearful quest of her missing son. Finally she is advised by the poet to stop her lowing for her calf and to set her gaze upon the river-bank—presumably he had drowned in the river and was now in the Nether World.[28]

**BM 100042.** "Two royal compositions: A Hymn and a Hymnal-prayer." This well-preserved four-column tablet is inscribed with (1) a hymn to the king Šu-Sin who reigned in Ur about 2000 B.C., and (2) a hymn addressed to the god Nergal interspersed with prayers for the king Šu-ilisu who reigned in Isin some fifty years later. The first is a hitherto unknown composition of forty-one lines divided into six rather brief *kirugu*, that glorifies Šu-Sin as a heroic, charismatic ruler who brought prosperity to the land and its people, and exalts him as the son of the heaven-god An and the earth-goddess Uraš, who had been named by Nanna, the tutelary deity of Ur, and who had been endowed with power and might by Enlil. The second composition is a hymnal prayer to Nergal for Šu-ilisu that is known from two published tablets,[29] and the new tablet will be useful primarily for filling in some of the gaps in the text.

**BM 100059.** "The Resurrection of Inanna: A Song of Rejoicing." This four-column tablet, about half preserved, is probably inscribed with a *balag* [30] of Inanna whose central theme was the celebration of the goddess's "rising out of the earth," that is, probably her resurrection and ascension from the Nether World. Some of the chants are very poorly preserved, and the relationship of those well-preserved to each other is not too clear, but it is reasonably certain that by and large it is a joyous song celebrating Inanna's resurrection and return to her cities and temples.

**BM 23249, 23612, 85564.** "Three literary catalogues." These are three small cylinders which between them are inscribed with more than twenty-five incipits of *balag*-compositions, most of which are altogether new. For full details, see my edition of the texts in the forthcoming *Festschrift* in honor of the eminent Russian cuneiformist, Igor Diakonoff.

## 2. THE THIRD TABLET OF THE UR VERSION OF "INANNA'S DESCENT TO THE NETHER WORLD"

The Ur tablet edited in the pages that follow is a graphic example of one of the more lamentable frustrations that beset the recovery and restoration of Sumerian literature. In 1963, Cyril Gadd published the upper part of this tablet whose reverse provided for the first time the closing lines of the myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World." [31] In the same volume he published two more pieces which helped to fill in gaps in the myth, most of which had been known from earlier publications.[32] As a result, well-nigh the complete text of the composition, over four hundred lines in length, was now available,[33] and the plot of the story could be reconstructed almost in its entirety: Inanna had descended to the Nether World which was not her proper domain; there she was put to death by Ereškigal, Queen of the Nether World; she was resurrected with the help of Enki, the god of wisdom, but was allowed to reascend to the earth only after she had promised to provide a substitute, and turn him over to the little ghouls of the Nether World known as *galla*, who accompanied her and stayed close to her side in order to make sure that she kept her word; after considerable wandering on earth in search of a suitable victim, she found him in the person of her rather insensitive, arrogant husband, Dumuzi; the terrified Dumuzi prays to the sun-god Utu to change him into a snake so that he might escape the *galla* who were only too eager to carry him off to the Nether World as Inanna's substitute; Utu accepts his plea, changes him into a snake, and Dumuzi succeeds in eluding his pursuers.

In addition to the plot sketched above, the very end of the myth, as mentioned earlier, became known in 1963 as a result of Gadd's publication of the upper third of the Ur tablet—its reverse recounted that Inanna, moved by Dumuzi's tears, had decided to allow him to leave the Nether World every half year, and to have his place taken by his loving, self-sacrificing sister, Geštinanna. All that was missing, therefore, was the passage immediately preceding Inanna's Solomon-like decision, which depicted the events that befell Dumuzi after he had eluded the *galla* with Utu's help, and it seemed not unreasonable to hope and expect that once the lower two-thirds of

[28] Although the text is well preserved and intelligible in large part, the structure and meaning of the composition are at times difficult to penetrate. Some of the passages are duplicated in published texts, *cf.* Thorkild Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness* (1976), pp. 64–65 with notes 42–44, and Heinrich Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder* (1912), No. 26, obv., col. iii, lines 1–11.

[29] *Cf.* Åke Sjöberg, *Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie* **63** (1973): pp. 1–13 for full details.

[30] It is divided into stanzas of varied size separated by ruled lines, a structure characteristic of the *balag*-liturgy.

[31] *Cf. Ur Excavation Texts* 6, part 1, No. 10.

[32] *Cf. ibid.* Nos. 8 and 9.

[33] In his doctoral dissertation for the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Penna., William B. Sladek provides a very useful reconstruction of the text from all published sources and eight fragments newly identified in the tablet collection of the University Museum (to be referred to as *Sdd* throughout this paper).

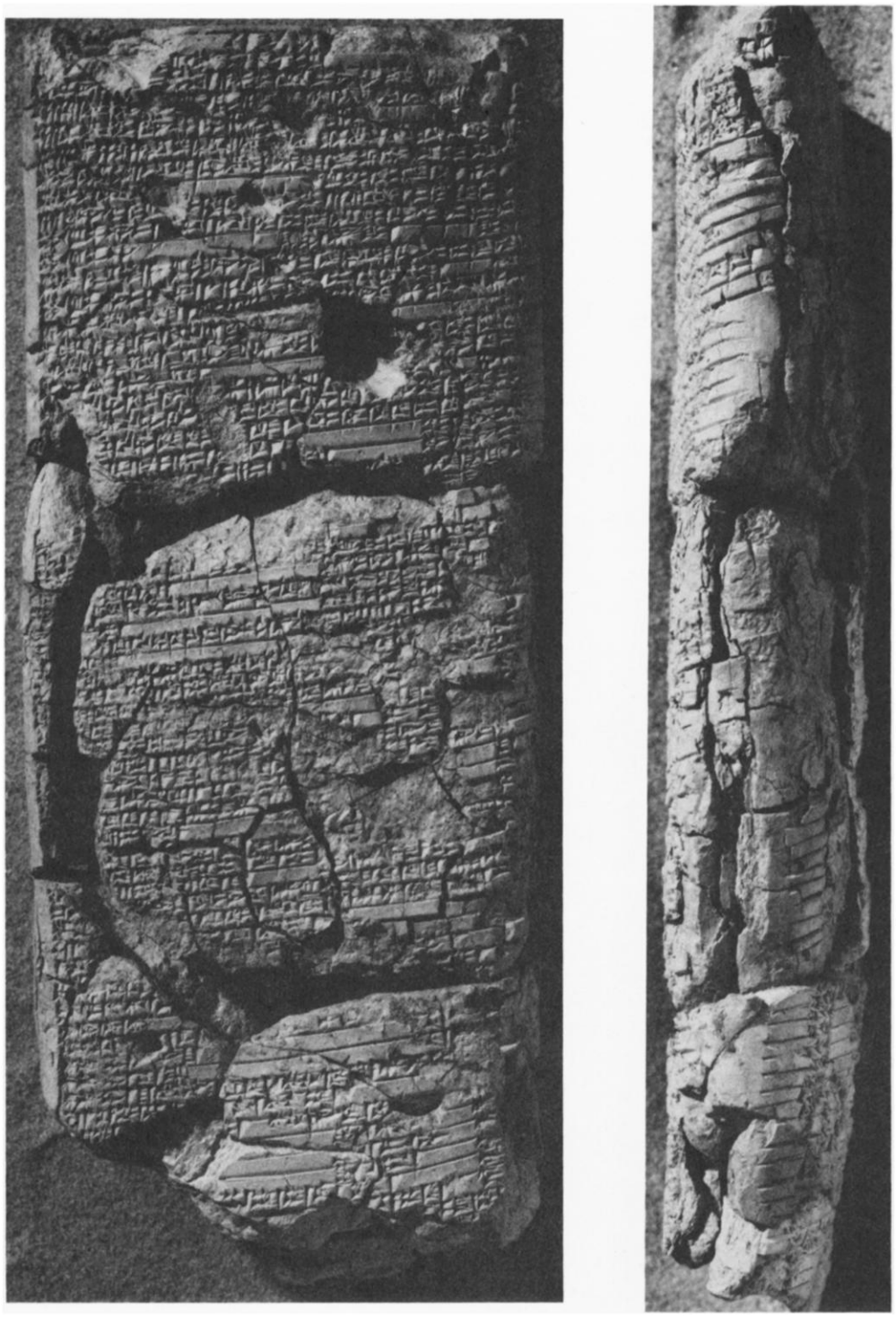

FIG. 1. Obverse and right edge of the third tablet of the Ur version of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World." From photograph by the British Museum.

the tablet were located, this missing passage would be recovered, and "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," would be virtually complete.

Sad to say, it did not work out that way. Several years ago, the missing part of the Ur tablet was found in one of the museum's cupboards, and joined

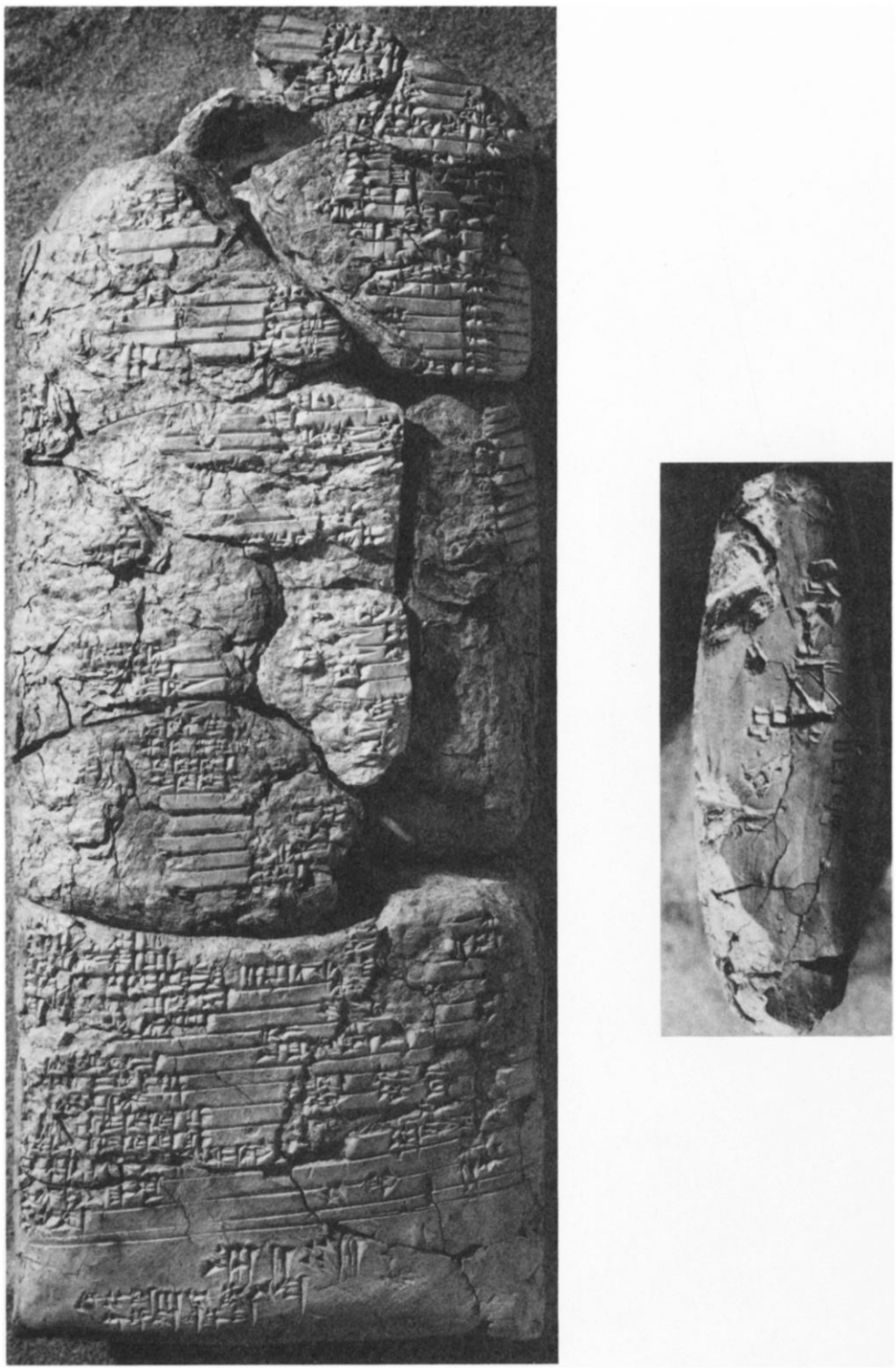

FIG. 2. Reverse and lower edge of the Ur tablet. Photograph by the British Museum.

to the part published by Gadd.[34] But as the photographs of the now almost complete tablet show,[35]

[34] The identification and join was made primarily by my former student, Aaron Shaffer, in the course of copying the tablets and fragments to be published in part 3 of *Ur Excavation Texts* 6.

[35] *Cf.* figures 1 and 2. In the box containing the tablet, there were also numerous very small fragments that could not be joined to the main piece—the autographed copies of these frag-

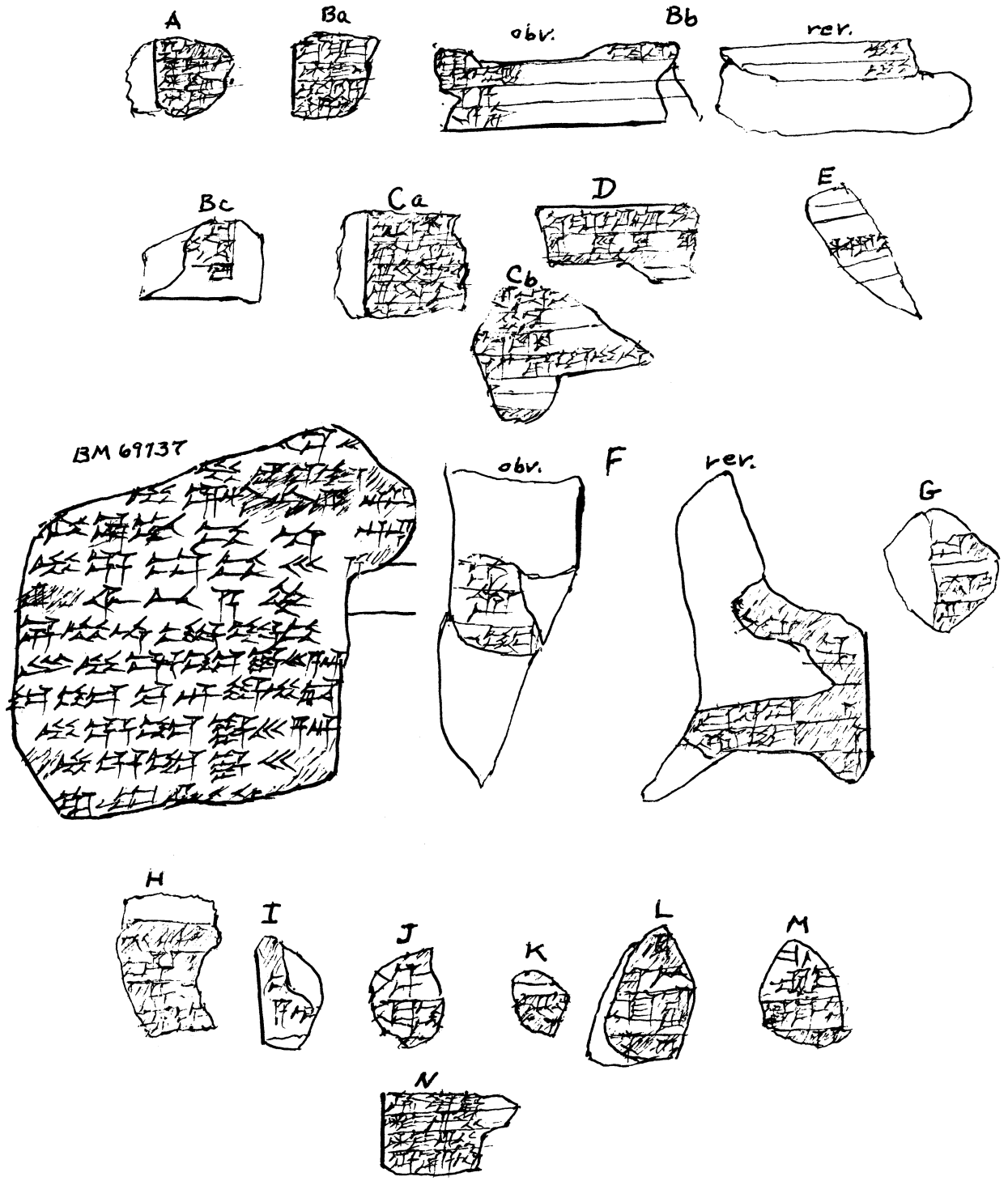


FIG. 3. Fragments A to N of the Ur tablet, of which only A to D, and N, are placeable. BM 69737 is a small fragment of a multi-column tablet in the British Museum, recently identified by the author. From copy by S. N. Kramer.

only the obverse of the new piece is fairly well preserved, and its text duplicates the lines of the myth that are already known from earlier sources, and is significant only for some of the variants which it introduces. On the other hand, its reverse, which contained the missing passage, is very poorly preserved, and is of no help in restoring the text of the approximately twenty missing lines. It may be

ments are reproduced in figure 3. This figure also contains my copy of BM 69737, a newly identified British Museum fragment whose column *a* may duplicate lines 70 ff. of the Ur tablet.

surmised, of course, that these lines depicted such events as the final seizure of Dumuzi by the *galla* and his disappearance in the Nether World; the bitter lamentation of his despairing sister, Geštinanna; the appearance on the scene of the clever, knowing fly who informed the goddesses of Dumuzi's whereabouts. But none of this is certain, and our knowledge of what actually took place must await the future discovery of some duplicating tablet, and this is not likely to occur for many a year. Following is a line by line transliteration and translation of the tablet:

TRANSLITERATION[36]

1(232). [ur$_5$-kù-ga-na] gada nu-um-[búr]
2(233). [gaba-ni] bur-šagan-gim nu-um-gíd
3(234). ?-si-ni [ŠID].LUL.BI-gim àm-da-gál (235) síg-ni ga-raš$^{sar}$-gim [sag-gá-na mu-un-ur$_4$]-ur$_4$-re
4(236). u$_4$ a-šà-mu bí-in-dug$_4$-ga-àm (237) kúš-ù-me-en nin-me a-šà-[zu dug$_4$]-gs-ne-[ne?]
5(238). u$_4$ a-bar-mu bí-in-dug$_4$-ga-àm (239) kúš-ù-me-en nin-me a-[bar-zu dug$_4$]-ga-ne-[ne?)]
6(240). a-ba-àm za-e-me-en-zé-en (241) šà-mu šà-mu-šè bar-mu bar-mu-šè dug$_4$-ga-na-ab-zé-en
7(242). dingir ḫé-me-en-zé-en inim ga-mu-ra-an-dug$_4$ (243) lú-lu$_6$ ḫé-me-en-zé-en nam-zu-ne ḫé-íb-[tar]-re
8(244). zi-an-na zi-ki-a pàd-dè-ne-zé-na-za-na
9(246). a íd-bi ma-ra-ba-ne šu(!) nu-[um]-gíd-dè (247) a-šà še-ba ma-ra-ba šu nu-um-gíd-dè
10(248). uzu-níg-sìg-ga $^{giš}$kak-ta-lá sì-ma-ab-zé-en dug$_4$-gs-ma-ab-mèn-zé-en
11(249). uzu-níg-sìg-ga ga-ša-an-ne-ne
12(250). níg-lugal-me-en ḫé-a níg-nin-bi ḫé-a sì-ma-zé-en dug$_4$-ga-ma-ab-mèn-zé-en
13(251). uzu-níg-sìg-ga-$^{giš}$kak-ta-lá-a im-ma-da-ab-sì-mu-zé-en
14(280). diš-àm ú-nam-ti-la diš-àm a-nam-ti-[la] ugu-ni ba-an-šub-bu-eš (281) $^{d}$inanna ba-gub
15(282). $^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la gala-kur-gar-ra gù-[mu-un-na-dé]-e
16(283). túm-mu-un-en-zé-en ga-ša-an-ne-[ne] ....-zu-ne-ne ba-díb
17(284). $^{d}$inanna inim-$^{d}$en-ki-[ga-ta] kur-ta-e$_{11}$
18(285). $^{d}$inanna kur-ta-e$_{11}$-da-ni (286) $^{d}$a-nun-na-ke$_4$-[ne] bí-ḫa-za-an
19(287). [a-ba-àm] lú kur-ta im-[ta]-e$_{11}$-dè kur-ta silim-[ma]-bi bí-in-e$_{11}$-dè
20(288). [u$_4$-da $^{d}$in]anna kur-ta bí-e$_{11}$-dè (289) sag-AŠ sag-gá-na ba-ab-sì-mu-dè
21(291). [lú-igi-na-ke$_4$] sukkal-nu-me-a $^{giš}$tukul šu-na bí-in-du$_8$
22(292). [bar-ra-na] ra-gaba-nu-me-a $^{giš}$[tukul úr]-ra bí-in-du$_8$
23(293). [galla-tur-tur gi-šukur-gim (294) galla-gal-gal gi-dub-ba]-an-na zag-gá-na um-[díb-bé-eš]
24(295). lú[e-ne-ra in-ši-re$_7$eš-àm (296) lú $^{d}$inanna-ra in]-ši-re$_7$-[eš-àm]
25(298). zì-dub-[dub-ba nu-kú-me-eš (299) a-bal-bal-a nu-nag-nag-me-eš]
26(304). dumu-lú [du$_{10}$-ub-ta ba-ra-an-zi-ge-eš (303) dam] úr-lú-ka bs-ra-si-il-si-il-le-[eš]
27(305). é-gi$_4$-[a é]-ušbar$_x$-na-ka im-ma-ta-an-e$_{11}$-[dè-eš]
28. sum$^{sar}$-níg-ŠEŠ-a nu-kum-e-me-eš lú ku$_6$ nu-kú-me-eš lú ga-raš$^{sar}$nu-kú-[me-eš]
29. lú $^{d}$inanna mu-un-ši-re$_7$-[eš-àm]
30(306). u$_4$ $^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ kur-ta-e$_{11}$-da-ni-ta (307) $^{d}$nin-šubur-ra-ke$_4$ ká-ganzir-[ra-ka gìr-ni-šè ba-an-šub]
31(308). saḫar-ra ba-tuš [túg-mu]-sír-ra ba-mú
32(309). galla-e-ne kù-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ gù nu-na-dé-e (310) [$^{d}$inanna uru]-zu-šè [gen-na me-en-dè]-en ga-[ba-ab-tùm-mu-zé-en]
33(311). kù-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ galla-e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ ....-ra-mu
34(312). sukkal-inim-šag$_5$-[šag$_5$-ga-mu (313) ra]-gaba-e-ne-èm gi-en-[gi-na]-mu
35(315). [e-ne]-èm ma-ra-[ab-dug$_4$]-ga-mu-[uš] gizzal-[ak-a]-mu
36(316). [ír-du$_6$]-du$_6$-dam mar-mar-ra-ni (317) šèm[gú]-en-na tuku-ma-[ni]
37(318). é-[dingir-re]-e-ne nigin-?-ni (319) i-[bí-ni ma-ḫur] kiri$_4$-ni ma-[ḫur]
38. geš[tug-ga]-ni ki-u$_6$-di ma-ḫur (320) ki lú-[da nu-di] ḫaš$_4$-gal-la-ni ma-ḫur
39(322). [é-kur-re] é-$^{d}$en-líl-lá-še (323) urí$^{ki}$-[ma é-$^{d}$nanna]-šè
40(324). [uru-zé]-ib$^{ki}$ é-$^{d}$am-an-ki-ga-[šè (325) gìr-ni AŠ mu-un]-gub
41. .... ? ? ? ?-e ....
42. igi-$^{d}$am-an-ki-ga ír bí-še$_8$-še$_8$ (326) $^{d}$am-an-ki-[ke$_4$ ma-ra mu-un-ti]-li(?)-na(?)-àm(?)
43(327). ne [ta]-gim nam-mu-ra-ab-zé-NE-[mà-dè-en]
44(328). um[ma]$^{ki}$-a sig$_4$-kur-šà-ba-šè ga-àm-ši-re$_7$-dè-en

[36] In the transliteration, two dots stand for one broken sign, three dots for two broken signs, four dots for three or more broken signs. The number in parentheses is that of the line number in *Sdd* (see note 33).

45(330). $^{d}$šara gìr(?)-ni(?)-šè(?) gìr-ni ba-an-šub (331) $^{d}$šara saḫar ba-tuš $^{d}$šara túg-mu-[sír-ra ba-mu$_4$]
46(332). galla[e-ne kù]-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ gù mu-na-dé-e (333) $^{d}$inanna uru-zu-šè gen-[na]
47(333). me-en-[dè-en ga-ba]-ab-tùm-mu-zé-[en]
48(334). kù-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ gal[la-e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$]-gi$_4$
49(336). lú al-bir-re ....gú-lá-[mu]
50(337). ne ta-gim nam-[mu-ra-ab-zé-èm-mà]-dè-en
51(338). bàd-tibira$^{ki}$-a é-[muš-kalam-ma-šé ga-àm-ši-re$_7$-dè-en]
52(340). $^{d}$lú-làl [gìr]-ni-šè [ba-an-šub]
53(341). $^{d}$lú-làl saḫar-ra ba-tuš
54(341). $^{d}$lú-làl túg-mu-sír-ra ba-mu$_4$
55(342). galla-e-ne kù-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ gù mu-na-dé-e (343) $^{d}$inanna uru-[zu-šè gen]-na
56(343). [me]-en-dè-[en ga-ba-ab]-tùm-mu-zé-[en]
57(344). kù-$^{d}$[inanna-ke$_4$ galla-e]-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
58(345). $^{d}$lú-[làl] á-zi-mu
59(345). $^{d}$lú-[làl] á-gùb-bu-mu
60(345). $^{d}$lú-[làl] zag-è-mu
61(346). ne [ta-gim nam-mu-ra]-ab-zé-èm-mà-dè-en
62(347). [ga-àm-ši-re$_7$-dè-en $^{giš}$ḫašḫur-gu-la-edin]-larsam$^{ki}$-ma
63(348). $^{giš}$ḫašḫur-[gu]-la-[edin-la]rsam$^{ki}$-[ma gìr-ni-šè ba-an]-ši-re$_7$-dè-[eš]
64(349). $^{d}$dumu-[zi] bara-maḫ-[a i-im]-tuš
65(349). maḫ-a dúr-a [bí]-in-gar
66(350). galla-[e-ne ḫaš$_4$]-a-ni i-im-díb

*Reverse*

67. sag-du .... ba(?)-ra-dub-dub-bu mu-....
68. .... BU$_5$-BU$_5$ ....mu-....
69(351). $^{duk}$šakir-[imin-e ga mu-un-dé-es-àm]
70(353). gi-di-da [igi-ni šu mu-u[n-tag-ge-ne]
71. gi-šukur ? na$_4$(?) ? zag-ga-na [ba-an-díb-bé-eš]
72(354). igi mu-un-[ši]-in-bar igi-úš-a-[ka]
73(356). ... [mu-un]-da-BU$_5$-BU$_5$ gù-nam-tag-dugud-[dam]
74. [kù-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$] galla-e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
75. [lú me-e ba-an-ši]-re$_7$-eš-àm
76. [$^{d}$dumu-zi díb-bé-zé-en] šu nu-bar-re-zé-en
77. [galla-e-ne $^{d}$dumu-zi ba-an]-díb-bé-eš
78(359). lú-nin(?)-e [mu-un]-ši-re$_7$-eš-àm
79(360). $^{d}$dumu-zi [mu-un]-ši-re$_7$-eš
80(368). $^{d}$dumu-zi-[dé ír] im-ma-[pàd sig$_7$-sig$_7$] ì-gá-gá
81. guruš-e a-na-[àm bí]-in-ag .... a-na-àm bí-?
82. .... ? ? ? nu-dag(?)
83. .... nu-dag(?)
84. .....-ug$_5$(?)-ge-ne
85(369). [guruš-e $^{d}$utu-ra] an-šè šu ba-ši-in-zí
86. [dam-dingir-ra]-me-en lú nu-me-en
87(371). [é-ama]-zu-šè ì-gùr-ru-me-en
88(372). [é-$^{d}$nin-gal]-šè ga-gùr-ru-me-en
89. [é-an-na]-šè [úl-gùr-[ru]-me-en
90. unu$^{ki}$-[sè níg-mí-us-sá]-ag-a-me-en
91. ù(?)-za(?)-e(?) ....
92. dùg-(kù-ga dùg-$^{d}$inanna-ka e-ne]-di-dug$_4$-[ga-me-en]
93. .... KA ....
94(373). [šu-mu su-muš-sè] ù-mu-ni-in-sì
95(374). [gìr-mu gìr-muš-šè] ù-mu-ni-in-sì
96(375). [galla-mu ga-ba-da-kar nam-mu-un-ḫa-za-ne]
97(376). [$^{d}$utu a-igi-na šu ba-ni-in]-ti
98(377). [šu-ni šu-muš]-šè [mu-ni-in]-sì
99(378). [gìr-ni gìr]-muš-šé mu-ni-[in]-sì
100(379). [galla-e]-ne ga-[ba-da-kar] nam(?)-mu-ni-ib-ḫa(?)-za-[ne]

101(381). .... [ba-an-díb]-bé-eš
102. ....
103. ....
104. .... ki(?)-bi(?) ....
105. .... mu(?)-ud(?)-na-ni ....
106. .... NE ....ga(?)-ni(?) nam(?) ....
107. ....-ma(?)-ni .... a(?)-na ....
108. ....-ni ....
109. ....-gim im-mi-[in] .... [im]-mi-[in]-....
110. ....-re ú-numun(?) ....
111. ...-NE .. úr(?)-zu(?)-ne-ne ....
112. .... úr-zu(?)-ne-ne ....
113. ....
114. .... bí-in(?)-tag ....
115. .... mu-na-....
116. .... ?-àm ....
117. .... mu-na-....
118. ....
119(400). ? ? ....
120(401). nim-kù-? $^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ ....
121(402). ki-sikil-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ nim-[kù(?)-ra(?) nam mu]-ni-[ib]-tar-re
122(403). é-kaš-a(?) é(?)-zabar-?-nag(?)-a-ke$_4$ ḫu-mu-ra ....a-zé...
123(404). ṭu-mu-lú-kù-zu-ke$_4$-ne-gim nam-ba(?)-ab(?)-?
124(405). [ì-ne-eš nam]-tar-ra-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ ur$_5$ ḫé-[en-na-nam-ma-àm]
125(406). [$^{d}$dumu-zi] ir im-se$_8$-se$_8$
126(407). nin(?)-mu im-ma-DU šu-šè mu-da-ab-?
127(408). ì-ne-es me-li-e-a [za-e ù-nin$_9$-zu]
128(409). za-e mu-maš-àm nin$_9$-zu mu-maš-àm
129(410). u$_4$ za-e al-di-di-e u$_4$-bi ḫé-díb-be
130(411). u$_4$ nin$_9$-zu al-di-di-e u$_4$-bi ḫé-du$_8$(?)-e
131(412). kù-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ $^{d}$dumu-zi sag-bi-sè-[è-a] bí-in-sì-mu
132(413). kù-$^{d}$ereš-ki-gal-la-ke$_4$
133(414). zà-mí-zu-dùg-ga-àm

COMMENTARY TO TRANSLITERATION

*Obverse*

In line 1, *gada* is clear on the original, the copy is misleading. In line 2, the first complex, to judge from the size of the break, may have read *gaba-kù-ga-ni*. In line 3, the last signs *UR*$_4$ and *RE* which in the copy appear to belong to line 2, actually belong to line 3. In line 6, the last verbal form is virtually entirely preserved on the original; the copy is misleading. In line 9, note that *šu* is written over another sign, and that the scribe actually omitted *-ne* after the second *ma-ra-ba-*. In line 10, the copy is correct—there is no *-a* following *-lá*. In line 12, the *-nin-* of *níg-nin-bi* is actually on the original; the copy is misleading. In line 15, the copy is correct—there is no *-tur* following *galla*. In line 18, the verbal form at the end is almost entirely preserved—note that it ends in *-an* rather than the expected *-aš*. In line 27, note that *ušbar*$_x$ is not followed by the expected *-ra*. In line 32, the restoration of *-zé-en* instead of the expected *-dè-en*, is based on the verbal forms in lines 47 and 56. In line 34, note the "ideographic" and "phonetic" orthography of *inim/enem* in the very same line. In line 37, the traces following *nigin* do not point to the expected *-na-*. For the restoration of the first half of line 38, *cf.* line 37a of *Sdd*. The questioned signs in line 41 look somewhat like *ZA AB ? E*. In line 45, note that *saḫar* is not followed by the expected *-ra*. In line 49, only the second half corresponds to line 336 (but note the omission of -TAR-). Lines 52–54 are unusually short (*cf.* e.g. line 45)—it is difficult to see what motivated the scribe in choosing the length of his lines. The beginning of lines 57–61 is on fragment A (see figure 3). Lines 63–66 are restored from fragments Ba, Bb, and Bc. To judge from line 64 of our text, the first half of line 349 in *Sdd* should read: $^{d}$*dumu-zi bara*(*!*)*-maḫ-a i-im-tuš*(*!*).

*Reverse*

The restoration of lines 67–68 is most uncertain—it is based on the assumption that fragment D is the reverse of fragment B, and that therefore it contained the first two lines of the reverse of the tablet; note, too, that line 67 may correspond to line 350 in *Sdd*. The beginning of line 69 is on fragment Ca line 2.

The beginning of line 70 is on fragment Ca line 3, while the *mu-un-* of the verbal form is partially preserved on line 1 of the reverse of the main piece (see figure 2); note, too, that that line 3 of BM 69737 (see figure 3) which ends in *mu-un-tag-tag-ge* may correspond to our line 70. The beginning of line 71 is on fragment Ca line 4 and fragment Cb line 1, while *zag-ga-na* is on line 2 of the reverse of the main piece; note, too, that line 12 of the reverse of W (*cf. Sdd* p. 147) probably corresponds to this line, and that line 4 of BM 69737 which reads: *?-e zag-ga-na mu-un-dub-dub-bé-eš*, may also correspond to this line. The first half of line 72 is on line 5 of fragment Ca and line 2 of fragment Cb, while the second half of the line is on line 3 of the reverse of the main piece. Note that line 5 of BM 69737, which ends in *igi-úš-a-kam* may correspond to this line. (On the other hand lines 6–8 of BM 69737 which end in *-e mu-na-dúb-dúb-bé, lú mu-un-dè-ri$_7$-eš-àm*, and *-ne-ne ba-an-sì-mu-uš*, seem to have no corresponding lines in our text, while lines 9–10, which end in *mu-un-dè-ri$_7$-eš-àm* may correspond to our lines 78–79). The first half of line 73 is on line 3 of fragment Cb while the second half is on line 4 of the reverse of the main piece, but note that the first half of our line does not correspond to the first half of line 356. Line 74 is partly on line 4 of fragment Ca and partly on line 5 of the reverse of the main piece. The restoration of lines 75–77 is a surmise based on the context. Lines 78–81 are partly on lines 1–4 of fragment N, and partly on lines 9–12 of the reverse of the main piece. The restoration of the first half of line 86 is a surmise based on the context. For lines 89–90 and 92, *cf.* e.g. lines 166–167 and 169 of "Dumuzi's Dream" (published in *Mesopotamia* vol. 1, 1972, of *Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology*). The restoration of lines 94–95 and 98–99 is quite doubtful—note that there seems to be a *KAM*-like sign in the middle of line 94 (unless it is an erasure), and that in line 99, the signs read as *-muš-šè* are not quite clear. The restoration of line 100 is based on the assumption that the scribe repeated mechanically the text of line 96, except for the initial complex. If the restoration of line 101 is correct, it may correspond to lines 360–361 in *Sdd*. Somewhere in the broken passage between lines 102–118, may perhaps belong the as yet unplaceable reverse of Y (*cf. Sdd* p. 102). Note also that from line 119 to the end of the composition, the numbering in *Sdd* should be increased by two. The sign following *-zabar-* in line 122 is well-preserved but unidentifiable. The restoration of *$^d$dumu-zi* in line 125 seems reasonable in the context—note, however, that as the subject of a transitive verb, the complex might have been expected to read *$^d$dumu-zi-dè*. The restoration of the second half of line 127 is a reasonable surmise. The reading of the last sign but one in line 130 was suggested to me by J. J. A. van Dijk.

TRANSLATION[37]

*Obverse*

1(232). On her holy body she spread no cloth,
2(233). Her holy breast, like a *šagan*-vessel, she did not . . ,
3(234). Her . . . , like a . . . , was at (her) side, (235) She makes her hair swirl about her head like leeks.
4(236). When she has said: "Oh my inside!" (237) You are to say: "Oh your inside, our queen, you who are moaning!"
5(238). When she has said: "Oh my outside!" (239) You are to say: "Oh your outside, our queen, you who are moaning!"
6(240). (She will then say:) "You, who are you?" (241) (You are to say:) "From your inside to my inside, from your outside to my outside!"
7(242). (She will then say:) "If you are gods I will speak sweet words to you, (243) If you are mortals I will decree a (good) fate for you."
8(244). "Adjure her by heaven and earth."
9(246). Of the river, they will present you its water—do not accept it, (247) Of the field, they will present you its grain—do not accept it,
10(248). "Give us the corpse hung from the nail," say to her.
11(249). (She will say:) "The corpse—it is your queen's."
12(250). Say to her: "Whether it be that of our king, whether it be that of our queen—give it to us."
13(251). She will give you the corpse hung from the nail.
14(280). The one sprinkled upon her the food of life, the one sprinkled upon her the water of life, (281) Inanna arose.
15(282). Ereškigal says to the *galatur* and the *kurgarra:*
16(283). "Bring(?) your queen . . . . your . . has been seized."

[37] In the translation, two dots stand for one word, three dots for two words, four dots for three or more words. Brackets will not be used in the translation—the commentary will indicate doubtful restorations. Parentheses indicate words or phrases helpful for the understanding of the translation that are not actually in the text.

17(284). Inanna who ascended from the Nether World in accordance with the word of Enki—
18(285). As Inanna was about to ascend from the Nether World, (286) The Anunna seized her (saying:)
19(287). "Who of those ascending from the Nether World, ascends unscathed from the Nether World!
20(288). If Inanna would ascend from the Nether World, let her provide someone as her substitute."
21(291). Who was in front of her, although he was no *sukkal*, held a mace in his hand,
22(292). Who was by her side, although he was no *ragaba*, held a mace at the hip.
23(293). The small *galla*, like *šukur*-reeds, (294). The big *galla*, like *dubban*-reeds, held on to her side.
24(295). They who accompanied her, (296) They who accompanied Inanna,
25(298). Eat not sprinkled flour, (299) Drink not libated water,
26(304). They snatch the son from a man's knee, (303), They tear away the spouse from the man's lap,
27(305). They make the bride leave the house of her father-in-law,
28. They crush not bitter garlic, they eat no fish, they eat no leeks.
29. They, it is, who accompanied Inanna.
30(306). After Inanna had ascended from the Nether World, (307) Ninšubur threw herself at her feet by the gate of *ganzir*,
31(308). Sat in the dust, dressed in a filthy garment.
32(309). The *galla* say to holy Inanna: (310) "Inanna, proceed to your city, we will carry her off."
33(311). Holy Inanna answers the *galla:* "She is my ....,
34(312). My *sukkal* of fair words, (313) My *ragaba* of true words,
35(315). Who heeded the words I spoke to her,
36(316). She set up a lament by the ruins, (317) She beat the drum in the assembly shrine,
37(318). She wandered about in the house of the gods, (319) She rent her eyes for me, rent her nose for me,
38. Rent her ears, the wondrous places, for me, (320), Rent her buttocks, the un-yielding places, for me,
39(322). To the Ekur, the house of Enlil, (323) In Ur, to the house of Nanna,
40(324). In Eridu, to the house of Enki, (325) All alone she directed her step,
41. ....,
42. She wept before Enki, (326) Enki brought me back to life,
43(327). Her I would not give to you at any price."
44(328). "Let us accompany her to the *Sigkuršagga* in Umma."
45(330). Šara .... threw himself at her feet, (331) Šara sat in the dust, Šara dressed himself in a filthy garment.
46(332). The *galla* say to holy Inanna, (333) "Inanna, proceed to your city,
47(333). We will carry him off."
48(334). Holy Inanna answers the *galla:*
49(336). "He is ...., my hairdresser,
50(337). Him I would not give you at any price."
51(338). "Let us accompany her to the *Emuškalamma* in Badtibira."
52(340). Lulal threw himself at her feet,
53(341). Lulal sat in the dust,
54(341). Lulal dressed himself in a filthy garment.
55(342). The *galla* say to holy Inanna: (343) "Inanna, proceed to your city,
56(343). We will carry him off."
57(344). Holy Inanna answers the *galla:*
58(345). "Lulal is my right arm,
59(345). Lulal is my left arm,
60(345). Lulal is my leader,
61(346). Him I would not give you at any price."
62(347). "Let us accompany her to the big apple tree in the *edin* of Larsa."
63(348). They followed her to the big apple tree in the *edin* of Larsa,
64(349). There Dumuzi was seated on a lofty dais,
65(349). There he was loftily installed,
66(350). The *galla* seized him there by his thighs.

*Reverse*

67–68. *fragmentary and unintelligible.*
69(351). They poured out the milk by the seven churns,

70(353). They play the (melancholy) pipe before him,
71. Like(?) šukur-reeds .... they held on to his side
72(354). She fastened (her) eye upon him—the eye of death,
73(356). She ...., the cry of heavy guilt.
74. Holy Inanna answers the *galla:*
75. "You who accompanied me,
76. Seize Dumuzi, do not let him go free."
77. The *galla* seized Dumuzi.
78(359). They who had accompanied the queen,
79(360). (Now) accompanied Dumuzi.
80(368). Dumuzi wept, he turns very pale.
81. The lad—how he was treated! .... how he was ..!
82–84. *fragmentary and unintelligible*
85(369). The lad lifted (his) hands to heaven, to Utu (saying:)
86. "I am the spouse of a goddess, I am not a mortal,
87(371). I am he who has carried cream to your mother's house,
88(372). I am he who has carried milk to Ningal's house,
89. I am he who has carried food to the Eanna,
90. I am he has furnished the wedding gifts in Erech
91. And(?) you(?) ....,
92. I am he who pranced on the holy knee, the knee of Inanna,
93. ...."
94(373). Turn my hand into the hand of a snake,
95(374). Turn my foot into the foot of a snake,
96(375). Let me escape my *galla*, let them not catch hold of me."
97(376). Utu accepted his tears,
98(377). He turned his hand into the hand of a snake,
99(378). He turned his foot into the foot of a snake,
100(379). He escaped his *galla*, they do not catch hold of him.
101(381). They seized ....
102–119. *fragmentary and unintelligible*
120(401). For(?) the holy fly, Inanna ....,
121(401). The maid Inanna decrees a (good) fate for the holy fly:
122(402). "In the beer-house, in the tavern(?), may there .... for you,
123(404). Like the children of the wise ones, do not ...."
124(405). Now, in accordance with the fate decreed by Inanna, thus it came to be.
125(406). Dumuzi is weeping—
126(407). My queen(?) came up to him, took him by the hand (saying:)
127(408). "Now, alas, you and your sister—
128(409). You—half the year, your sister—half the year,
129(410). The day you are asked for, that day you will be seized,
130(411). The day your sister is asked for, that day you will be set free."
131(412). Holy Inanna places Dumuzi among the eternal.
132(413). Holy Ereškigal—
133(414). Sweet is your praise!

### COMMENTARY TO TRANSLATION[38]

*Obverse*

In line 2, the significance of the simile is not clear. In line 3, the rendering "she makes her hair swirl about" is based on the new reading of the verbal form. The translation "you are to say" in lines 4 and 5, attempts to render the tentatively restored *dug$_4$-ga-ne-ne*, on the assumption that it is a scribal error for *dug$_4$-ga-zu-ne-ne.*[39] Line 13 ends Enki's instructions to the *galatur* and the *kurgarra*—the execution of these orders is omitted in the Ur version of the myth. The rendering of line 16 is uncertain and its meaning is obscure. So, too, is the relationship of the partially redundant line 17 to line 18.

[38] For earlier commentaries to our text, including lexical, grammatical, and philological details, *cf. Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 4 and 5 (1951): pp. 202–211 and 14–17; *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 107 (1963): pp. 512–516, and now *Sdd* pp. 182–224. The present commentary is restricted to what is new and significant.

[39] *Cf.* e.g. *dug$_4$-ga-ni* in *Sdd* lines 236, 238, etc. for a similar construction. For the scribal omission of *-zu- cf.* e.g., line 11 of our text.

For *sukkal* in line 21, *cf.* note 12.[40] *ragaba* in line 22 is usually rendered as "rider" or "riding messenger." The implications of the similes in line 23 are not too clear.[41] For line 28, *cf.* "Dumuzi's Dream" lines 117–118. *Ganzir* in line 31 is the name of the entrance to the Nether World. The second half of line 33 may have described some meritorious act of Ninšubur as the *sukkal* of Inanna—it is not restorable at present but it might have corresponded in some way to *Sdd* line 314. The reading and rendering of line 35 are somewhat uncertain—the first part corresponds more or less to the first part of *Sdd* line 315,[42] while the second part corresponds to *Sdd* line 31b. In line 36, note that *mar-mar-ra-ni* corresponds to *gar-gar-ra-ni* in the *W* variant to *Sdd* line 316. In line 43, the *-NE-* of the verbal form seems to be a scribal error for *-ÊM-* (*cf.* line 61). In line 45, the complex following $^{d}$*šara* does not seem to correspond to *uru-ni-šè* in *Sdd* line 330, and is therefore left untranslated. According to lines 62–63, Dumuzi was at "the big apple tree in the *edin*[43] of Larsa" rather than at that of the expected Kullab, but perhaps this is due to a scribal error.

*Reverse*

For a variant translation of the rather ambiguous line 69, *cf. Sdd* p. 221. In line 70, note that the verbal form is not negative as has been assumed hitherto. For the simile in line 71, *cf.* line 22. The first half of line 73 might have been expected to read approximately "She raised a cry against him," but the partially preserved text does not favor this conjecture. In line 74, one might have expected "says to the *galla*" rather than "answers the *galla*." Lines 75–77, it is to be stressed, are only partially preserved, and the attempted reading and rendering which on the surface seem to fit the context, may turn out to be erroneous. The rendering of the virtually identical verbal forms in lines 78–79 is based on the assumption that the *-àm* of line 78 is significant, not merely a scribal variation.[44] In line 81, the second half of the line should parallel in some way the first half. For line 86, *cf.* line 206 of "Dumuzi's Dream," where Dumuzi protests that he is not a mortal since he is married to a goddess. For line 90, *cf.* e.g. line 167 of "Dumuzi's Dream." The restoration of lines 94–100, it is to be stressed, is quite uncertain—note especially that for line 100, the translation assumes that the restored text may be a scribal error, and that the line should actually read: *galla-e-ne ba-da-kar nu-mu-ni-ib-ḫa-za-ne.* Line 101 is too fragmentary for comment, as are also lines 102–119. For lines 120–124, which have been misunderstood and misinterpreted hitherto, there is a passage in a long-published Dumuzi *iršemma* that is relevant and illuminating—it provides the background for Inanna's blessing of the "holy fly."[45] The rendering "in the tavern" for the second complex in line 122 is based on the tentative *nag-a* "drinking," as well as on *zabar* "bronze" (pipe or vessel) that seems to be used in banquets.[46] The second half of line 127, it is to be stressed, is conjectured restoration only. The rendering of *sag-bi-šè-è-a* as "eternal," "everlasting," etc. is based primarily on line 370 of the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur" that reads: *bala-nam-lugal-la sag-bi-sè-è a-ba-a igi im-mi-in-du$_8$-a*, "Who has ever seen a reign of kingship that is everlasting!"[47] Following line 133, the scribe states that the total

[40] In line 21, it should be noted, one might have expected the Sumerian word for "scepter" rather than "mace."

[41] For a suggestion that might help to clarify the meaning of these lines, *cf. Sdd* pp. 215–216.

[42] Note, however, the rather strange initial verbal form instead of the expected *dug$_4$-ga-mu-uš*.

[43] The word *edin* is usually rendered by "steppe" or "plain."

[44] To judge from our text, the *e-ne* in *Sdd* line 359 refers, not to Dumuzi, but to Inanna. Note too, that *Sdd* lines 361–367 which portray the character of the *galla*, are omitted in our text.

[45] This passage (*CT* **15** plate 19, lines 19–25) reads as follows:

nim-me kù-$^{d}$inanna-ra gù mu-un-na-dé-e
nim-me ki-mu-lu-ni ma-ra-an-pàd-dè a-na mu-un-ba-e-e
é-kaš-a-ka è-NIGÍN-na-ka
dumu-mu-lu-kù-zu-ke$_4$-ne dè-mu-un-ti-le
nim-me kù-$^{d}$geštin-an-na-ke$_4$ gù mu-un-na-dé-[e]
nim-me ki-ses ma-ra-an-pàd-dè a-na-àm mu-un-ba-e(!)-e(!)
é-kaš-a-ka e-NIGÍN-na-ka dumu-lú-kù-zu-ke$_4$ amar-sag-tuku-a-na

The fly says to holy Inanna:

"(If) I, the fly, will find for you the place where your(!) man is, what will you give me as a reward?"
"In the beer-house, in the *NIGÍN*-house,
Among the sons of the wise ones, I will let you dwell."

The fly says to holy Geštinanna:

"(If) I, the fly, will find for you the place where (your) brother is, what will you give me as a reward?"
"In the beer-house in the *NIGÍN*-house, among the sons of the wise ones. . . ."

What this passage, which follows laments by Dumuzi's spouse Inanna, and by his sister Geštinanna for the vanished Dumuzi, tells us, is that a fly came to each of them and promised to find him for them if they give him a reward, and, most important for our lines 120–124, the promised reward is that he would be allowed to dwell in the "beer-house" frequented by the "sons of the wise ones." It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that the broken passage immediately preceding our line 120, had told of the disappearance of Dumuzi, to the chagrin of Inanna (and probably of Geštinanna as well), and of the appearance on the scene of the "holy fly" who found him for her—hence her blessing of the fly as a reward for his kind deed, a reward that resembles in large part that attested in the above cited *CT* passage.

[46] *Cf.* lines 111–112 of "Enki's Journey to Nippur," in A. A. Al-Fouadi's dissertation for the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Penna. (1969).

[47] *Cf. Ur Excavation Texts* **6**, part 2, plate CXLVII, line 11.

number of lines on the tablet is 173,[48] and then adds a colophon identifying the tablet as the third and complete extract of *an-gal-ta ki-gal-šè*, which is the incipit of the myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World."

### 3. EXCURSUS: INANNA, THE PITILESS GODDESS

The death of Dumuzi, and the role of his spouse, the goddess Inanna, in this tragic event, were themes that stirred and stimulated the imagination of the Sumerian mythographers who, within certain limits, felt free to elaborate the details as fancy dictated. As a consequence, the several extant versions relating these events are at times inconsistent and even contradictory.[49] One of these is part of a composition published many years ago,[50] that begins with a bitter lament by Inanna for her dead husband, and continues with a tale which, like the myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," depicts the pursuit of Dumuzi by the *galla*, though the two versions of this motif vary considerably in content and tone.[51] Moreover, although the composition had begun with a lament by the goddess for her "sweet" husband, the closing lines of the composition portray her as a pitiless spouse who showed no mercy to the distraught Dumuzi fleeing the *galla*, and herself sent roaring against him a raging storm, a ship-wrecking tempest, that overwhelmed him with "the waters of the Nether World," [52] just prior to his being seized by the *galla* at the big apple tree of the *edin* of the Emuš.[53] This difficult passage which may prove to be of some relevance for the missing lines of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," has been largely misunderstood and misinterpreted hitherto,[54] and the following detailed, line by line, treatment of its contents, will, it is hoped, help to correct the earlier misleading translations and interpretations. The passage consists of the last thirteen lines of the composition as follows:[55]

[48] So, rather than 174, as might be judged from the copy. For the complications involved in the line-numbering of the Ur tablet, *cf. Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* **107**, p. 214, note 47.

[49] *Cf.* e.g. the variant mythological versions of the death of Dumuzi whose contents are sketched in chapter 6 of *The Sacred Marriage Rite.*

[50] The two principal duplicating texts of this composition are: Heinrich Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder* (1912): No. 2, obv., col. i and ii, rev., col. iii, lines 1–21, and a tablet published by V. Scheil in *Revue d'Assyriologie* **8** (1911): p. 161 ff.

[51] For a translation of several of the more intelligible passages of this composition, *cf. The Sacred Marriage Rite* pp. 127–130, and Thorkild Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness* pp. 49–52.

[52] A tempest is also mentioned in connection with Dumuzi's death in line 43 of the new "Death of Dumuzi" myth whose contents have been sketched in note 7.

[53] The Emuš (short for Emuškalamma) is Dumuzi's temple in Badtibirra, a city not far from Erech, *cf.* especially Åke Sjöberg, *Temple Hymns* (1969), p. 95, and note that the identification of Emuš as "a shrine in Erech," in *The Sacred Marriage Rite* p. 165, is to be corrected accordingly.

[54] As will be evident from a comparison of the translation of the passage on p. 130 of *The Sacred Marriage Rite*, and on pp. 51–52 of *Treasures of Darkness*, with that presented in this *Excursus.*

[55] *Cf. Sumerische Kultlieder* No. 2, rev., col. iii, lines 9–21, and the reverse of the duplicating tablet published by Scheil in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* (see note 50).

#### TRANSLITERATION

1. úr-ama-ugu-na-tur-tur-ra-ka šu-kàr mu-un-di-en-na
2. tur-tur-ama-ugu-na ama-arḫuš-a-ke$_4$ arḫuš mu-un-na-ab-bé
3. úr-nin$_9$-a-ni nin$_9$-arḫuš-a-ke$_4$ arḫuš mu-un-na-ab-bé
4. úr-nitalam-a-ni-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$ šu-kàr mu-un-di-en-na
5. $^{d}$inanna u$_4$-sag-dúb-dúb-bé gù mu-un-ši-ib-ra-ra
6. an u$_4$-ta-šèg ki u$_4$-ta-šèg
7. unu$^{ki}$-ga sig$_4$-bi ba-dag(?) unu$^{ki}$-ra igi-ni-šè
8. $^{giš}$ḫašḫur-e-gu-la-edin-é-mùš-a-ka
9. ki-bi illu-$^{giš}$-má-gul-gul a-kur-ra ì-dé
10. dam-ga-ša-an-na-ka $^{giš}$má-gul-gul a-kur-ra ì-dé
11. u$_5$-nu-me-en-na u$_5$ ba-an-da-bal-a
12. ga-nu-me-en-na ga ba-an-da-nag$_x$(GAZ)
13. galla gi-šukur-nu-me-a zag-ga-a-na ba-an-díb-bé-eš

#### TRANSLATION

1. At the lap of Sirtur, the mother who gave birth to him, the fleeing one having arrived,
2. Sirtur, the mother who gave birth to him, the merciful mother, speaks (words of) mercy to him,
3. At the lap of his sister, the merciful sister speaks (words of) mercy to him,
4. At the lap of his spouse, Inanna, the fleeing one having arrived,
5. Inanna makes the head-crushing storm roar against him,
6. Above—how the storm poured rain! Below—how the storm poured rain!
7. The brickwork of Erech was demolished—Erech the flooded(is) before him,
8. By the big apple-tree of the *edin* of Emuš,

9. There the ship-wrecking tempest poured forth the waters of the *kur*,
10. Upon the husband of Inanna, the ship-wrecking (tempest) poured forth the waters of the *kur*,
11. There was no cream, the cream had been libated,
12. There was no milk, the milk had been drunk,
13. The *galla*, (though) they were not *šukur*-reeds, held on to his side.

COMMENTARY

In lines 1 and 2, the *-na-* following *-ama-ugu-* is for the expected *-ni-*; note, too, that the *-ka* at the very end of the initial complex in line 1, is for the expected *-ke*$_4$ (*cf.* the end of the initial complex in line 4). The rendering "fleeing one" for *šu-kàr* (lines 1 and 4), is a surmise based on the assumption that it has a meaning similar to *lú-kàr*, "the refugee," [56] but a meaning such as "suppliant" would also fit well in the context. The verbal root written *di-en* in lines 1 and 4, is assumed to be an Emesal form of *gen*, "to come." The phrase *arḫuš mu-un-na-ab-bé* may also be rendered "performs (acts of) mercy for him." Line 3 is a conflate of two lines: (1) *úr-nin*$_9$*-a-ni-*⟨$^{d}$*mu-tin-an-na-ke*$_4$ *šu-kàr mu-un-di-en-na*⟩ (2) ⟨$^{d}$*mu-tin-an-na-*⟩ *nin*$_9$*-arḫuš-a-ke*$_4$ *arḫuš mu-un-na-ab-bé*, (1) "At the lap of his sister, ⟨Geštinanna, the fleeing one having arrived⟩ (2) ⟨Geštinanna,⟩ the merciful sister, speaks (words of) mercy to him," that is, the scribe, consciously or unconsciously, omitted the name of the sister, as well as the predicate refrain *šu-kàr mu-un-di-en-na*.[57] Line 5 may also be rendered: "Inanna, the head-crushing storm, roared against him"; for the possible identification of Inanna with the storm, *cf.* line 29 of "The Exaltation of Inanna." [58] In line 6, the signs *A.AN* (following *u*$_4$*-ta*) may of course be read *àm* (rather than *šeg*); if, so, the rendering would be: "Above—what a storm it was! Below—what a storm it was." The translation of line 7 is rather uncertain, as is its contextual connection with what precedes and follows; the rendering "demolished" for *dag* (assuming that this is the reading for the rather strange-looking sign following *ba-*) is based on the equation *dag* = *naqāru*;[59] the second half of the line which lacks a predicate, is assumed to be an exclamatory clause depicting the desolation that came into Dumuzi's view once Erech had been overwhelmed by the floodwaters.[60] If this interpretation is correct, it could be assumed that Dumuzi, distraught at the sight of his ravaged city, Erech, fled to the *edin* of the Emuš where he rested under its big apple-tree, but there, too, the mighty, destructive waters poured over him.[61] The description in line 8 of the spot to which Dumuzi finally fled as $^{giš}$*ḫašḫur-e-gu-la-edin-è-mùš-a-ka* is paralleled in lines 347–348 of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," where the last place to which the *galla* followed Inanna in their determination to find her surrogate and to carry him off to the Nether World, is described as $^{giš}$*ḫašḫur-gal-la-edin-kul-aba*$^{ki}$, which indicates with reasonable certainty that the rather inexplicable *-e-* following $^{giš}$*ḫašḫur* in our text is not to be rendered by "ditch." [62] For *illu*[63] (line 9) as the reading of *A.KAL cf.* the *CAD* [64] *sub mi-lu*; for "the waters of the *kur*" as the waters of the realm of the Nether World, *cf. ibid. sub mû* (especially the *lugal-e* line cited there). In line 10, note that the initial complex is rendered as if it ended in *-ke*$_4$ rather than in *-ka*, and that *illu*, "the tempest," has for some reason been omitted by the scribe. For lines 11–12, the Scheil duplicate (*cf.* note 50) has a variant consisting of four lines:

ú-nu-me-a ú ba-da-ab-kú
a-nu-me-a a ba-da-nag
é-tùr nu-me-a tùr ba-an-dù
gá-e-zé-nu-me-a sa ba-an-lá
There was no food—the food had been eaten,
There was no water—the water had been drunk,
There was no stall—the stall had been built,
There was no sheep-pen—a net had been spread over it.

With this enigmatic passage, *cf.* especially a long-known, phonetically written passage which concerns the death not only of Dumuzi, but also of Inanna (*Sumerische Kultlieder* No. 44, rev., lines 2–7):

ù-bi-a ga-ša-na-na nu-ti-il kur-ru-$^{d}$utu-é-a ni-eš-bu-na nu-ti-il

[56] The rendering "fleeing one" fits very well in the context, since the preceding section of the composition concerns the pursuit of Dumuzi by the *galla* and his efforts to escape.

[57] To judge from his translation on p. 51 of *Treasures of Darkness*, Jacobsen has read the initial *úr* as $^{d}$*inanna*, the following *nin*$_9$*-a-ni* as *dam-a-ni*, and the following *nin*$_9$*-arḫuš-a-ke*$_4$ as *dam-arḫuš-a-ke*$_4$ (he failed to note that the signs for *nin*$_9$ and *dam* resemble each other closely but are not quite identical—the middle horizontal in the second part of the sign is somewhat indented in the sign for *nin*$_9$ but not in that for *dam*).

[58] Published by W. W. Hallo and J. J. A. Dijk in *Yale Near Eastern Researches* 3 (1968).

[59] *Cf.* B. Landsberger, *Materialen zum Sumerischen Lexicon* 2: p. 138.

[60] The rendering of *unu*$^{ki}$*-ra* as "Erech, the flooded," is based on the assumption that *ra* is the passive participle of the verb equated with the Akkadian *raḫaṣu*, "to flood."

[61] Note, however, that the contextual relationship of this event to the concluding lines of the composition is not too clear.

[62] As e.g. on page 51 of *Treasures of Darkness*.

[63] *Illu* is probably no more than a phonetic variant of the well-known word for "tempest," *ul*$_6$-; for a close parallel to our *illu-*$^{giš}$*mâ-gul-gul*, *cf. ul*$_6$*-lu-*$^{giš}$*mâ-su-su* in the Lisin lament to be published in the forthcoming *Kraus Festschrift* (see note 6).

[64] *CAD* is the standard abbreviation for the *Chicago Assyrian*

dam-ku-ga-ša-na-na-ka nu-ti-il kur-ru-$^{d}$utu-é-a ni-eš-bu-na nu-ti-il
ù-nu-me-a ù ba-da-zal
é-nu-me-a é ba-da-DU
é-tùr-nu-⟨me⟩-a gi ba-DU
gá-ze-nu-me-a sa ba-la [65]

Following is a very tentative translation of this difficult, ambiguous passage:

In those days, Inanna was not alive—at the mountain where the sun rises, there existed no banquets,
The spouse of holy Inanna was not alive—at the mountain where the sun rises, there existed no banquets,
There was no food—the food had come to an end,
There was no water—the water had been carried off,
There was no stall—the reeds had been carried off,
There was no sheep-pen—a net had been spread over it.[66]

The text of line 13 is based on the Scheil duplicate; the Zimmern text seems to have *zag-ga-na-a* for *zag-ga-a-na*, and a variant verbal form which is fragmentary and difficult to reconstruct.[67]

*Dictionary* of which eleven volumes have appeared to date, but which is still far from complete.

[65] In this text note the following non-historical writings: *ù* (line 1) for $u_4$; *ga-ša-na-na* (lines 1–2) for *ga-ša-an-an-na; kur-ru-$^{d}$utu-é-a* (lines 1–2) for *kur-$^{d}$utu-è-a; ni-eš-bu-na* (lines 1–2) for *gišbun-na; ku* (second sign in line 2) for *kù; ù* (line 3) for *ú; é* (line 4) for *a; gá-ze* (line 6) for *gá-e-zé; la* (line 6) for *lá;* note, too, that the last signs in lines 4 and 5 may be read *-túm* or $ir_{10}$.

[66] The translation and interpretation of the first half of our lines 11–12 and the relevant lines in the Scheil duplicate and in *Sumerische Kultlieder* No. 44, are reasonably assured (the *nu-me-en-na* of lines 11–12 seem to be only a variant for the *nu-me-a* of the other two texts)—they depict the calamities that ensued upon the death of Dumuzi (or of both Dumuzi and Inanna): there was cream and milk, no food and drink, no stall and sheepfold. It is the second half of the lines that are full of uncertainties and ambiguities in transliteration, translation, implication, and interpretation, but it is not unreasonable to assume that in one way or another they elaborate upon the misfortunes depicted in the first half of the lines.

[67] Line 13 seems to duplicate in part line 71 of our Ur tablet. Note, too, that to judge from the myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" the composition seems to end *in medias res.*

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# BM 98396: A SUMERIAN PROTOTYPE OF THE *MATER-DOLOROSA*

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER
University Museum, University of Pennsylvania

The Sumerians, unlike the Egyptians, for example, tended to take a melancholy and jaundiced view of life. At least this is true of the Sumerian thinkers and men of letters who lived about 2000 BC and thereafter, that is, in the aftermath of the devastation of the land by the Elamites and the Su-peoples, Sumer's neighbors to the east, the destruction of the capital Ur, and the captivity of the pathetic Ibbi-Sin, the last king of the Third Dynasty of Ur which had ushered in a political and cultural renaissance full of hope and promise. It was in the wake of this tragic event that the Sumerian poets and bards created and developed the image of the 'weeping goddess' that became a recurrent motif in their dirges and laments. In the extant texts she appears in a number of guises. She appears, for example, as Ningal, the queen-goddess of Ur who bewails the destruction of her city and temple, the desecration and suppression of her cult, the suffering of her ravaged and dispersed people. Or the 'weeping godess' is none other than the multi-faceted Inanna mourning her spouse Dumuzi who had been carried off bound and fettered to the Nether World — a tragic fate that served as a metaphor for the death of the king and the destruction of the Sumerian cities and temples. Or she was conceived as Dumuzi's sister Gestinanna who loved him more dearly than her own life, and who secured his freedom from the Nether World imprisonment every half year by offering to become his surrogate. Often she is depicted as the mother-goddess under such names as Ninḫursag, Ninisinna, and Lisin, who wanders about weeping and searching for her disappeared son, who is no doubt to be identified metaphorically with the unfortunate ruler of her ravaged city.[1] One of the tablets in the British Museum which I have been studying in recent years,[2] BM 98396, (Pl. I), is an *iršemma* of Ninhursag providing us with a prime example of the 'weeping mother' genre, one that may well be characterized as a prototype of Rachel weeping for her children 'because they are not',[3] or Mary weeping for her dead son Jesus. It is an honor and a privilege to dedicate the edition of this hitherto unknown composition to my friend and colleague of many years, Harry Orlinsky, one of the leading Bible scholars of our day.

The contents of this *iršemma* may be divided into three parts. In the first (lines 1—13) the poet sets the stage for his melancholy theme: the comely, attractive, son of Ninḫursag had disappeared and the goddess, like a ewe whose lamb had been cut adrift, like a mother-goat whose kid had been cut adrift, went about questioning and searching as she approached a *kur*, a mountain, which she traversed from its base to its summit. Carrying in front of her the numan/šumun rushes and the šušua-reeds,[4] the goddess, designated as 'the mother of the lad', and 'the mother of the lord', sets up a lament among the reed-thickets.

Here begins the second part of the *iršemma* (lines 14–25), which consists of a plaintive soliloquy by the goddess that is largely obscure. As I tentatively interpret the passage, it begins with an affirmation by the goddess that once her 'man', that is presumably her son, had been found, she would present him with 'something like a heavenly star', perhaps a meteor (lines 14–16). She then seems to turn directly to her son, as if he had actually been found, and tells him that she feared this ominous 'something like a heavenly star', and paid homage to it (lines 17–19). But her son had not been found, and the goddess continues to lament that she did not know where he was, and that she kept searching for him everywhere as best she knew

how (lines 20–22). Moreover it seems that the dreaded 'something like a heavenly star' had turned noon to dusk and was setting the earth atremble 'like a forest fragrant with cedars' and this presumably interfered with her search (lines 23–25).

In the third part (lines 26–31), some individual, seemingly the poet himself, reveals the bitter truth to the weeping godess portrayed metaphorically as a cow lowing to her lost, unresponding calf: there is no point to her searching and weeping — her son is in *arali* (the Nether World), and the officials in charge will not give him back to her.

*Transliteration*

obv.

1. [áb amar-sè]áb amar-šè
2. áb[amar]- aš-tar-ra-šè
3. áb amar-bi ú-gu mu-da-an-dé
4. ama-gan-ra ág-šag$_5$-ga-ni ù-gu mu-da-an-dé
5. ág-ḫi-li-a a-e mu-da-an-dé
6. ama-gan-ra aš-tar-tar ki-kin-kin kur-úr-ra ba-te
7. aš-tar-tar-re ki-kin-kin-e kur-ùr-ra ba-te
8. u$_8$-sila-kud-da-gim na-an-gul-e
9. ùz-màš-kud-da-gim na-an-gul-e
10. kur-ùr-ra ba-te kur-bàd-da ba-te
11. e-ne igi-ni-ta $^{u}$numùn àm-íl-e $^{u}$šu-mu-un àm-íl-e.
12. ama-guruš-a-ke$_4$ gi-šú-šú-a àm-íl-íl-e
13. ama-ù-mu-un-na gi-ùr(!)-gi-ùr(!)-ra ír im-ma-ab-zé-èm-e
14. ma-a mu-lu-mu ma-ab-pàd-dè-e-a
15. mu-lu-mu ki-ni ma-ab-pàd-dè-e-a
16. mu-lu-bi àg-mul-an-na ga-àm-ma-ab-zé-èm
17. guruš ág-mul-an-na-zu ág-ka-aš-te-te-a
18. ág-mul-an-na ma-ra-ir-ra-zu
19. [me-e ní] ba-te šu-è-ta ba-SISKUR(?)

rev.

20. ki-amar-ra-mu nu-zu
21. ki-gub-ba-mu àm-zukum-e
22. dím-ma-ní-mà-sè ki àm-si-kin-kin
23. an-bir$_x$ an-usán-e mu-da-an-ku$_4$ àg-ka-ăs(!)-te-te-a
24. ma-a lul-gim ma-e-ri-dam ur$_5$ zi-da-àm zi-da-àm
25. ama-gan-mèn tir-šim-$^{giš}$erin-na-gim ki mu-un-síg-ge
26. ama-gan áb amar-ra gù nam-me i-bí-zu mar-àm-ma
27. áb amar-ra inim-nu-gi$_4$ (!)-gi$_4$-ra
28. ù-mu-un-si-ke$_4$ nu-mu-ra-ab-zé-èm-e
29. ù-mu-un-KA-ke$_4$ nu-mu-ra-ab-zé-èm-e
30. im-ma-al gú-íd-da-ke$_4$ i-bí-zu gar-ra-àm-ma
31. am-a-ra-li gú-edin-na-ke$_4$ i-bí-zu gar-ra-àm-ma

ír-šèm-ma-$^{d}$nin-ḫur-sag-gá

*Translation*

obv.

1. [The cow for the calf!] The cow for the calf!
2. The cow for the inquired about[calf]!
3. The cow — its calf had disappeared
4. As for the birth-giving mother — her comely one had disappeared,
5. (Her) delightful one had been carried off by the waters.
6. As for the birth-giving mother — inquiring, searching, she approached the foot of the *kur*,
7. By inquiring, searching, she approached the foot of the *kur*,
8. Like a ewe whose lamb had been cut adrift, she would not be restrained,
9. Like a (mother)-goat whose kid had been cut adrift, she would not be restrained,
10. She approached the foot of the *kur*, she approached the summit of the *kur*,
11. She—in front of her she carries the *numun*-rushes, she carries the *šumun*-rushes,
12. The mother of the lad carries the šušuareeds,
13. The mother of the lord sheds tears among the reed-thickets:
14. 'As for me, my man who will have been found for me,
15. My man whose whereabouts will have been found for me —
16. To that man I will give 'something like a heavenly star',
17. Lad! Your 'something like a heavenly star', something ominous(?),
18. Your 'something like a heavenly star' that has been brought to you,
19. [I — I] feared it, I paid homage to it,

rev.

20. (But) I learned not the whereabouts of my calf.
21. I inspected my post,
22. I kept searching everywhere in accordance with my understanding,
23. (But) it turned noon into dusk against me — something ominous(?),
24. As for me — it acted(?) treacherously towards me — it is true! it is true!
25. Me, the birth-giving mother — it sets the earth atremble against me like a forest fragrant with cedars.'
26. 'Birth-giving mother, do not low to the calf — set your face!
27. Cow, (do not low) to the calf, to the unanswering (calf) — set your face!
28. The *ensi* will not give him to you,
29. The lord, the killer, will not give him to you.
30. Cow, set your face toward the bank of the river!
31. Set your face toward the wild ox of *arali* at the edge of the steppe!

an *iršemma* of Ninḫursag

*Commentary*

*Lines 1–13. Setting the stage.* Lines 1 and 2 are fragmentary (the attempted restorations are merely conjectures) and difficult to interpret contextually, especially since they lack a verbal form, and thus seem unrelated grammatically and syntactically to the lines following — they seem to be introductory in character (note, too, that the broken half of line 2 has a fragmentary gloss beginning with *ša a-na* which is not too helpful). In line 3 note the Akkadian gloss *iḫ-ta-li-iq* for *ù-gu mu-da-an-dé* (cf. CAD sub *ḫalāqu*, where this new example may now be added in the lexical section). In line 4, *ama-gan* (Akkadian *ummu alittum*) is a frequently used epithet of such mother-goddesses as Ninḫursag, Ninisinna, and Lisin; the *ra* following *ama-gan* seems to be used here as an isolating type of postposition, or as a dative of disadvantage.[6] In line 5, *ág-ḫi-li-a* (glossed by the unintelligible *ša iḫ(?)-ḫu-ú*) seems to be a genitive construction with a meaning parallel to the *àg-šag$_5$-ga* of the preceding line, and it is therefore difficult to see why it is not followed by the third person possessive pronoun, in which case it should have read: *ág-ḫi-li-a-ka-ni; mu-da-an-dé* is glossed by the Akkadian *it-ba-lu* (cf. CAD sub *abālu* A 4a, where this new example may now be added). For *aš-tar-tar* in line 6, the Emesal of *èn-tar-tar*, cf. especially the Ninisinna lament *CT* 42 No. 19, that begins with the complex *ama-aš-tar-ra-na*[7] 'the mother in her inquiring.' For *kur-úr-ra* in lines 6, 7, 10 and *kur-bàd-da* in line 10, cf. especially lines 48-49 of 'Lugalbanda and Enmerkar';[8] admittedly, however, this sheds little light on the identity of the *kur* or the nature of the terrain which the poet had in mind for the wandering, weeping goddess, a terrain which, to judge from line 13, consisted in part of a landscape covered with reed-thickets.[9] In line 7, the *-e* at the end of the first two complexes seems to be a circumstantial postposition with a temporal nuance. In line 8, note the gloss *ú-ul i-ka-lu-ú* for *na-an-gul-e*[10] (cf. CAD sub *kalû*, where this new example may be added in the lexical section). For the *numun/šumun* rushes, cf. my article 'Inanna and the *numun*-plant' in the just-published Cyrus Gordon *Festschrift* (especially note 4); the reason for the goddess's carrying in front of her the *numun/šumun* rushes is not stated in the text and the significance and implications of this act are not clear. This is true of the goddess's carrying the *šušua*-reeds in line 12 — note that the *gi-šú-šú-a* must be related in some way to the *gi-šú-a* (cf. CAD sub *kupû*), and that the reduplication of the root *íl* in the verbal form indicates a plural object.[11] In line 13, the first complex might have been expected to read *ama-umun-na-ke$_4$*[12] since it is the subject of the transitive compound verb *ír im-ma-ab-zé-èm-e* (glossed by the Akkadian *i-ta-di*);[13] the second complex *gi-úr-gi-úr-ra* is glossed by the rather obscure *??ina(?) ri-bi-it a-pi-im.*[14]

*Lines 14–25. The plaintive soliloquy.* In line 14, *ma-a* is glossed by the Akkadian *ia-ti; mu-lu-mu* 'my man' presumably refers to Ninḫursag's son designated as *guruš* 'lad' and *umun* 'lord' in the

preceding lines.[15] Line 15 is identical with line 14 except for the omission of *ma-a* and the insertion of *ki-ni*.[16] The rendering of line 16 is reasonably assured, but its significance and implications for the context are uncertain; note that the first complex which is glossed by the Akkadian *a-na a-wi-lim??* might have been expected to read *mu-lu-bi-ra* as it does in the corresponding line *L* rev. 8 (for the text designated as *L*, see note 11); the *ág-mul-an-na* which is rendered quite literally in *L* rev. 8 as *mima ša kima kakkab šamê*,[17] may perhaps refer to a meteor and is reminiscent of the falling star in the Gilgameš Epic;[18] the verb *ga-ám-ma-ab-zé-èm* is glossed by *lu-di-su* 'I will give him.' In line 17, the rendering 'ominous' ('portentous', 'dreaded') for *ka-aš-te-te-a* (cf. also line 23) is no more than a guess based on the context — as far as I know this complex which is obscure lexicographically, grammatically, and syntactically, is not found in any extant Sumerian literary text, nor is its incomprehensible Akkadian gloss *ki-lu-um ni-zi ni-zi* at all helpful.[19] In line 18, the *-ir-* of the verbal form is assumed to be the Emesal for *tum*.[20] For line 19 whose first half is probably glossed by *[ana-ku] ap-[ta-la-ah]-ma* and whose second half is glossed by *a-ka-ra-ab-šu* (note that the latter is a present-future while the corresponding Sumerian seems to be a preterit), cf. line 36 of the Inanna lament *im-ma-al-la gù-dè-dè*[21] which reads $u_4$*-ba ní ba-te šu-è-ta na-è;* for *šu-è-ba* and *siskur* cf. the lexical section of CAD sub *karaābu*, where this new example may be added.[22] The meaning of line 20 is clear enough, but its relationship to what precedes and follows it is rather uncertain. Line 21 is virtually identical with line 34 of the above-mentioned Inanna lament which reads *ki-gub-ba-bi àm-zukum-me* (variant *-zukum-e-dè*) and is rendered by the rather obscure *man-za-as-su a-kab-ba-as* (cf. the lexical section of CAD sub *manzazu*).[23] Line 22 is identical with line 35 of the above-mentioned Inanna lament, which is rendered in Akkadian by *[kīma ṭêm] ra-ma-ni-ia aš-ra-a-ti eš-te-ni-'-e* (note the gloss *ra-ma-ni-ia* for *ní-ma-šè* in our line). In line 23, the 'it' of the translation assumes that the subject of 'turned' is *ág-mul-an-na*.[24] In line 24, note the Akkadian gloss *ia-DI sa ki-ma za-ar-tim??* for the first half of the line; the rendering 'it acted towards me' for *ma-e-ri-dam* is no more than a guess based on the context, and may be altogether on the wrong track — this may be true also for the last half of the line, rendered as 'it is true! it is true!' on the assumption that these might be exclamatory phrases uttered by the goddess to emphasize the fact that this unnatural phenomenon, incredible as it may seem, had actually occurred. The 'it' of 'it sets the earth atremble against me' is assumed to be the *ág-mul-an-na;* the 'like' of 'like a forest fragrant with cedars' is probably to be understood in the sense of 'as if it were'.

*Lines 26–31. The Bitter Truth.* Line 26 is virtually identical with line 4 of the partially preserved lament *SK* 26 iii, except that the latter has the Emegir *gar-ra* for the Emesal *mar* of our text;[25] the rendering 'do not low' is based on the Sumerian *gù nam-me*, but note that our text has an Akkadian gloss *íb-ta-na-ga-gi* which does not seem to correspond to the Sumerian.[26] Line 27 corresponds to *SK* 26 rev. iii line 5, except that it adds a seemingly pleonastic *-ra* after *inim nu-gi*$_4$*-gi*$_4$ and omits the refrain *i-bí-zu mar-àm-ma* while the latter does have the refrain *i-bí-zu gar-ra-àm-ma*.[27] Line 28 is virtually identical with *SK* 26 rev. iii line 7, except that in the latter the verb ends in *ze-mèn* rather than in *-zś-èm-e;*[28] the *ensi* of this line is either the *ensi* of the river or the *ensi* of *arali*.[29] Line 29 is virtually identical with *SK* 26 rev. iii line 8, except for the last part of the verbal form,[30] the reading of *KA* in the initial complex is rather uncertain, the translation assumes that it is to be read *dag/k* or *dug/k*, an active participle meaning 'killer', (cf. the lexical section of CAD sub *dâku*).[31] Line 30 might have been excepted to correspond to *L* rev. 18, but the latter has *ama-guruš-a* (if this is the correct word division) and *gù* (not *gú-edin-na-ke*$_4$ instead of gú-ìd-da-ke$_4$;[32] the river of this line is probably the *íd-kur-ra*, the 'Nether World river' of the myth 'Enlil and Ninlil'. The first part of line 31 is virtually identical with that of *L* rev. 20, except

that the latter omits the initiaal *am*, and writes *gù* for *gú* in the second complex; the 'edge of the steppe' may refer to the borderline between the *edin* and *arali*.[33]

*Abbreviations*

*AHw= Akkadisches Handwörterbuch. AnOr=* Maurus Witzel, *Tammuz-Liturgien. BA= Beiträge zur Assyriologie. BE XXXI=* Stephen Langdon, *Historical and Religious Texts. CAD= Chicago Assyrian Dictionary. CT = Cuneiform Texts from the Babylonian Collection in the British Museum. LKU=* Adam Falkenstein, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk. PAPS= Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. SGL II=* J.J.A. van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder. SK=* Heinrich Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder. SKly=* Joachim Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyrik. TRS XV=* Henri de Genouillac, *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre. UET VI=* Gadd and Kramer, *Literary and Religious Texts. ZA= Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.* For 'lugalbanda and Enmerkar,' cf. Claus Wilke, *Das Lugalbanda Epos.* For 'Enlil and Ninlil', cf. Hermann Behrens, *Enlil and Ninlil.* For 'Dumuzi's Dream', cf. Bendt Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream.* For the 'Fable of the Heron and the Turtle'. cf. Gene Gregg, *Archiv für Orientforschung* XXIV, pp. 51–72.

## NOTES

[1] For more details and for bibliographical references, cf. the introduction in my article 'Lisin, the Weeping Goddess: A New Sumerian Lament,' to appear in the forthcoming Kraus *Festschrift.*

[2] For fuller details cf. my *From the Poetry of Sumer* (Berkley 1979) and especially my Jayne Lecture, 'Sumerian Literature and the British Museum: The Promise of the *Future*', that has appeared in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 124 (1981), pp. 295–312.

[3] Jeremiah 31:15 and Matthew 2:18.

[4] Cf. commentary to lines 11 and 12.

[5] The *-da-* in *mu-da-an-dé* is here a privative infix, so also the *-da-* of *mu-da-an-dé* in line 5; cf. also lines 34 and 58 of 'Dumuzi's Dream'.

[6] Cf. J. Krecher, *ZA* 57:12; note, however, that at least on the surface, a *-ra* might have been expected after the *áb* of the preceding line.

[7] In the same text note also the verbal form *aš mu-un-na-tar-re* in obv. 35–36 and rev. 1–2.

[8] Note that in line 49 of that composition, the text A has what seems to me the preferable reading *kur-bàd-da;* cf. also *kur-bàd-da* preceded by *kur-úr-ra* in the two lines from *BE XXXI* cited in *SGL* II, p. 105.

[9] In the Lisin lament, *UET VI* 144, the poet is somewhat more specific — the goddess is there depicted as searching in vain for her lost son in the *an-edin-na* 'the high steppe'; cf. also line 19 of the Enlil *iršemma* pieced together by Mark Cohen (listed as 35.2 in his monograph *Sumerian Hymnography: The iršemma*) in which the weeping goddess is portrayed as a cow carrying rushes in the *edin.*

[10] The 'would not' of the translation attempts to render the *na-* of *na-an-gul-e.*

[11] For the *gi-šú-šú* (not *gi-bar-bar*) of Enki, which may or may not have some relevance for our *gi-šú-šú-a*, cf. lines 7 and 86 of 'The Fable of the Heron and the Turtle'. Beginning with line 12, the late Louvre bilingual *TCL* 54 (cf. C. Frank's edition of this text and its duplicates in *ZA* 48:81 ff., and add the fragmentary *LKU* No. 11 that was not available to Frank) can be utilized as a partial duplicate of our text which helps to restore some of its fragmentary lines, thus: *L* rev. i (*L* will be used throughout this paper for the Louvre text) and *LKU* rev. 2 can now be restored to read *[ama-guruš-a-ke₄gi]-šú-šú-a àm-[íl-íl-e]*, and its Akkadian rendering probably reads *um-mi id-[li ku-pe]-e i-ta-na[aš-ši]* (there seems to be a very fragmentary variant of the Akkadian in *LKU* rev. 4). *L* rev.2= *LKU* rev. 5 which reads *ama-u-na gi-úr-gi-úr-ra àm-ma* ... duplicates the first part of our line 13, but the second part does not begin with *ír*, and it is therefore uncertain whether the verb should be restored to read *am-ma-[ab-zé-èm-e].* In *L* rev. 4= *LKU* rev. 7 the verb can now be restored from our line 14 to read *mu-un-pàd-[dè-e-a]* (so too in *L* rev. 6 which corresponds to our line 15). *L* rev. 7 corresponds to our line 16 — the first halves of the two lines are virtually identical, but the second half of *L* rev. 7 begins with *ág-ka-[aš-te-te-a]* and there seems to be no room for the verb *ga-àm-ma-ab-zé-èm.* (For additional comment on *L* and its duplicates, cf. the following notes).

[12] The epithet *umun* 'lord' of this complex as applied to Ninḫursag's son is rather ambiguous, and it is not clear whether it is merely a vague honorific or whether it designates him as the lord of Sumer or of Ninḫursag's city Keš.

[13] As far as I know, the compound *ír — zem* with the meaning 'to shed tears', has not been found in any Sumerian literarty text (note that *LKU* rev. 6 has a variant verbal form, *idul;* cf. the note following).

[14] The duplicate *L* rev. 3 begins with virtually the same two complexes as our line 13 (note that *u-na* is merely a variant for *u(mun)-na*), but renders them in Akkadian as *um-mi be-lí ku-pe-e ana-ku* which seems to be a paraphrase rather than a literal translation of the Sumerian. In the fragmentary duplicate *LKU*, he Akkadian line rev. 6 might perhaps be restored *[ina ribit] ku-pi-i i-dul;* cf. *AHw* sub *kupû* where the reading *ku-pe-e a-na ku-pe-e* seems unjustified.

[15] Note that *mu-lu-mu ma-ab-pàd-dè-e-a* may also be rendered as '(someone) who will have found my man for me', as is indicated by *L* rev. 4–5 where the Sumerian reads *me-e mu-lu-mu mu-un-[pàd-dè-e-a]* and the Akkadian translation is *šá ia-a-ši ú-kal-lam-[ma-ni].*

[16] Instead of *mu-lu-mu ki-ni*, the corresponding line *L* rev. 6 has the rather strange *mu-lu al-di-ni* which it renders by *sá a-mi-li šá-al-li.*

[17] Cf. already the lexical section sub *mimma* in *CAD.*

[18] Cf. *ZA* 40:89.

[19] Line 17 seems to have no corresponding line in the *L*

duplicate; rev. line 9 of the latter, which might have been expected to correspond to our line 17, is identical with its rev. 8 except for the first complex.

[20] Line 18 has no corresponding line in *L*, but it may have one in line 5 of K 6849 (*BA* V, p. 681) whose first complex *ág-mu-an-[na]* is preserved.

[21] For bibliographical references and line numeration, cf. *AnOr* 10, p. 374 ff.

[22] For other examples of the *šu — e* compound, cf. *PAPS* 107:505.

[23] The rendering 'I inspected' for *àm-zukum-e* is based on the Akkadian gloss *ab-ru-e-ma*, presumably a preterit of *barû* (note, however that the Sumerian seems to be a present-future).

[24] If the rendering of the first half of the line is correct, the *-e* of *an-usuan-e* is for the expected *-šè*.

[25] Cf. lines 30–31 where the verb is written *gar-ra-àm-ma* just as in *SK* 26 — on the surface there seems to be no reason for the Emegir-Emesal variation in lines 26 and 30–31.

[26] On the other hand, the following line 27 has an Akkadian gloss reading *la ta-si-i* which fits the *gù nam-me* of line 26 but not the *nu-gi$_4$-gi$_4$* of line 27. Note, moreover that in *L* rev. 11, the line that provides the Akkadian translation of *L* rev. 10 whose first part is virtually identical with our line 26 (the fragmentary second part seems to differ), the verb may perhaps be restored to read *la[ta-si-i]* (on the assumption that the *ki* preceding the *la* belongs to the preceding *bu-ri* — that is, the word is *bu-ri-ki* 'your calf', in spite of the spacing on the tablet).

[27] The first part of line 27 corresponds also to *L* rev. 12 except that the latter has *na-an-gi$_4$-gi$_4$* for *nu-gi$_4$-gi$_4$*, a verb that parallels the *gù nam-me* of *L* rev. 10 and our line 26.

[28] Since the subject of the verb is the *ensi*, the *-mèn* of the *SK* text is certainly erroneous, unless perhaps the *DU* should be read *me* instead of *mèn*. For the rather difficult corresponding line *L* rev. 15, cf. *ZA* 40:89.

[29] For an *ensi-gal* of the river, cf. line 11 of the Lisin lament, to be published in the Kraus *Festschrift* (see note 1), and for the *ensi-gal* of *arali* cf. *SKly*, pp. 160–161.

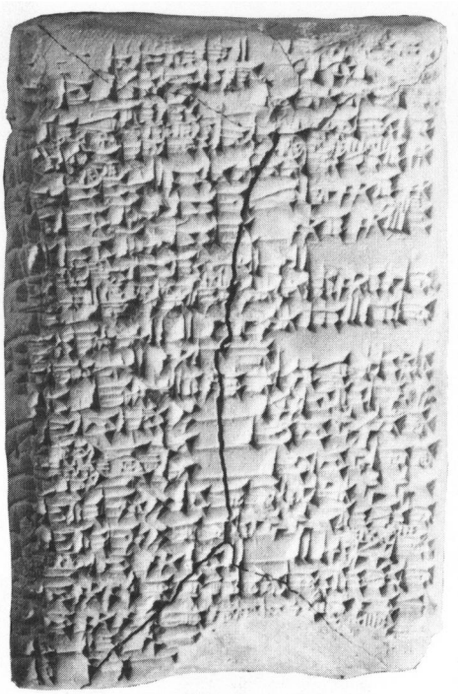
[30] The first part of our line 29 is also identical with the extant part of *L* rev. 16.

[31] This is corroborated by the Akkadian rendering of the complex in *L* rev. 17; for the obscure variant *gú-gi-ia*, cf. the attempted explanation in *ZA* 40:94.

[32] Note that *gù-edin-na-ke$_4$* is rendered by *ina si-e-ri* in *L* rev. 19, a rendering that seems to ignore the *gù/gú* of the complex.

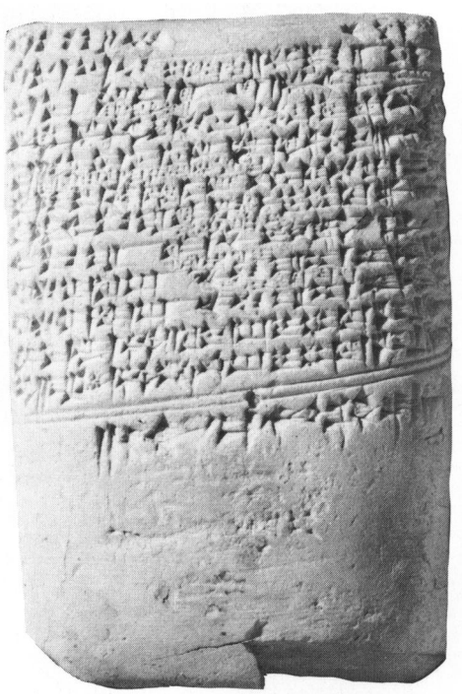
[33] Dumuzi is designated as *am-a-ra-li* in *TRS* XV 10:273, and though Dumuzi is not the son of Ninḫursag, the epithet *am-a-ra-li* could no doubt be applied to her unnamed lost son as well.

PLATE I

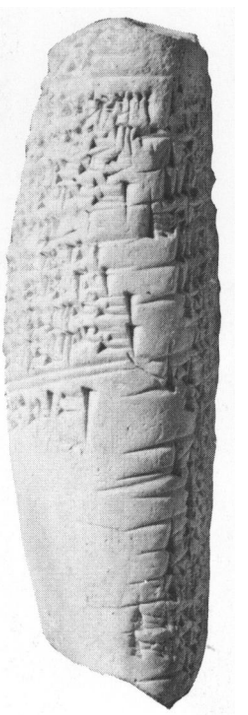


1. Obverse

2. Edge



3. Reverse



4. Edge

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# THE SUMERIAN DELUGE MYTH
## Reviewed and Revised

By SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

The Sumerian deluge myth is inscribed on a six-colume Nippur tablet in the University Museum, of which only the lower third is preserved. It was first published by Arno Poebel in 1914, in *PBS* V no. 1, and was edited by him with exemplary detail, care, and circumspection in the same year in *PBS* IV pp. 9–70. In 1950, I published a new translation of the text in *ANET* pp. 42–4 – except for a few modifications, it was based entirely on Poebel's edition. In more recent years, two scholars have made serious attempts to retranslate and reinterpret the text. In 1969, Miguel Civil published a new transliteration and translation of the myth in Lambert and Millard's *atrahasis* pp. 138–45 (philological notes ibid. pp. 167–74). In 1981, Thorkild Jacobsen published a new transliteration, translation and interpretation of the composition which he entitled "The Eridu Genesis", in *JBL* 100/4 pp. 513–29. Both Civil and Jacobsen have made a number of significant and useful lexicographical, grammatical and interpretative suggestions. But neither of them have resolved the baffling difficulties and obscurities that abound in the text, and much of its contents still remains puzzling and enigmatic, especially the first part of the myth relating the events leading up to the divine decision to destroy mankind by sending a devastating flood on the land.[1] This paper presents a new translation and interpretation of the extant text of this "deluge myth" in the light of Civil's and Jacobsen's suggestions and my own most recent research. It is a pleasure and a profound privilege to present this study to my longtime friend and colleague, Richard Barnett, whose broad vision and informed foresight as Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum, inspired the hope and the promise that one day its rich tablet collection will help to restore and illuminate many Sumerian literary compositions, including perhaps this remarkable but fragmentary tale of mankind's creation, destruction, and preservation.[1a]

Briefly sketched, the contents of the myth may be very tentatively outlined as follows: Following a destroyed passage of 36 lines that may have depicted the creation of mankind by Enki with the help of the goddess Nintu and its calami-

[1] In addition to the long frustrating lacunae that darken and obscure the meaning of much of the composition, note the following partial list of crucial, critical difficulties that remain unresolved: (1) the identity of the deity speaking in lines 37–46; 85–7, 251; (2) the meaning of such key words and complexes as *ki-ùr* (line 40), *uru-me-a* and *ki-eš-me-a* (lines 41–43); (3) the rather abrupt introduction of a new creation in lines 47–49, and its relationship to what preceded; (4) the meaning of *nig-gil* (line 46) and *nig-gil-ma* (lines 253 and 259); (5) the meaning of *kab-dug$_4$-ga* in lines 93, 98, 202; the reading and meaning of line 99.

[1a] Cf. my "Sumerian Literature and the British Museum", *PAPS* Vol. 124 pp. 299 ff.

tous dispersion over the face of the earth,[2] the text continues with a soliloquy by Enki, in which he expresses his determination to halt the imminent extinction of "his mankind", and to return the people (presumably to Sumer) from their exile, so that they might build there the *me*-endowed cities in whose shade he could refresh his spirit (lines 37–43). To insure their well-being, he continues, he has provided the land with water, and perfected there the divine rites and noble *me* (lines 44–6). The text then continues with a rather abruptly introduced four-line passage (lines 47–50) that speaks of the creation of the "blackheads" by the four leading deities of the Sumerian pantheon (that is by An and Enlil as well as Enki and Nintu), and the proliferation of *níg-gil-(ma)* and herds of four-legged animals.

There now follows a long lacuna (lines 51–84), the contents of which are difficult to surmise – it may have depicted the happy return of mankind to Sumer, and the building of the holy cities. When the text resumes, we find an unidentified deity (probably the same Enki) soliloquizing and saying that he would inspect the labour of the people and see that the foundations are firmly laid (lines 85–7). Following a rather curt, unanticipated statement that kingship descended from heaven, the text continues with some deity (presumably Enki) assigning names to the five holy cities: Erech, Badtibira, Larak, Sippar and Šuruppak, and allotting them to their respective tutelary deities. The column ends with two rather obscure lines (99–100) that seem to concern canals and irrigation.

Now follows another long lacuna (101–39) that must have dealt largely with the events leading up to the decision of the gods to send a flood to wipe out all mankind. When the text becomes intelligible again we find some of the gods dissatisfied and unhappy over this cruel decision to which they had been bound by oath (140–4). We are next introduced to Ziusudra, described as a humble, pious reverent king constantly on the lookout for divine revelations. (145–50). Having stationed himself by a wall of some structure where presumably the gods had gathered, he heard a voice of one of the gods, no doubt the kindly Enki, informing him of the unalterable decision of the gods to destroy mankind by means of a flood (151–60).

What followed must have consisted of detailed instructions to Ziusudra to build a huge boat and thus save himself and preserve the seed of mankind. But

[2] The surmise that this missing portion of the myth may have included the depiction of a calamitous dispersal of mankind over the face of the earth, was prompted by Thorkild Jacobsen's suggestion (loc. cit. pp. 213–14) that the small fragment *UET* VI no. 61, is a duplicate inscribed with a considerably varying version of our myth. If that should turn out to be the case – and admittedly this is rather dubious – it would follow that the obverse of the Ur fragment contains a portion of the first lacuna on the Nippur tablet (lines 1–36 of the myth). Now as already noted in the Introduction to *UET* VI *sub* Nos. 61–3, the obverse of this fragment includes the first part of the "Golden Age" – "Babel of Tongue" passage in "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" (cf. my "The Babel of Tongues" in *JAOS* 88 pp. 108–11), according to which Enki confounded the speech of man because of his jealousy of Enlil. And though this is not explicitly stated in the text, it may be that he thus brought about the dispersion of mankind over the face of the earth, a calamity which he may have come to rue in the course of time – hence his determination to halt the imminent extinction of "his" mankind and to return the people from their (dispersed) habitations. Note finally that the fragmentary lines preceding the "Golden Age" passage in the Ur piece (lines 1–10) probably depict mankind's prosperity and well-being (not "his miserable way of life", cf. Jacobsen, loc. cit. p. 516) – for the restoration of the first two lines cf. note 14 of this article, and the probability that the verbal forms in lines 3–10 may be positive rather than negative (as suggested by Jacobsen).

all this is missing, since there is another long break (161–200). When the text resumes we find that the flood in all its violence had already come upon "the land", and raged there for seven days and seven nights. But then the sun-god Utu came forth, spreading his light on heaven and earth, and Ziusudra prostrated himself before him, offering numerous animal sacrifices (201–11).

Following another lacuna (212–50) the remaining extant text depicts the deification of Ziusudra. After he had prostrated himself before An and Enlil, they present him with life eternal like a god, and translate him to Dilmun, "the place where the sun rises" (251–60). The conclusion of the myth is missing and we do not know what followed Ziusudra's apotheosis.

## TRANSLATION[3]

col. i

37. . . . . sets up . . . .[4]
38. I would [halt(?)] the perishing of my mankind,[5]
39. I would restore there to Nintu the . . . of my creatures,[6]
40. We would return the people from their (dispersed) habitations.[7]
41. Let them build there the *me*-endowed cities, I would refresh myself in their shade,[8]
42. Let them lay the bricks of the *me*-endowed cities in holy places,
43. Let them erect the *me*-endowed *ki-eš* in holy places,[9]
44. I have directed there the fire-quenching holy (?) water,[10]
45. I have perfected there the divine rites (and) noble *me*,
46. I have watered the earth, I would establish well-being there.[11]
47. After An, Enlil, Enki, (and) Ninhursag

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[3] In the translation I have incorporated those suggestions of Civil and Jacobsen that seemed convincing to me – these will be indicated in the notes. The line numbering follows that of Civil.

[4] It is difficult to surmise what preceded and what followed *im-gá-gá*.

[5] "Halt" is no more than a dubious surmise. "There" in this and the following lines must refer to some locality, perhaps to Sumer.

[6] This translation assumes that *níg-dím-dím-ma-mu* is an anticipatory genitive parallel to *nam-lú-lu$_6$-mu* in the preceding line, and that the unrestorable broken complex that followed, ended in *-bi*, like the second complex of the preceding line. The real meaning and implication of this line are quite uncertain, it may echo in some way "the creation of man" myth in which these two deities played contesting roles (cf. C. A. Benito "Enki and Ninmah").

[7] "(Dispersed) habitations" is an attempt to render the much discussed *ki-ùr* (cf. Civil's comment to this line); for *ki-ùr* as the habitation of mountain-kids and snakes, cf. Jacob Klein, *Three Sulgi Hymns* in the index *sub ki-ùr* and *muš-ki-ùr-ra* – to judge from those passages, *ki-ùr* would refer to habitations in the sparsely settled wild countryside as opposed to city dwellings. As for the rendering "we would return" (instead of "I would return"), this assumes that the verb *ga-ba-ni-ib-gur-ru-dè* is the first person plural *ga-ba-ni-ib-gur-e(n)de(n)*, and that the subject is not Enki alone, but Enki and Nintu.

[8] The rendering "*me*-endowed cities" is a surmise for the ambiguous *uru-me-a*, literally perhaps "the cities of the *me*"; the final *-bu* of *ga-ba-ab-dúb-bu* seems unjustified.

[9] The unintelligible *ki-eš* seems to be parallel to the *uru* of the preceding lines.

[10] The rendering of this line follows that suggested by Civil, but remains quite uncertain.

[11] The rendering of this line follows that of Civil.

48. Had fashioned the blackheads,[12]
49. *níg-gil* (rising) repeatedly out of the earth, multiplied[13]
50. Herds of animals, four legged, were brought into existence in the steppe as is befitting[14]

col. ii

84. Fragmentary
85. "I would. . . . ,
86. I would inspect their labour[15]
87. Let . . . the builder of the land dig a solid foundation"
88. After the . . . of kingship had descended from heaven,
89. After the noble crown (and) throne of kingship had descended from heaven,
90. He perfected [the divine rites (and) the noble *me*] [16]
91. [He caused] the bricks of the *me*-endowed cities [to be laid] in holy places,[17]
92. He called their names, apportioned the *kabdugga.*
93. The first of the cities, Eridu, he gave to Nudimmud, the leader,[18]
94. The second, Badtibira, he gave to the prince (and) the hierodule[19]

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[12] Following Enki's speech which presumably ended with line 46, one might have expected the text to continue with the execution of his expressed wishes, that is, the returning of the people from their *ki-ùr*, and the building of the cities endowed with divine rites and *me*, where they could live in prosperity and well-being. Instead, the text introduces what seems to be a new creation, this time of "the blackheads", by the four leading deities of the pantheon. The nature and manner of this creation are not described, and it is even uncertain whether "the blackheads" refers only to the Sumerians or to mankind as a whole. Nor is it clear how the creation of "the blackheads" is related to Enki's creation of mankind mentioned in lines 38–9. Note finally that it is not altogether impossible that Enki's soliloquy ended with line 87, and not with line 46. But all this does not help to resolve the difficulties, and the interpretation of this part of the myth and its plot-structure remain uncertain and unclear.

[13] The meaning of the crucial *níg-gil* (cf. line 253 where it is followed by *-ma*, accidentally omitted in Civil's transliteration, as well as line 259 where it is also followed by *-ma*) remains uncertain. It may be of some interest to note that line 3 of the *gišal* hymn reads: $^{d}$*en-líl numun-kalam-ma ki-ĭa* $e_{11}$*-dè* (cf. *UET* VI no. 26 and duplicates) where *numun-kalam-ma* rise out of the earth, just like the *níg-gil-(ma)* of our line.

[14] With this line cf. line 349 of the myth *EWO* (="Enki and Inanna: the Organization of the Earth and Its Cultural Processes") which reads: *máš-anše an-edin-na mu-ni-lu-lu me-te-aš bí-ib-gál* "He (Enki) multiplied herds of animals in the high steppe (and) he brought them into existence there as is befitting" Note that *UET VI No. 61* obv. 1 that begins with *máš-anše* (not *nam-lú* as suggested by Jacobsen loc. cit. p. 516, note 7) may probably be restored to read in accordance with line 50 of our text, and that obv. 2 of the Ur piece may be restored to read: *an-edin-*[*na* $su_6$ $^{na_4}$*za-gìn àm-lá muš-*$^{na_4}$*za-gìn àm-kéš*] "On the high steppe [he (Enki) fastened a lapis-lazuli beard, he made it don a lapis lazuli tiara(?)]", that is, he made the high steppe bloom with greenery (cf. *EWO* line 347).

[15] The rendering of this line and the next follows in part that suggested by Civil.

[16] The restoration of this line is based on line 45.

[17] The rendering of this line is based on a restoration that reads [*uru-me-a* $sig_4$*-bi ki-kù-ga im-m*]*a-an-da-šub* (cf. line 42).

[18] The use of the locative infix *-ni-* instead of the dative infix *-na-* in the verbal form of this line and the four following lines, seems rather strange; so, too, is the omission of *-ra* following the name of the deity in this line and lines 95 and 96. If Enki is the god who named the cities and assigned them to the various deities, one would have to assume that Nudimmud is not identical with Enki in our text.

[19] This rendering follows an interesting, but not altogether convincing suggestion by Jacobsen (loc. cit. p. 518, note 7); note that the sign following 2-*kam-ma* is a clear *TÚG* and therefore cannot be read *-šè* (cf. photograph).

95. The third, Larak, he gave to Pabilsag,[20]
96. The fourth, Sippar, he gave to valiant Utu,
97. The fifth, Šuruppak, he gave to Sud,
98. He called the names of these cities, apportioned the *kabdugga*
99. In the river . . . . he brought water[21]
100. He established the cleansing of the small canals the . . . .[22]

cols. iii–iv

135–139. Fragmentary
140. Then did Nintu [weep] like a . . . .[23]
141. Holy Inanna [sets up] a lament for its people
142. Enki took counsel with himself,[24]
143. An, Enlil, Enki (and) Ninhursag
144. Adjured the gods of heaven (and) earth by An (and) Enlil.[25]
145. In those days Ziusudra, the king, the *gutug*-priest . . . .[26]
146. Fashioned . . . .[27]
147. Humbly eloquent [filled with] fear,
148. Standing daily, constantly . . . .
149. Bringing forth all kinds of dreams, con[versing],
150. Adjuring the gods of heaven (and) earth he . . . .
151. . . . the gods . . .[28]
152. Ziusudra standing at its side, list[ened]:

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[20] The reading of the god's name as Pabilsag follows a suggestion by Civil; the assumption that the sign *HUR* is a scribal error seems reasonable, but is not altogether assured.

[21] The reading and rendering of this line are quite uncertain. The first two signs are certainly *ÍD* and *IM* (as correctly read by Jacobsen, loc. cit. p. 518); the reading *a-gi*$_4$ is incorrect (the copy is misleading, cf. photograph); the third sign is *GÚN* or *DAR* (not *LA*, unless a scribal error is involved); the fourth sign is *MA* (not *BA*, as read by both Civil and Jacobsen, cf. both photograph and copy); so, too, the sign following *im-* and preceding *-al-la*, is not *BA* but *MA* (the complex therefore reads *im-ma-al-la*, a word whose meaning is uncertain and difficult to fit into the context).

[22] The three dots stand for the difficult *níg-ḫur-ḫur*.

[23] Jacobsen's rendering "Nintur wept over her creatures", which is based on the restoration of the second half of the line as *níg-dím-dím-a-*[*ni-šè i-še*$_8$*-še*$_8$] is probably erroneous; there is hardly room for the restored signs, not to mention the fact that *-dím-dím-a* would be a most unusual writing for *-dím-dím-ma*.

[24] That is, Enki was already devising a plan to save mankind.

[25] Presumably the four leading deities of the pantheon made the other gods of heaven and earth swear that they would abide by the cruel decision whether they liked it or not.

[26] The general drift of the contextual meaning and interpretation of lines 145–50, is fairly clear; they depict Ziusudra as a pious god-fearing king who consults the gods and communicates with them in various ways. But in case of lines 147–50, only the first part of each is extant, and these seem to contain only participial verbal forms – the end of the lines which may have consisted of finite verbal forms is missing. One such finite verb seems to be required at the end of line 150, but if so, its restoration is rather hopeless at present.

[27] The objects fashioned are described by the complex *AN-sag-nigin* which according to Jacobsen may be rendered as "the god of giddiness" that is, Ziusudra made statues of this deity perhaps to induce ecstatic inspiration. This is an interesting interpretation to keep in mind for future corroboration.

[28] This rather crucial line is difficult to read, translate and interpret. To judge from *da-bi* "its side", in the line following, it may have specified the place where the gods met in assembly. But the first complex is hardly *ki-ùr-šè* as read by both Civil and Jacobsen (as the photograph shows, the traces of the first sign do not point to *KI*, and even the *-šè* is somewhat doubtful). Nor can the signs following *dingir-re-e-ne* be read with certainty.

153. "Stand by the wall at my left side . . .[29]
154. At the wall I would say a word to you, take [my word],
155. [Give ear] to my instruction:
156. The *me*-endowed cities(:) – the flood [will sweep over their] *kab*[*dugga*][30]
157. To destroy the seed of mankind – [thus it has been decreed],[31]
158. The verdict, the word of the assembly, [cannot be revoked][32]
159. The word commanded by An (and) Enlil [knows no overturning],
160. Their kingship – its reign [has been cut off, the heart is aggrieved].[33]
161–2. Fragmentary

col. v

201. All the windstorms (and) gales attacked together,[34]
202. At the same time, the flood swept over the *kabdugga*
203. After, for seven days (and) seven nights,
204. The flood had swept over the land
205. (And) the huge boat had been tossed about by the windstorms on the great waters,
206. Utu came forth, who illuminates heaven (and) earth.
207. Ziusudra drilled an opening in the huge boat[35]
208. Valiant Utu brought his light into the huge boat.
209. Ziusudra, the king,
210. Prostrated himself before Utu,
211. The king slaughters oxen, multiplies sheep[36]
212–17. Fragmentary

col. vi

251. "I have made you swear by heaven and earth, let it be joined with your *za*."
252. An (and) Enlil swore by heaven (and) earth, it was joined with their *za*,[37]
253. The *níg-gil-ma*, rising out of the earth, keeps rising out of it.[38]

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[29] The speaker is probably Enki, but this is nowhere stated.

[30] The Sumerian for the line probably reads: *uru*(*!?*)*-me-a a-ma-ru ugu-kab-du*[$g_4$*-ga-ba*] *ba*[*-ùr-ùr-re*].

[31] The rendering "thus it has been decreed" assumes that the end of the line is to be restored to read *ḫur-gim nam ba-tar* (cf. Jacobsen, loc. cit. p. 522 for a somewhat different suggestion).

[32] For the restoration and translation of these three lines, with the help of parallels in the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur" cf. Jacobsen, loc. cit. p. 522.

[33] "The heart is aggrieved" attempts to render the rather difficult *šà- kúš-ù-dè*, the last complex in the line.

[34] "And gales" follows Civil's rendering.

[35] "Drilled an opening" follows Civil's and Jacobsen's rendering.

[36] The rendering of this line follows that of Civil.

[37] The translation, interpretation, and implication of these two lines are quite uncertain. To judge from the precative verbal form *ḫé-im-da-lá* in the first line, and the simple indicative verbal form *im-da-lá* in the second, the first line consists of a request by some deity, perhaps Enki, which was actually fulfilled according to the second line. I therefore render the second line as if it read: *an-*$^{d}$*en-líl* (*-le*) *zi-an-na zi-ki-a i-pà-dè-eš* (instead *i-pà-dè-zé-en*) *za-ne-ne-da* (instead of *za-da-ne-ne*); note that in the first line, too, *za-zu-da* might have been expected to read *za-zu-ne-ne-da*. As for the meaning of *za* in these complexes, it is quite uncertain it seems hardly likely that it is the second person pronoun.

[38] The translation and interpretation of this line are uncertain because of the obscure *níg-gil-ma*. So, too, is its contextual relationship to the lines immediately preceding.

254. Ziusudra, the king,
255. Prostrated himself before An (and) Enlil.
256. An (and) Enlil che[rish] Ziusudra,
257. Life like a god they give him
258. Breath eternal like a god, they bring down to him.
259. In those days, Ziusudra, the king,
260. The preserver of the name of *níg-gil-ma* (and) the seed of mankind,[39]
261. In the "land of crossing", the land Dilmun, the place where the sun rises, they caused to dwell.

[39] The full meaning of this crucial line remains uncertain because of the obscure *níg-gil-ma*.

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# IN SEARCH OF SUMER
# A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY YEARS

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER

PHILADELPHIA

[*On p. 452 of the* Kramer Anniversary Volume *(AOAT, 25),* Gods, Heroes, Kings, and Sages: A Scholar's Journey into Time and Space *is listed as "In Preparation." This volume never saw publication, and this is why.*

*Back in the middle 60's the publishing house of Charles Scribner's Sons developed a series wherein invited contributors were asked to weave within an autobiographical background accounts of their own research, the hurdles which they surmounted, the discoveries they made, and the impact they had on their field of specialization. The whole was to be within modest proportions and to address an interested, but not necessarily academic, audience. Among those who were commissioned were the Nobel Laureate (1950) E. C. Kendall, the astronomer H. Shapley, the pharmacologist W. Weaver, the Egyptologist J. A. Wilson, and Samuel Kramer. Sam finished a 328 page manuscript and submitted it in the early 70's. It was edited and waited publication. But after the publication of four volumes, by the above mentioned authors, the series was terminated in 1972 and Sam's volume was left stranded.*

*In these pages, I offer samplings from that manuscript. Rather than gleaning choice morsels from here and there, I have opted for presenting more or less* in extenso *the first quarter of the volume. However, I have occasionally pared down information which either depended on the non-published portions of the ms in order to acquire full meaning or contained illustrations which are well known from Sam's other writings. But I could not resist selecting a segment from the ms's last pages since I think it conveys Sam's hopes for the future of cuneiform studies in one of the areas of the world where Ancient Near Eastern literature originated.*

*I do recognize that this method of honoring a scholar, by presenting him with a dais from which to address an audience, is uncommon nowadays. Nevertheless, I am hoping that Sam's own words regarding his first steps in Sumerology will be found interesting and, I dare say, inspiring. They should, at the very least, give us insight into the creative effort which has convinced many that history does indeed begin in Sumer.* The Editor]

## 1. *From the Talmud to Cuneiform (Zashkov and Philadelphia 1897–1929)*

I was born on September 28, 1897, in Zashkov, a ghetto *shtedtle* in the district of Kiev in the Ukraine. The week of my birth happened to coincide that year with *Simchath Torah*, the annual Jewish festival commemorating the reading in the synagogue of the concluding portion of the Torah, the Five Books of Moses. This coincidence of birth and feast inspired my father to name me Simcha, "Joy." The *ch* in this Hebrew word, which represents a harsh Semitic guttural, later proved to be a thorn in the throats of my Philadelphia teachers when they tried to Anglicize my name. To make matters worse, the week in which I was circumcised coincided with the reading in the synagogue of the weekly portion of the Pentateuch that tells the story of the patriarch Noach (Noah in the English Bible), and this concurrence of *brith* and Flood-hero, prompted my father to give me the middle name Noach. So there I was, beginning life in the Czar's Zashkov with the "begutturaled" name Simcha Noach Kramer.

The last name, Kramer, "storekeeper," must have been acquired by the family in a German-speaking community long before my father's day. For my father was no merchant, big or little, wholesale or retail. He was a *Gemoorah-rebbi*, that is, a teacher of the Talmud. His pupils were boys aged nine to thirteen who had finished their earlier elementary studies in the Pentateuch and

the Prayer book and were now ready to tackle the more difficult, complex, and deeply revered Talmud, which consists of numerous compendia of legal lore and legends (traditional). Our town had no Yeshivah (rabbinical college), and the pupils who completed their Talmudic studies with my father and wished to delve deeper into Talmudic and kabbalistic lore would wander off to some larger town renowned as a center of learning.

The number of pupils in my father's school, which was located in our home, was about a dozen, and the remuneration he received from the parents was, as I recollect, about ten rubles per student per year. This annual income of approximately 120 rubles barely sufficed for our family of five—I had an older brother and sister—and there was little danger of our suffering from overeating and surfeit. Many a meal consisted of cabbage soup and tea with a piece of hard sugar to bite on. But our little house with plastered walls and a straw roof was our own, and there was a goat to provide us with milk and cheese. And then there was the Sabbath, glorious and holy, that lit up our home once a week and turned it into a palace. On Friday night we gorged ourselves on fish and meat, and *kugel* and *tzimes*, and sang our hearts out to God and praised his goodness.

On my fourth birthday, my older brother brought me to the *dardeki rebbi* (elementary teacher) in our town to begin my studies in Bible and prayer. I was not a bad student, and by the time I was eight, I had covered the reading and translating into Yiddish of a good part of the Bible, including the commentary of the venerated medieval French-Jewish scholar Rashi, printed in small type below the Biblical passages. The teaching was by rote, and there was many a Biblical sentence whose meaning I knew only superficially. But it imbued me with profound faith in Yahweh's love for his suffering people, and I had no doubt that one day the Messiah would appear and turn things around, so that the mistreated and oppressed Jews would be "sitting pretty," while the *goyyim* looked on in envy.

My special heroes were Judah, son of Jacob, who dared talk back to Joseph whom he took to be second only to Pharaoh in power and station; Moses, the man of God and leader of his people; the brave Joshua who made the sun stand still until "the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies"; David, the valiant, generous singer of psalms; and Solomon the wisest of men. King Solomon was a favorite in our house since, as every believing Jew knew, he was the author of the *Song of Songs*, a book that my father cherished and loved. So much so, that from time to time, when in a happy mood, he would seat me on his knee, and ecstatically intone voluptuous words which were redolent with lust and desire. For its two ardent lovers, he assured me, were none other than Yahweh and the people of Israel, and their rapturous speeches were but avowals of their tender love and yearning. Little did I dream that one day, with innocence gone and faith departed, I would write a learned monograph to demonstrate that the *Song of Songs* echoed the pagan fertility rite of a sacred marriage between a ravishing goddess of sexual love and her blissful royal acolyte.

Heroes were certainly needed in those dark, bitter days in the early part of the twentieth century, when both the Czarist court and the Russian church were inciting the populace to organize pogroms and massacre Jews. No pogrom had yet actually violated our *shtedtel,* but neighboring towns had been pillaged and ravaged, and terror was at our doors. A number of the more daring and enterprising Zashkovites had now departed for America, the land of liberty and opportunity. Some of them had settled in Philadelphia and were doing well as storekeepers and merchants. There was plenty to eat and drink and much material comfort, but they were deeply worried about their children who were being well educated in the public schools but learning nothing of Hebrew lore and tradition. From time to time those who had studied in Zashkov wrote to my father, urging him to leave pogrom-ridden Russia and come to Philadelphia to teach their young the Bible and the Hebrew prayer book. In 1905, though in his fifties, he decided to hearken to their plea. Since there was not enough money to take along the entire family, he traveled alone in order to prepare the way. The very next year, with savings from his earnings as a Hebrew teacher, he sent us *Schiffskarten* (travel tickets) to bring us from Zashkov to Philadelphia, and we were off to America, fearful and hopeful.

We almost did not make it. We, like most other Jewish emigrants, were leaving Russia without official permission and therefore had to "steal the border," to translate literally the Yiddish idiom. This was a clandestine procedure carried out in the dark of night, when an agent of the travel agency from which our tickets had been bought would lead a batch of emigrants across the border, after having bribed both the guards and the customs officials. Usually this was a smooth operation, carried out without difficulty or mishap. But our group ran into trouble; we were caught and arrested on the Austrian side of the border. We were not mistreated, however, and after an anxious, frightening night, and some additional bribes no doubt, we were permitted to board the train for Rotterdam and the steamer that would take us to New York. Our journey continued without further misadventure, and after landing at Ellis Island, we left immediately by train for Philadelphia, where my father installed us in a small but not uncomfortable "tenement" apartment on Bainbridge Street, in a section of the city inhabited largely by immigrant Jews and Italians. As I learned in later years, it was not far from Independence Square and the home of the American Philosophical Society that was one day to be a pillar of support to me and my researches, but of this I had no inkling

at the time. Here, then, in the month of June, 1906, in a South Philadelphia tenement, began the acting out and realization of one version of the American dream, though somewhat Jewish tinted and tainted.

July and August were school vacation months. But in early September I was taken to the Meredith elementary school, not far from home, and was matriculated in the first grade. Then and there began my first confrontation with the Anglo-Saxon world and the loss of some of my native identity. My first grade teacher, Miss Nellie, a lovely, buxom lady whom I remember with no little affection, helped with my matriculation, and when she saw in cold black ink the given names Simcha Noach, she became alarmed—these were hardly words fit for the English tongue. Simcha was changed there and then to the more commonplace Samuel, and Noach to the less exotic Nathan. And so I became Samuel Nathan Kramer and continued to be so called throughout my school and college years. These are also the names on my naturalization papers, my passport, and my earliest publications. Only when my publications increased in number and weight did I become more daring and defiant, and while hesitating to tamper with Samuel, I changed the middle name to Noah (for Noach), so that all my later publications, including this one, are signed Samuel Noah Kramer. And, though this is perhaps a hallucination, the change from Nathan to Noah seemed to have had some effect on my academic colleagues; they began to read my lucubrations more respectfully and attentively.

Still this name transformation had its darker consequences. Librarians tend to look upon me as an enemy, since every time they catalogue Kramer, Samuel Noah, they have to add "See also Kramer, Samuel Nathan." And whenever in my many travels I show my passport with its "Samuel Nathan Kramer," I do so with some trepidation, since my suitcases bear the inscription Samuel Noah Kramer," and I might be taken to be some kind of imposter. So much for what the lovable Miss Nellie did to my identity.

I was eight years old on entering the first grade, while most of my classmates had begun their school career at six. But as I was still a good student, I was moved to a more advanced grade several times, so that when I reached the last grade in the elementary school I was fourteen which was the average age of elementary school graduates at the time. I remember these early school days with much pleasure, for my teachers were dedicated and devoted and did their best to give us of their knowledge and learning, however limited these may have been. In fact, throughout my school experience, elementary and advanced, I found most of them sympathetic and sensitive in their attitude to the immigrant "greenhorn" pupils, whom they endeavored to make part and parcel of the American scene—they believed truly and fervently in the American melting-pot and at no time denigrated the mores and customs of the diverse ethnic groups with whom they came in contact. In the present era of rampant "ethnicity," it may not be amiss to help keep the record straight with some mitigating memories of former days.

The Philadelphia public schools were not the sole source of my education. My father, who remained an observant orthodox Jew to the end of his days and who absorbed and assimilated very little of the English language and the American culture, was deeply concerned about my Jewish religious education. At that time there was a Yeshivah in Philadelphia, and he had me matriculated in it not long after our arrival. The hours were from about four in the afternoon to seven in the evening, and there were also sessions on Sunday morning. This, admittedly, did not leave as much time for play. Nevertheless, we Yeshivah students did manage to find time for baseball and other games during recesses and holidays; and our bodies were not neglected altogether, though the educational emphasis was almost entirely on the intellect.

Virtually the sole discipline in the Yeshivah consisted of the study of the Talmud, together with the commentaries composed by medieval scholars. Having a rather logical, analytic mind, I did not find the Talmudic type of close chain reasoning from given, unquestioned, premises, difficult to follow, and I rather enjoyed my Talmudic experience. The pedagogy, to be sure, was at times rather bizarre: the volume on divorce, for example, was taught before the one on marriage, not to mention the fact that neither theme was very close to the hearts of youngsters barely in their teens. Nevertheless, my mental processes were stimulated no little by the Talmudic dialectics and argumentation. It was then, too, that I made a rather interesting psychological observation of the scholarly mentality, one that was corroborated in later life by my academic experience.

Even in those early years I perceived that there were two main types of scholars. There were those whom the Yeshivah professors designated as *genarniks*, a Yiddish word for the students who "fooled" themselves by reciting glibly and smoothly the assigned Talmudic passage no matter how involved and convoluted, without understanding the underlying postulates and reasoning. On the other hand, there were students who tended to hesitate, and even stutter and sputter in their recitation, because they felt the need to make sure of the validity of their data and logical inferences, prior to stating their conclusions. Not infrequently, too, the glib type of student was the possessor of an unerrring memory and could pride himself on remembering the exact page on which any given Talmudic quotation was to be found, a quality that was not characteristic of the sharp analyst. Again, not surprisingly, it was the former who tended to favor the fanciful, mythic, and mystic portions of the Talmud,

while the latter felt more comfortable with the rational, realistic, legal sections. As I learned many years later, a similar dichotomy of attitude and predilection characterizes the academic world and is responsible for no little controversy and contention among professors, including those in my chosen discipline, the Ancient Near East.

I attended the Yeshivah for a good many years all through my grammar-school days and my first years of high school, and I have pleasant memories of a number of my fellow students. Several of my predecessors, whom I admired and even idolized, went on to carve out notable careers for themselves in later life. One was Gershon Agronsky, who became a fervent Zionist and left America for Palestine, where he founded the outstanding English language newspaper, the *Palestine Post*, and became one of the first Jewish mayors of Jerusalem. On the other hand, there was Louis Fisher, who became a well-known journalist deeply sympathetic to atheistic Russian communism, only to reject it later in bitter disillusionment. Two others were Louis Leventhal, who became one of the first Jewish judges in Phildelphia, and Israel Goldstein, who for many years was the spiritual leader of Bene Jeshurun, one of the outstanding synagogues of Conservative Judaism in New York City.

After graduating from grammar school, I matriculated in Southern High. There were very few high schools in Philadelphia at the time. The most prestigious was Central High, but this institution of learning was chiefly attended by richer, more Americanized, and more sophisticated students. Most of the poorer and more recently immigrated Jews lived in South Philadelphia and sent their children to Southern High, which began as a manual-training center but was soon transformed into a liberal-arts school. It was here that I began to get some idea of the scope, content, and importance of secular education. The courses in mathematics, history, literature, and foreign languages opened my eyes, and I began to realize the parochialism and limitations of my Biblical and Talmudic learning. So much so, that when I was midway through the high-school years I persuaded my father to permit me to leave the Yeshivah and instead to attend Gratz College, a Jewish educational institution where the teachers were college graduates who taught in English rather than Yiddish.

Here, in courses scheduled for evenings and Sundays, I first learned Hebrew grammar in a systematic fashion and Jewish history from a relatively secular perspective. I was very much taken with this new approach to Jewish studies, and graduated with high honors, not to mention two prizes of one hundred dollars each, a welcome contribution to the family finances. The Gratz College sojourn was not without influence on my later choice of an academic career, and when, years later, I was invited to prepare an article for the volume commemorating its seventy-fifth jubilee, I did so with a feeling of deep gratitude. My contribution, however, dealt with a Sumerian goddess and idolatrous temples, and I fear revealed how far I had strayed from the college's Jewish-oriented disciplines.

After my graduation from Southern High, there was no question but that I would continue with some form of higher education. There was no money, however, for college tuition, and I decided to matriculate in the Philadelphia School of Pedagogy, which provided two years of free preparatory education for men who wished to become teachers in the Philadelphia elementary-school system. There was a special Normal School for women, who far outnumbered men in the school system. It was a rather unusual teacher-training college, in which the liberal arts, rather than courses in education, were the center of instruction. Its head was a Dr. Brandt, who taught philosophy, and the small faculty included several mavericks who were a very real source of inspiration to the students. The one I remember best was Hugh Mearns who, I believe, later became a professor at Columbia University. In his courses in English, he had us write compositions and short stories which he read with great care and evaluated in considerable detail in private sessions with the students. It was Mearns who aroused in me an appetite for American literature, as well as the notion of becoming a writer, a profession for which, I gradually realized, I was not at all qualified.

Another subject taught in the school that influenced me profoundly was philosophy, and especially the course in the history of Western Philosophy, my favorites being Locke and Hume. Throughout the years of attendance at the School of Pedagogy, I was the diligent, enthusiastic, and not unappreciated secretary of the Philosophy Club under the aegis of Dr. Brandt. What all this did to my Jewish orthodoxy is not difficult to imagine, and it became obvious to me that I could no longer perform the daily prayers with phylacteries bound tight about head and arms. Nor could I attend synagogue or keep the Sabbath without feeling like a hypocrite. It became ever more clear that I would have to come to some compromise arrangement with my father, and that sooner or later I would have to leave home.

In the year 1917, I graduated from the School of Pedagogy. The First World War was then raging, and I enlisted in the Student Army Training Corps. But the war soon came to an end, and I was almost immediately discharged when the SATC was disbanded. During the army training I lived in the dormitories of the University of Pennsylvania, which gave me a taste of living away from home. In the course of the next year I rented an apartment in the Bohemian center-city section, Philadelphia's Latin Quarter, as it were. I was still not free of the writer-complex. Money was no serious problem at the time since my father's Hebrew School in South Philadelphia had become quite popular and was well attended. I now did most of the teaching.

Young, energetic, college-trained, at least in part, I taught the Bible and even the Talmud in the English language, so that the pupils understood and, at least to some extent, appreciated what they were learning. It was this Hebrew School that supported

my father and myself—mother had died rather unexpectedly following a stomach operation—throughout the twenties; in fact, the school was so successful that I could employ one of my close friends, Max Scarf, who was studying medicine, as an associate.

The hours at the Hebrew School were from four to nine in the evening, which left me free during the day. I could now think of continuing my higher education from where it had stopped in the School of Pedagogy. I therefore matriculated in Temple University, Philadelphia's "poor man's" college, where I obtained a Bachelor of Science in Education after two years of study. The courses that attracted and affected me most were those concerned with the history of the novel and drama as taught by a man whose name I vaguely recollect as Robertson. He was a lean, shy professor, soft of voice and sad of face; all of which helped to bring conviction to his constantly repeated melancholy theme that great literature reflected the tragedy of life and the pathos of the human condition.

The inspiration of Mearns and Robertson kindled in me a burning desire to become a novelist and dramatist. Since my days were free, I read avidly the works of the current and classic American and English novelists and dramatists. At the time, the acknowledged *guru* of the American literary scene was H. L. Mencken, and the *Smart Set* magazine which he and the drama critic George Jean Nathan edited was the Bible of young would-be writers. I read it assiduously. It took some years and many rejection slips to convince me that I had no literary talent and had better settle for something less creative and more suited to my rather literal, factual, unimaginative mind. However, those groping years of unwarranted literary expectations did help me understand myself and my mentality.

On looking back I realize that some of the virtues and failings of my scholarship were already apparent in those days of literary dilettantism. For example, my favorite author was Theodore Dreiser, a novelist whose style is dense and unattractive, but who was a master at building and depicting character. On the other hand, I never took to James Branch Cabell, a master of form and style, in spite of Mencken's encomiums and exhortations. This preference for content over form has influenced my scholarship. In studying the Sumerian literary documents, I tend to stress their context and content to the neglect of their formal features, though these are also quite significant. . . .

The years passed, and I was approaching thirty. Having been unsuccessful as a writer, I began looking around for more practical ways of meeting the future. In the Yeshivah days I had a good friend, Herman Silver, whom chance and circumstance led into the printing business where he was doing quite well. Because of our close friendship, he suggested that I join him as a partner. But it took only a year or so to realize that the business would go bankrupt if I continued as partner; I had no business sense whatsoever. I therefore turned once again to academe. For a few weeks I tried the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania. But when the professor of torts began to lecture on his specialty, it sounded so much like the Talmud of Yeshivah days, that I was loath to continue.

I next tried the Department of Philosophy, but after listening to several of the professor's lectures on Kant, I lost my appetite for philosophy. Finally it came to me that I might well go back to my beginnings and try to utilize the Hebrew learning on which I had spent so much of my youth, and to relate it in some way to an academic future. And so in 1925, at the age of twenty-eight, I matriculated in one of America's unique educational institutions, the Dropsie College of Philadelphia for Hebrew and Cognate Learning.

The college building was a rather charming, many-windowed, small two-story structure with a broad impressive lawn in front—I had often passed it admiringly in the years when I was attending nearby Gratz College. Its president at the time was Cyrus Adler, a well-known and highly respected leader of the German Jewish community. Its small and distinguished faculty included one of the world's most renowned Biblical scholars, Max Margolis; Solomon Zeitlin, the learned but controversial Talmudist and historian of the Hebrews at the time of the birth and growth of Christianity; the Arabist Solomon Skoss, a scholar devoted primarily to Judaeo-Arabic studies, and editor of a unique Karaite commentary on the Bible; and Nathaniel Reich, an Austrian Egyptologist who had been invited to the newly established chair of Eyptology. These men opened new horizons for me in Hebrew studies and in their Oriental background. With Margolis, for example, I learned of the existence and importance of the Greek, Latin, and Syriac translations of the Bible. Skoss introduced me to Judaeo-Arabic—that is, medieval Hebrew manuscripts written in Arabic characters. But what attracted me most was Egyptology, and for two years I studied it assiduously and enthusiastically—I well-nigh knew by heart the contents of the remarkable, pedagogically superb, Egyptian grammar published by the great British Egyptologist Alan Gardiner in 1923.

Fate, the inscrutable, however, did not approve of my becoming an Egyptologist—it had other plans for my future. For reasons that are trivial, and need not be gone into here, the professor of Eyptology and I had a falling out, and I left Dropsie College without obtaining a doctorate in Egyptology. By this time, however, I was no stranger to the Philadelphia academic halls of learning. Immediately upon my rupture with Dropsie College I matriculated in the Oriental Department of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania, which included in its faculty George Barton, a prolific but, as I learned later, not very

trustworthy contributor to such facets of Oriental research as Sumerian, Egyptian, and Biblical archaeology; Alan Montgomery, one of the finest American scholars of Hebrew and Aramaic; and a brilliant young scholar, Ephraim Avigdor Speiser, who was to become a leading figure in Near Eastern studies and make fundamental contributions in archaeology, cuneiform literature, and the Bible.

When I came to the department, Speiser, five years my junior, had already published several articles relating to Hebrew linguistics. But his main interest at the time was the cuneiform documents excavated at Nuzi, an ancient site close to the modern city of Kirkuk, in the oil-rich region of northern Iraq. Most of the tablets, dating from about 1300 B.C., had been excavated by his predecessor at the University of Pennsylvania, Edward Chiera, with whom Speiser had collaborated closely as a Fellow in the Oriental Department. These ancient Nuzi documents were written in Akkadian, a Semitic language, although the native population were not Akkadians, but a non-Semitic people, the Hurrians, about whom virtually nothing was known at the time. . . . When I joined the department as a graduate student in 1928, I decided to work with Speiser for my doctorate, and because of his involvement with the Nuzi tablets, it was inevitable that my dissertation would be related to them.

After two years of diligent study under inspiring tutelage, I completed my dissertation, which bore the title "The Verb in the Kirkuk Tablets"; accepted and approved toward the end of 1929, it was published in 1931 in the *Annual* of the American Schools of Oriental Research. . . .

In 1930, I found myself to be the proud possessor of a Ph.D. degree in Oriental studies from the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania. The problem was, however, what to do with it. There were very few universities in America with Oriental departments at that time, and available academic positions were minimal. But then there occurred the first of a series of what might be termed "minor miracles"—strokes of luck, if you like—that came to the rescue of my scholarly career whenever it seemed to be on the verge of collapsing. In 1919 there had come into being the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), a sort of central exchange of all American societies concerned with humanistic research. In 1930, the very year my post-doctoral career began, ACLS instituted a new program of fellowship awards to young scholars, especially those who had only recently graduated and were eager to broaden their studies. At the suggestion of the Oriental Department of the University of Pennsylvania and with the warm recommendation and blessing of its faculty, I applied for and was awarded one of these post-doctoral Fellowships—the amount, if I am not mistaken, was two thousand dollars, enough to keep me for a year in comfort, if not in luxury.

That same year, 1930, my erstwhile professor and mentor, E. A. Speiser, was going to northern Iraq to excavate one of the tells he had surveyed several years earlier, a mound known as Tell Billah, which he hoped would turn out to be the capital of his favorite people, the ancient Hurrians. The ACLS fellowship enabled me to join his expedition as epigrapher, although this is hardly what Speiser needed, since he could read the tablets far better than I could. It was agreed that the members of the expedition were to meet in Baghdad in the fall of 1930 and from there proceed as a group to Tell Billah, some two hundred miles to the north. But I left Philadelphia several months earlier in order to acquaint myself with some of the museums abroad and learn something firsthand about the archaeology of the ancient Near East, before joining the expedition in Baghdad.

## 2. *Tell Billah and Tell Farah: A Timid Epigraphist in Iraq (1930–1931)*

Making plans, as I had occasion to learn more than once in the course of my scholarly career, is relatively easy and painless, but carrying them out is quite another matter. Timid and shy by nature, introspective and withdrawn, I failed to take full advantage of my trip through Europe and the archaeologically informative opportunities it provided. In London, for example, I visited the British Museum several days in a row, but I was too timorous to ring the bell of its famous Student Room, where in later years I spent many a summer, and ask for the Keeper of the department or one of his colleagues to discuss with them the history and significance of the museum's archaeological and epigraphic activities.

In Paris, I stood with palpitating heart before the vast collection of statues and inscriptions excavated some four decades earlier in ancient Lagash, but I dared not ask the whereabouts of the conservateurs and excavators and try to learn something of their plans and projects. Only in Berlin, where I stood enthralled before the fabled Ishtar Gate of Babylon as restored in its *Vorderasiatische* Museum by the river Spree, did I have the courage to ask for an appointment with its director, Walther Andrae, the excavator of Babylon, Ashur, and Farah (ancient Shuruppak), home of the Sumerian Flood-hero. Though I did not know it at the time, it was in the roofless, broken-down excavation house built at Farah by Andrae and his colleagues, that I would make my bed a few months later. And how could I anticipate that one day in the distant future Andrae would honor me with his attendance at one of my lectures on the Sumerians delivered in that very museum then still partially bombed out? Sick in body and almost blind, he had somehow survived Nazi rule and the Second World War. In 1930 he was at the peak of his career. Nevertheless he received me, nonentity that I was, with courtesy and grace, and I left his presence happy and starry-eyed.

From Berlin I journeyed to Istanbul, where I lingered some days in order to visit the archaeological museums situated beside the historic Bosphorus, in the palace grounds of the former sultans. I had no inkling then that Istanbul and its Museum of the Ancient Orient, especially the rooms devoted to its tablet collections, would in later years become a second home to me, Sumerologically speaking. From Istanbul I hastened on to holy Jerusalem, visiting the Jewish sacred places about which I had studied in my youth, little dreaming that one day it would become the capital of Israel, and that I would lecture in its Hebrew University on Sumerian echoes in the Hebrew Bible. From Jerusalem I journeyed to charming, verdant Damascus, and from there by bus over the harsh desert to Baghdad.

In September of 1930 I arrived in Baghdad full of hopes, dreams, and visions. There I was in the fabled city of the caliph Haroun al-Rashid, the capital of Iraq, the land where the mighty empires of Assyria and Babylonia had risen, flourished, and fallen. At first, however, I felt nothing but disappointment and disenchantment. As I trudged the narrow, muddy streets of the shabby Baghdad of forty years ago and traveled the dreary, dilapidated roads of its desolate hinterland, my dreams turned into nightmares and my visions into phantoms. Could this sun-parched, wind-riven, desert-like land have been the home of heroic Gilgamesh, the celebrated ruler of ramparted, broad-marted Erech? Or of the energetic ruler and statesman Hammurabi, immortalized by his pre-Mosaic law code? Or of the mighty kings of Assyria, the scourge of Yahweh, who led their conquering, ravaging armies all the way from remote, mountainous and barbarous Urartu to the southernmost reaches of effete, over-refined Egypt? Or of the powerful Nebuchadnezzar who destroyed Jerusalem and exiled Yahweh's people to pagan, carnal Babylonia? Surely, I thought, there must be some misunderstanding here, some error in tradition, perhaps even a fatuous hoax perpetrated by some spurious archivist or pseudo-historian.

Fortunately for my scholarly peace of mind, I spent several weeks visiting some of the excavations going on at that time in various parts of Iraq and learned something about their exciting finds. . . .

With my faith in the unique significance of Mesopotamian history and culture restored, I came to Tell Billah with romantic hopes and expectations of world-resounding discoveries that turned out to be baseless and deceptive. Tell Billah was not the ruined remains of the ancient capital of the Hurrians, with potentially rich archaeological and historical treasures, but of a rather poor provincial town dating back only to the ancient second millennium B.C. During the two months of my stay there, not a single inscription was uncovered, and I began to feel like a supernumerary, a man with useless expertise, a tablet-reader without tablets to read. To make matters worse, I fell ill with an attack of acute appendicitis, perhaps due in part to frustration and disappointment. I was taken hurriedly to the small, poorly equipped hospital in Mosul, where, fortunately for me, there was a Canadian doctor and an Armenian nurse. There was of course a much larger and better equipped hospital in Baghdad, but my condition was serious, and it was feared that the two-hundred-mile journey might prove fatal. I was operated on in a small dark room in the Mosul hospital, and the doctor told me later that he had me so long under ether that he had not time to sew up the wound with aesthetic care, and I am proud to report that the Mosul scar across my stomach can meet any competition for size and zigzagging. After several weeks of convalescence in Mosul, I was all set to depart once again for Tell Billah, with no appendix and very little enthusiasm, when from a quarter entirely unforeseen and unexpected, the second of my minor miracles came to the rescue and turned melancholy resignation into enthusiastic anticipation.

I mentioned that I traveled to Iraq as a paid Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies, but I should have added that I was also an unpaid Fellow of the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) in Jerusalem and Baghdad. This body, founded in 1900, was supported largely by dues paid by American universities and divinity schools interested in Biblical archaeology. In Jerusalem, the ASOR actually had a building and library. In Baghdad, the ASOR had no building; its presence in Iraq was made manifest only by a professor appointed annually to participate in any American excavations being conducted that year. Sometimes the ASOR also appointed an Honorary Fellow—Honorary, in this case, meaning without honorarium. For the year 1930–1931, Theophile Meek of the University of Toronto was the paid annual professor, and I had the privilege of being Honorary Fellow.

Meek was one of the leading Orientalists of those days, a top-rank Hebrew and Biblical scholar, and a cuneiformist of note. As annual professor of the ASOR he was acting as epigraphist to the Nuzi expedition and was very busy and happy there, because it was unearthing hundreds of tablets dating back to the third millennium B.C., earlier by close to a millennium than the Nuzi documents known till then, for example those that constituted the source material for my dissertation. It was a very exciting, unexpected discovery, and it took all his time to clean the tablets and to try to read and interpret their contents for his preliminary report to be published in the *Bulletin* of the ASOR.

In the midst of this intense and concentrated epigraphic activity, he received a telegram from Eric Schmidt that put him in a quandary. Schmidt had just begun working at Farah, the southern site that had been excavated almost thirty years earlier by Andrae and his associates, and was finding Sumerian tablets, but had no one on his staff to read and study their contents. He

wired Meek requesting him to come down to Farah to act as epigraphist. Reluctant to leave Nuzi and the newly discovered third-millennium tablets, Meek turned to me at Tell Billah and asked whether I would not take his place.

I needed no urging. Early in February 1931, I took the train from Mosul to Baghdad, hired a car to take me to Farah, some hundred miles to the south, and was welcomed by my new "boss" with no little enthusiasm. Quite a number of Sumerian tablets had already been excavated, and unlike Tell Billah, there was an urgent need for an epigraphist to interpret their contents and help to clarify some of the problems besetting the excavators, especially those relating to stratigraphic chronology.

Eric Schmidt, who died in 1964, was a first-generation German of considerable personal charm, who came to America in 1923. After participating in archaeological excavations in Arizona and Anatolia, he organized an expedition under the joint auspices of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, for the purpose of excavating in Iran—he is best known for his excavations at the world-renowned ruins of Persepolis. His excavations at Farah were only a stopover, so to speak, on the road to Iran; he undertook them at the request of Horace Jayne, the director of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, who was interested in sending a permanent expedition to the site—a project that never materialized. The expedition staff lived in tents that were reasonably comfortable. Because an epigraphist had not been planned for, there was no tent for me, and I had to bed down in the roofless ruins of the expedition house built by the Germans close to three decades earlier.

The sandstorms in the Farah region were so savage that when I awoke in the early morning I was literally buried in sand up to my neck. Even eating was often a serious problem. The expedition had on its staff a competent Iranian cook, but cooking was almost impossible because of the constant unremitting storms. Often the food taken from the cans was no sooner placed on the plates than it became sand-covered and inedible. Still I remember the Farah experience as one of the happiest of my life. When Friday, the Moslem day of rest, came and we took our lukewarm showers from improvised perforated cans, sipped a cocktail hopefully free of sand, read our mail, which included an occasional "love letter," and reflected on the week's archaeological finds, we were a merry, contented crew—*mutatis mutandis*, this Friday celebration was almost as hallowed as that of the eve of the Sabbath in my Zashkov youth.

Scattered over the Farah mound were ancient wells full of clay and sand, and some of these had cuneiform tablets imbedded in them. It was my job to dig out these tablets carefully, clean them, and study their contents. By the time the expedition closed, about three hundred Sumerian tablets had been excavated, and I had only a vague idea of their import. The only professor in the Oriental Department who had claimed to know Sumerian was George Barton, but he really knew very little of what it was all about, and I did not get much from his courses. I was therefore deeply troubled lest the reading and interpretation of these documents would prove too difficult for my limited scholarship and I would fail in this, my first fully independent attempt at cuneiform research.

Therefore, when Schmidt and his associates departed for Iran, I turned my face west and journeyed once again to Istanbul and its Museum of the Ancient Orient, which had among its collections a large group of tablets from Farah excavated earlier by Andrae. Permission to study these was given me readily by the Turkish authorities, and after immersing myself for several weeks in the study of their contents, I acquired a deeper understanding of the nature and scope of the Farah documents in general and felt ready to publish the results of my study of the newly found tablets from the Schmidt excavations.

Still, I was quite green and hesitant about some of the formal Sumerological conventions used by recognized cuneiformists in those days—George Barton's system of transliteration, for example, was not accepted by the majority of cuneiformists. From Istanbul, therefore, I decided to journey to the Leipziger Semitisches Institut, which, in those pre-Nazi days, was the world's outstanding institution for cuneiform research. Its head, Benno Landsberger, was one of the keenest minds in the history of Assyriology, and he attracted a group of students that in future years were to excel in cuneiform studies. Landsberger was gracious enough to give me some help in preparing the Farah material for publication, and my study "New Tablets from Farah," appeared in 1932 in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. It was no trail-blazing contribution, but it did help to shed some light on the results of Schmidt's excavations and made me a bit more confident and secure in my calling.

By this time my ACLS Fellowship was beginning to run out, and I had to leave Leipzig for Philadelphia to face the future. Before doing so, however, I became a small-time philanthropist. While in Baghdad I had visited several antique dealers who in those days were uncontrolled agents buying and selling antiquities at will. For some reason that I can no longer recall, one of these took a fancy to me, and seeing how excitedly I was examining some of his tablets that I did not have the money to buy, he put his hand into a baggy receptacle like that carried on the back of a donkey, pulled out about fifty small tablets that he had bought for a couple of pennies each from Arabs digging illicitly on various tells, and presented them to me with his compliments. Planning to bring them with me to America and treasure them as sweet memorabilia of my first Mesopotamian archaeological and epigraphic experience, I took them with me to Leipzig. There I learned that despite its fame, the Semitisches

Institut had not a single cuneiform tablet in its possession, and I donated most of the precious gift to it, as a token of appreciation and gratitude.

In the decades that have passed since, the Leipziger Semitisches Institut has undergone some drastic changes. First came the Nazis and "der Jude Landsberger" had to leave Germany together with two of his best students who were half-Jews. After the Second World War, it came under the control of the East Germans who preferred to make it a center of modern rather than ancient Near Eastern studies. In spite of all the changes, however, rumor has it that the tablets I donated are still there in show cases, a dim reminder of its earlier scholarly interests and achievements.

In June 1931 I returned to Philadelphia, where I could have well used a bit of philanthropy, myself, since the ACLS Fellowship was at an end, and I was penniless and jobless. But not hopeless—it never crossed my mind to give up the scholarly career. . . . One sweet day, another of those minor miracles came to pass, and I packed my bags for Chicago and its Oriental Institute. There I was to stay from 1932 to 1936 as a member of the staff of its Assyrian Dictionary project—a bittersweet experience that gave direction and focus to my scholarly future. I came to the Institute as a groping young Assyriologist and left it five years later as a specialist in Sumerology.

3. *Arno Poebel and Sumerian Grammar (Chicago, 1932–1934)*

. . . On arrival in Chicago, I immediately went to the newly built and impressive Oriental Institute structure where I was interviewed by Chiera and Poebel. I no longer recollect the exact nature of the interview, but in one way or another I must have expressed a strong desire for the Sumerian role in the Assyrian Dictionary, minor though that was. In any case I soon found myself under the guidance and tutelage of Arno Poebel, rather than Edward Chiera, and was assigned an office usually shared with another young colleague, close to Poebel's office and to the large "Dictionary" room where the innumerable word-cards were filed in metal cabinets. . . . It was my task to go through the transliterations and translations of these documents prepared by the senior scholars from America and abroad, to examine carefully their renderings of the Sumerian logograms into Assyrian, and to note these on cards, making sure of their consistency and accuracy before they were utilized in any passage quoted in the dictionary. I found it a very real joy to work on this material, since it provided training in both Sumerian and Assyrian, not to mention that the contents of these documents were new to me, thus enriching my knowledge of aspects of Mesopotamian culture of which I was quite ignorant at the time.

As if this gratifying scholarly labor was not enough to fill my days and nights—the evenings, too, were often spent in the Institute office—I was further enriched by an unexpected and unanticipated bonus that sharpened my scholarly focus and determined my career. The two editors of the Assyrian Dictionary, Chiera and Poebel, were also teaching members of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, which was part of the Humanities Faculty of the University of Chicago. Poebel, who was professor of Sumerology—to my knowledge, the only such chair in the world—taught classes in Sumerian grammar and in the translation of Sumerian texts. The junior members of the Assyrian Dictionary staff were permitted, and even encouraged, to attend these classes. Pedagogically speaking, Poebel was a terrible teacher, no better in some ways than my Talmud teachers of Yeshivah days. But in other respects he was stimulating and inspiring, at least for me—and I was at times the only one attending his classes. His speech was rather slow, low, and monotonous; his English was far from idiomatic; he was given to numerous and prolonged digressions and tended to be repetitive and diffuse. But none of these pedagogical failings was a defect as far as I was concerned. Blessed with neither a quick, brilliant mind or a superior memory, I found that Poebel's repetitions, digressions, and *obiter dicta* were just what I needed to help me understand and digest the principles of Sumerian grammar underlying the intricate and often misleading cuneiform system of writing, as well as the methodology of transforming the dead inscriptions into living informants.

Arno Poebel was in some respects a self-made Sumerologist. In his early years he studied theology and philosophy in Germany and Switzerland. In 1905, he was awarded a Harrison Research Fellowship to the University of Pennsylvania where he acquired his Ph.D. under the supervision of Professor H. V. Hilprecht, who was an eminent Assyriologist, but hardly a Sumerologist of note. In 1907, Poebel returned to Germany and continued his researches, but without a university affiliation. In 1911 he was invited to be a teaching Fellow at the Johns Hopkins University, which provided him with the opportunity to spend much time in nearby Philadelphia at the University Museum where he copied many Sumerian literary, historical, lexical, legal, and administrative texts—this University Museum experience was one of the most fruitful of his career. In 1914 he returned to Germany, where he became a professor at the University of Rostock. There he stayed until 1930 when he was called to the Oriental Institute at the suggestion and recommendation of Edward Chiera, who knew of his pioneering and fundamental Sumerological researches from first-hand personal contact at the University Museum, where he too had been copying cuneiform documents.

In 1923, one of those bitter postwar inflationary years in Germany, Poebel published his *Grundzüge der Sumerischen Grammatik*—he had to publish it at his own expense, since he could find no publisher who would accept it. Based on a painstakingly thorough and minutely detailed study of the Sumerian inscriptions of all periods, from the classical of the third millennium B.C. to the late post-Sumerian of the first millennium, it set down with compelling logic the fundamental rules and principles that govern Sumerian grammar and illustrated them profusely and pertinently whenever possible. Subsequent grammatical studies by Peobel and other scholars have resulted in a number of additions and corrections. But by and large, Poebel's *Grundzüge* has stood the test of time, and has continued to be the cornerstone of all constructive research in the area of Sumerian grammar. As a result of assiduously attending Peobel's classes, I had learned his grammar virtually by heart and mastered its intricacies, complexities, and peculiarities. Over the next several years I published several articles explaining and demonstrating its methodology and significance, and gradually it came to be recognized for the valuable contribution that it is. . . .

My relationship to Poebel evolved into that of a disciple to his master, and on the scholarly level, there developed a friendly intimacy that was a source of gratification to both of us, though I profited most from it. But in 1933, Hitler came to power in Germany, and our relationship deteriorated. I cannot say whether Poebel ever became a "true" Nazi, but there is no doubt that he was a German superpatriot ready to accept whatever anti-Jewish feelings this involved, and the tension between us became inevitable and unbearable. Not only did I no longer attend his classes, but we each tried to avoid the other as much as possible, and if by accident we met in the hallway, we lowered our eyes and passed without greeting. It was not until long after the Second World War that our relationship warmed up once again, though by this time we were separated by the distance between Chicago and Philadelphia. When my first popular work *From the Tablets of Sumer* was published in 1956, I deemed it a privilege to be permitted to dedicate it in these words: "To the Master of Sumerological Method, My Teacher and Colleague, Arno Poebel." Poebel died in 1957, and I traveled to Chicago to bid him goodby forever. But only physically speaking. On the spiritual level, Poebel's hesitating, stuttering, diffident voice still haunts my mind and memory, and my heart is filled with deep gratitude for the debt I owe this unassuming, pioneering scholar.

The rupture of scholarly collaboration with Poebel was a serious blow to me, and I was gravely troubled about my Sumerological future. But in 1933, to lift me out of depression, occurred the third of those minor miracles that played so decisive a role in promoting my career, although unfortunately this began with a tragic event: the unexpected death of Edward Chiera.

4. *Edward Chiera and Sumerian Literature (Chicago, 1934–1936)*

. . . Edward Chiera had, in 1923, traveled to Istanbul as a Crozer Fellow, and copied fifty important Sumerian literary tablets from its Nippur collection. On his return to Philadelphia he devoted every minute he could spare to the study of the Sumerian literary pieces in the Nippur collection of the University Museum. Between 1924 and 1927 he succeeded in preparing admirable copies of two hundred and seventy tablets and fragments inscribed with a varied assortment of the Sumerian literary works, identified the contents of a good many more that he intended to copy at some future date, and began to prepare a glossary of key Sumerian words to enable him to recognize additional crucial duplications that could lead to the restoration of the texts of quite a number of the compositions to which these belonged—in short, Chiera may be said to have laid the groundwork for the recovery and restoration of Sumerian literature, and had he not died unexpectedly he might well have played a leading role in this ongoing process.

In 1927, when he was called to the Oriental Institute to become the editor of the Assyrian Dictionary, Chiera carried with him the copies of the Sumerian literary pieces on which he had labored in the University Museum, and Breasted agreed to have the Oriental Institute publish them in two volumes in one of its publication series. But then death came suddenly, before Chiera was able to complete his notes and prepare the introduction to the books that would help to identify and illuminate their contents, at least to some extent. His copies were thus left stranded and "orphaned," and the editorial department of the Institute in charge of publications was in a quandary. George Allen, the Egyptologist who was head of that department, asked me, a budding Sumerologist, to undertake the preparation of the two volumes for publication.

At the time, I actually knew very little about Sumerian literature and its significance or about the complex problems relating to its recovery and restoration, since I had been working with Poebel mostly on Sumerian grammar. I therefore began to read avidly everything I could lay my hands on that had been said on this subject by earlier scholars, especially those who had already copied and published some of the Nippur literary pieces from Istanbul and Philadelphia. But I soon realized that this area of cuneiform research was virtually untouched. Not only had relatively few Sumerian literary texts been copied and published thus far, but hardly any of the attempts at the translation and interpretation of their contents were reasonably trustworthy or enlightening. This inspired me to greater zeal and determination. I worked day and night trying to read and

understand the documents copied by Chiera, which I had undertaken to edit, regarding it as a task that must not be allowed to fail. I had to make at least enough sense out of Chiera's copied material to enable me to arrange it meaningfully and intelligently for publication and to prepare an Introduction which would be of some help to future researches. Chiera's list of duplicates which he had prepared when working on the Nippur material in the University Museum proved to be most helpful, as did his scattered notes and provisional, tentative glossary. In June 1934, two volumes, *Sumerian Epics and Myths* and *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents*, appeared as volumes III and IV of the Oriental Institute's Cuneiform Series, and I breathed a sigh of relief.

But not for long! I was now taken by Sumerian literature, totally and obsessively, and there was so much to learn and do in this virtually unknown field of humanistic research. Copies of tablets, such as those in the Chiera volumes, were only the roots of the tree; its trunk and branches were the translations and interpretations that would make their contents available to interested humanists the world over. As soon as I had finished preparing Chiera's copies for publication, therefore, I concentrated all my attention and efforts to piecing together with the help of Chiera's list of duplicates the extant text of several Sumerian literary compositions that seemed to be of unusual interest and significance and to try to translate and interpret their contents.

First came a myth which I entitled "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," a rather melancholy tale of the gods that was nevertheless responsible for one of the happier events of my scholarly career. What made this study possible at the time was Chiera's discovery that a tablet inscribed with the first half of this myth had been broken either before or during the Nippur excavations, and one half had gone to Istanbul and the other to Philadelphia. This "long-distance" join provided a partially preserved text of around two hundred lines and enabled me to place in their correct position in the story eight other published pieces, including three that appeared in *Sumerian Epics and Myths*. The resulting edition of the extant text, still quite incomplete, consisting of transliteration, translation, and commentary, was eventually published in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* of 1937.

The second text upon which I concentrated was part of an epic tale that I published under the title "Gilgamesh and the Huluppu-tree" as *Assyriological Study No. 10* of the Oriental Institute. It appeared in 1938, though I had begun working on it as early as 1934. At that time there had already been published eight pieces of tablets inscribed with parts of this poem, but I was unable to place them in their proper position in the text until I gradually learned to utilize certain stylistic clues.

One of the more somber genres of the Sumerian literary repertoire is the lamentation type of composition that bewails and bemoans the sporadic destruction of Sumer and its cities. Among the Nippur pieces copied by Chiera and published in *Sumerian Texts of Varied Content*, there were eight inscribed with parts of a composition that I entitled "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur." In 1930 the French scholar Henri de Genouillac had copied and published a large tablet in the possession of the Louvre which was originally inscribed with the entire text of this composition, but now had a considerable number of breaks that left large gaps in the body of the poem. By piecing together the texts of these nine pieces, I was able to reconstruct the contents of the lamentation almost, but not quite, in their entirety.

The Sumerian literary research that began in 1933 with the preparation of Chiera's posthumous volumes for publication filled me with happiness and joy. My personal life, too, was fulfilled by my marriage, in that same year, to Milly Tokarsky, a Chicago schoolteacher and by the birth of our son Daniel in the following year. The future looked rosy and promising, and in my imagination I saw myself traveling as a member of the Oriental Institute staff to the University Museum in Philadelphia, and to the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul, in order to identify, copy, and study their unpublished Nippur literary tablets and fragments, and thus bring to fruition Chiera's inspiring vision. But Fate played it altogether differently. Eventually, I did travel to Philadelphia and Istanbul, and I did bring Chiera's vision to fruition, at least to a considerable extent; but not as a member of the Oriental Institute. My connection with that institution was severed to all intents and purposes in 1936, after I had suffered one humiliating blow after another, and the days that had dawned in sweet hope, ended in bitter despair.

The first blow came toward the end of 1934. The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures that was part of the Humanities Faculty of the University of Chicago, had its offices in the Oriental Institute, and most of its professors were connected in one way or another with that institution. As a junior member of the Assyrian Dictionary staff, I was part of the Institute, but not of the Department, although I did teach a course in introductory Sumerian, but without stipend or standing in the Department. The chairman of the department was the Arabist, Martin Sprengling, a rather blunt, direct, but not overly sensitive or subtle academic. One day he summoned me to his office, and after a rather warm and expansive greeting, said something like the following: "Sam, we all like you here and think highly of your scholarship. We have therefore decided to appoint you as an instructor in the Department." At this point my heart began to beat with excitement, and my face to shine with joy; then I heard his booming voice continue: "But I must warn you, Sam, that as a Jew you cannot rise in the Department above the position of Assistant Professor. What's more, to balance your appointment, we shall also appoint a gentile as instructor in the Department."

I could hardly believe my ears, and fearing that I would lose control of my emotions, I hurriedly said goodby and rushed out of the office. That night my wife and I spent many an hour discussing this bitter development, and we decided that I should "take it on the chin," and go along as before, and try not to let this matter interfere with my research. This was easier said than done, however. The Institute was no longer a "promised land," and I walked its bare and gloomy halls with averted eye. The denouement to this rather crude bit of anti-Semitism was even more disheartening. When the appointments to the Department were annnounced, the gentile was appointed an instructor, and I was simply renewed as a research assistant on the Assyrian Dictionary staff.

But a more severe blow struck in 1936. Breasted had died in December 1935, and the Oriental Institute was in dire financial difficulty. This was only in part because of his death. The troubles had begun earlier in 1935, when as a result of the ongoing depression in the land, Mr. Rockefeller and the Rockefeller Board, the financial angels of the institution, decided to withdraw their support from almost all its activities, except for one large terminal grant.

As one of the lowest men on the Institute's hierarchical totempole, I knew virtually nothing of all this turmoil until some weeks before the end of the academic year of 1935–1936, when I received a notice of immediate dismissal from the Institute staff. I was among the very last hired by the Institute, and it was therefore not unreasonable that I should be among the first to be fired. But what made this action seem to me most unfair, and even illegal, though the University lawyers did not think so, was the fact that I had not received the dismissal notice in sufficient time to look for another academic position, or even to apply for a grant from some foundation. Milly was expecting our second child at the time, and this made the situation so distressing and intolerable that I decided to do something about it. As I recollect it, I wrote a letter to Wilson stating my case with no little anger and indignation and vowed to picket the Institute with an explanatory sign on my shoulder unless I was appointed for one more year, and given the opportunity to look about for some other academic opening.

To this day I cannot decide whether I would have had the temerity to carry out this one-man demonstration. I am not an activist by nature, and far from aggressive—"Your arms are broken at the elbows," said one dear friend to me—and I might never have been able to lift and hold the accusing wooden post. But fortunately it did not reach that embarassing stage. From some friends in the University I learned that there was a chapter of the American Association of University Professors on the campus, and that its chairman was the distinguished scientist Anton Carlson, of Nobel-prize fame. I turned to him with my complaint and he arranged a meeting with Wilson that resulted in the withdrawal of the dismissal notice, with the understanding that this was to be my terminal year. I immediately applied to the Guggenheim Foundation for one of its fellowships, to enable me to travel to Istanbul and copy some of the Sumerian literary tablets and fragments in the Museum of the Ancient Orient. And miracle of miracles, the application was acted upon favorably and I was awarded a grant of two thousand dollars, if I recollect correctly, for the year 1937–1938. And so in June 1937, the Kramer family—Milly, Daniel aged four, and Judy aged one, pulled up stakes in Chicago and left by freighter for Istanbul.

### 5. *The Gods: Sumerian Mythology (Istanbul and Philadelphia, 1937–1944)*

The freighter took about a month for its leisurely journey to Istanbul, making several stops in the Mediterranean before docking at the Golden Horn. The weather was summery and pleasant. The Kramer family of four constituted more than half the passenger list, and the crew seemed to make a special effort to please. The two children were favorites, and the sailors took time out to teach Judy to walk the deck on her wobbly little legs. Upon arrival in Istanbul we rented a comfortable apartment in Bebek with a Greek family. There was, of course, no central heating—and Istanbul can be quite cold and nasty in winter—and the bathroom and toilet facilities were not exactly modern. The house was situated high up on a hill that had to be climbed several times a day, but the view of the Bosphorus was breath-taking. I traveled to work by ferry, a boat that meandered dreamily from continent to continent along the history-laden Bosphorus.

Not long after our arrival, I paid a courtesy call on the Director of the Archaeological Museums, a building complex that is beautifully situated in a part of Istanbul known as Saray-burnu or "Palace-Nose," where the Sea of Marmara branches out into the gulflike Golden Horn and the winding Bosphorus.

The Director of the Archaeological Museums at that time was Aziz Bey, a member of a distinguished Turkish family—his uncle was the eminent Halil Bey who was largely responsible for metamorphosing the caliph palaces and kiosks into archaeological treasure-houses. Aziz Bey received me cordially and welcomed me warmly. I had of course written to the Turkish Directorate of Antiquities in some detail about the nature and purpose of my visit and had received permission to carry on my research in the museum. What worried me deeply, however, was how to do so effectively and without too many delays. The tablet collection of the Istanbul museum is enormous, second only to that of the British Museum. From ancient Lagash alone it had in its cupboards more than fifty thousand tablets, and in addition it had many thousands from Nippur and other sites that had been excavated in Iraq when it was part of the Turkish empire. I was interested only in a tiny fraction of this vast collection,

the Sumerian literary tablets from Nippur, that at the time could be estimated to be not much more than a thousand or so. Where were these stored? Would I have to examine thousands upon thousands of tablets in order to locate them? If so, this in itself would be an immense and laborious task that might well consume the entire year of the Guggenheim Fellowship. It was with these disturbing thoughts that I followed the guard whom Aziz Bey had instructed to take me to the small building alongside the Museum of the Ancient Orient that housed the tablet collections. There I was met by a young cuneiformist from Leipzig, Rudolph Kraus, and I soon realized that my troubles were over, at least with regard to the location and partial identification of the source material for my researches.

Upon becoming Curator of the Tablet Collection, Kraus had begun cataloguing all its myriad tablets and fragments in order to inform cuneiformists of their contents, a laborious but essential task occupying many years. Fortunately for me, Kraus began with the Nippur collection, and when I arrived at the museum, I was happy to learn that he had already identified roughly, and set aside, several hundred Nippur literary pieces which I could begin to study and copy at once.

Before I did so, however, it was agreed between us that there was a rather unappealing but very useful scholarly chore to perform in connection with the museum's Nippur literary tablets, the task of "collation," that is, the correction of copies made by earlier scholars who for one reason or another had misread or missed altogether some signs on the original. In 1914, almost a quarter of a century before my arrival in Istanbul, the eminent Anglo-American scholar Stephen Langdon had copied and published some fifty of the Nippur literary pieces in the Istanbul museum. Langdon was an energetic and enthusiastic cuneiformist who made numerous important contributions to the discipline. But he was a fast and careless copyist, and many misreadings crept into his copies, errors that were to confuse and bedevil future translators and interpreters of the texts. I therefore spent several months collating his copies with the originals, and the resulting additions and corrections were published in 1940 in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

The collation of Langdon's copies proved useful in another respect—it helped to prepare me for the main task of copying originals. Until this time, the Sumerian literary texts that I had studied were copies, published or unpublished, prepared by other scholars, and these are much easier and smoother to read than the original tablets and fragments. Unlike Poebel and Chiera, I was not blessed with particularly good handwriting and it took weeks of concentrated practice to learn to copy adequately and accurately. Time was passing and I was becoming somewhat panicky—soon the year of the Guggenheim Fellowship would come to an end, and I had made only a few copies of the original tablets. I therefore applied to the Guggenheim Foundation for a renewal of the Fellowship, and to my surprise, the application was again acted upon favorably; the grant was even increased by five hundred dollars to help pay our traveling expenses.

Encouraged by this show of faith in such an esoteric and specialized project, I continued the work with renewed zest and energy, and by the end of the second Guggenheim year, in June 1939, I had copied one hundred and sixty-seven tablets and fragments whose contents ranged over the entire spectrum of Sumerian literary genres. These were not published, however, until 1944, when they appeared under the title "*Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur*" as an *Annual* of the American Schools of Oriental Research, with an introduction in English and Turkish, the Turkish translation having been prepared as a labor of love by two young Turkish conservators. By 1944, I had become an associate curator in the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, something I did not even dream of in 1939, when we left Istanbul to return to Philadelphia.

Upon returning to Philadelphia after two Guggenheim years in Istanbul, I found myself once again virtually penniless, and without a job, or the prospects of one. My wife's father, a retired carpenter, had bought a small farm near Niles, Michigan, and Milly and the children left immediately for that welcome haven. I stayed in Philadelphia with my friends. My object in Philadelphia was twofold: to see if I could get permission from University Museum authorities to study, copy, and publish the Nippur literary pieces in the tablet collection of its Babylonian Section and to try to obtain some financial support for this research activity. And so one day in the fall of 1939 I climbed with fluttering heart the majestic steps of the University Museum and knocked timidly on the door of the office of its Director, Horace Jayne.

Horace Howard Furness Jayne ("Hoddy" to his friends), a specialist in Chinese art and archaeology, was a warm-hearted, and despite his impressive prenomen that indicated high Philadelphia lineage, unpretentious man. He received me cordially, listened sympathetically to my enthusiastic description of the projected research and its importance, and responded favorably to my request. Most of the Nippur tablets, he informed me, were numbered and arranged in metal cases in a room in the basement. A desk and chair would be provided for me, and I could carry on my researches there to my heart's content. The matter of a stipend, or any other source of financial support, was not mentioned throughout our conversations.

I next proceeded to the office of Leon Legrain, the Curator of the Babylonian Section, Hilprecht's successor as Clark Research Professor of Assyriology, to obtain his blessing for the project. He, too, was not unfavorably disposed. In the 1930s, he had represented the Museum in the Joint British-American excavations at Ur, and at the moment was concentrating on preparing copies, indices, and glossaries of about eighteen hundred Ur tablets, virtually all administrative in content. He had lost

all enthusiasm for the Nippur material and was only too happy to have it studied by a younger cuneiformist who seemed to be deeply interested and immersed in it.

I had thus achieved the first objective and immediately began to work zealously and ardently in the tablet-lined basement that was destined to be my happy workshop for the next four years. As for the second objective, someone in the Museum suggested that I apply to the American Philosophical Society for one of its research grants. Rumor had it that this august Society had recently come into some millions, and that it was awarding small research grants to scholars in need of limited financial help. I obtained and filled out one of the Society's application forms, in which I described the project, as well as my qualifications for carrying it out, and asked for a modest stipend of eighteen hundred dollars for the year 1939–1940. To my delight, the grant came through. Solvent once again, I immediately rented an apartment, and the family joined me in Philadelphia, which became our permanent home.

The American Philosophical Society awarded me grants ranging from fifteen hundred to three thousand dollars for the next four years, and this enabled me to continue my researches without interruption. It was not until much later, after I had been elected a member of the Society, that I learned who, among its members, was the Sumerological Santa Claus. The Society is virtually run by committees, one of the most important of which is the Committee on Research. It consists of a dozen or more scholars, each representing a major scientific or humanistic discipline. The scholar responsible for the archaeology of "Bible Lands," which included Mesopotamia, was William Foxwell Albright, whose popular books such as *From the Stone Age to Christianity* and the *Archaeology of Palestine* had made his name a household word.

There were roughly about fifteen thousand in number in the museum's basement; but only a small fraction was inscribed with Sumerian literary texts. It was therefore necessary to work my way through this immense mass of tablets and fragments, to handle each individual piece and scan its contents, in order to identify and put aside for later study those inscribed with texts belonging to one or another of the Sumerian literary works. This was a slow process though not especially difficult, since the Sumerian literary pieces could often be recognized at first glance by their shape and script. After several months of this preparatory labor, I succeeded in identifying six hundred and seventy-five pieces as literary. Of these, approximately one hundred and seventy-five were inscribed with parts of myths and epic tales; about three hundred and fifty were hymns and laments; one hundred and fifty were "wisdom" texts of one sort or another. I now had to decide on which of these literary categories to start working in earnest. But this quandary was soon resolved for me from an unexpected source.

In the early 1940s, the Department of Oriental Studies in the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania, one of the largest and most distinguished in America and abroad, whose courses covered entire Ancient Orient, from the Mediterranean to the Pacific, instituted an Interconnection Seminar. Attended by more professors than students, it had as its goal the bridging of the gap between the various separate Oriental disciplines, as well as the developing of a comparative approach that might uncover some underlying principles applicable to the study of ancient man in general. Every year, a central, pivotal theme was chosen for investigation, and each of the distinguished professors participating, was committed to prepare a comprehensive survey of whatever was known about it in his own geographical area, including and stressing the results of his most recent relevant researches.

I was not a member of the Department at the time, but as one of its former graduates, and a guest-researcher in the Museum, not to mention my continued tenuous connection with the Oriental Institute as "honorary,"—that is, unsalaried—Research Associate on the Assyrian Dictionary staff, I was invited to participate in the educative and illuminating program of this seminar. The theme selected for the year 1940–1941 was cosmogony and cosmology: the ideas, notions, and concepts of the ancient Oriental peoples related to the creation of the universe, the birth of the gods, and the organization of the cosmos. Fred Speiser, my Ph.D. mentor a decade earlier, was to report on the Assyrians and Babylonians; Herman Ranke, an eminent German Egyptologist then teaching in the Department, was to analyze and elucidate the Egyptian views on this elusive and enigmatic theme; the distinguished Sanskritist Norman Brown, was to do the same for the peoples of India, and Derk Bodde, the author in later years of *Peking Diary*, for the peoples of China. I was not an eminent professor or even a member of the Department, but as the only available Sumerologist, it fell to my lot to report on Sumerian cosmogony and cosmology, and this plunged me into the study of the myths of Sumer that was to result in the publication of my first "popular" book, *Sumerian Mythology*.

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14. *Postscript (1975)*

The future, however, now (1975) that I am approaching my seventy-eighth birthday, is hardly my favorite province of concern; and a more appropriate note on which to close this book is my scholarly past: its promises and disappointments, its accomplishments and setbacks, its successes and failures. As I see it, my more enduring contributions to cuneiform research

were threefold. First, and most important, is the key role I played in the recovery, restoration and resurrection of Sumerian literature, or at least a representative cross section of it. To be sure I was by no means the first to be concerned with this humanistic endeavor, nor have I brought it to fruition. But it is through my efforts that several thousand Sumerian literary tablets and fragments have been made available to cuneiformists the world over, a basic reservoir of pure unadulterated data that will endure for many a decade, if not for centuries to come. Secondly, I endeavored, consciously and purposefully, and with a fair degree of success, to make available reasonably reliable translations of many of these documents to the academic community, and especially to the anthropologist, historian, and humanist. Third, I have helped to spread the name of Sumer to the world at large, and to make people aware of the crucial role the Sumerians played in the ascent of civilized man.

As the academic title "Clark Research Professor of Assyriology" indicates, research was always my main interest and concern. But I did not neglect teaching altogether, especially in the form of seminars where I guided younger colleagues and graduate students in the copying, restoring, and translating of one or another of the Sumerian compositions. In my later years for example, I had as many as seven graduate students in close succession who went on to obtain their doctorates with me or my successor, Åke Sjöberg, not to mention one volunteer of mature age, Jane Heimerdinger, who has devoted much of her time to the preparation of copies of hundreds of small fragments that will make many a future Sumerologist happy, by filling in a missing sign, word, or phrase in the text of the composition he happens to be piecing together.

From time to time I also gave courses in Sumerian mythology designed for undergraduates, but I must admit that these were not overly successful. Often the class would start with as many as twenty or more students, but the number would be considerably reduced as the weeks passed. This is one failure, however, of which I am not particularly ashamed. For, as I realized in due course, many of these students came to this course with exaggerated and extravagant notions about the profound cosmic insights of the ancients, and even with some hope for psychiatric therapy for troubled minds and hearts. Instead, they found a rather hard-nosed common-sense agnostic and skeptic who offered them disturbing ambiguities and uncertainties regarding historical *truth*, rather than reassuring and consoling words regarding *salvation*. I would have liked to help and heal their troubled spirits, but I could not think of compromising my scholarly integrity, and had to be satisfied with the few students who persisted, either to amass University credit, or because they were temperamentally attuned to my non-oracular, non-cabbalistic approach to the study of myth.

Throughout this book I have mentioned the Sumerian *lama*, the good angel that came to my rescue in time of need. In two matters dear to my heart, however, I must sadly report, he has failed me. One concerns the hope, or rather the vision of establishing an American Institute of Sumerology, preferably on the campus of the University of Pennsylvania, that would promote research and teaching on all aspects of Sumerian language, history, and culture. But though I have done much to publicize the Sumerians and their crucial role in the history of civilization, I have lacked the charisma to attract and inspire American "angels" to help make this dream a reality, and the *lama* seemed unable to help.

Nor did he serve me better in a more personal desire that I had cherished over the years: to have my ashes buried in Ur, the Sumerian city where—so at least the Bible tells us—Father Abraham was born, as a symbol and as a reminder of Arab-Jewish fellowship and fraternity. This, I fear, is now quite impossible; the political struggle between the two related peoples has become so embittered that even a well-meaning, innocent Sumerian *lama* cannot make this symbolic wish come true. But a Sumerian sage once said, "Friendship lasts a day, kinship lasts forever" and I will therefore not give up the hope that one day ancient Sumer and Ur, resurrected out of dust and ashes by the spade of modern archaeologists, will help revive the spiritual and familial bonds between Arab and Jew.

[This listing is a continuation of the bibliography published in AOAT 25.451–61, and it was compiled with the help of Julia Hardy, to whom I am beholden.]

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—Reviewed in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 33 (1971), 266–268.

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—Reviewed in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 102 (1982), 655.

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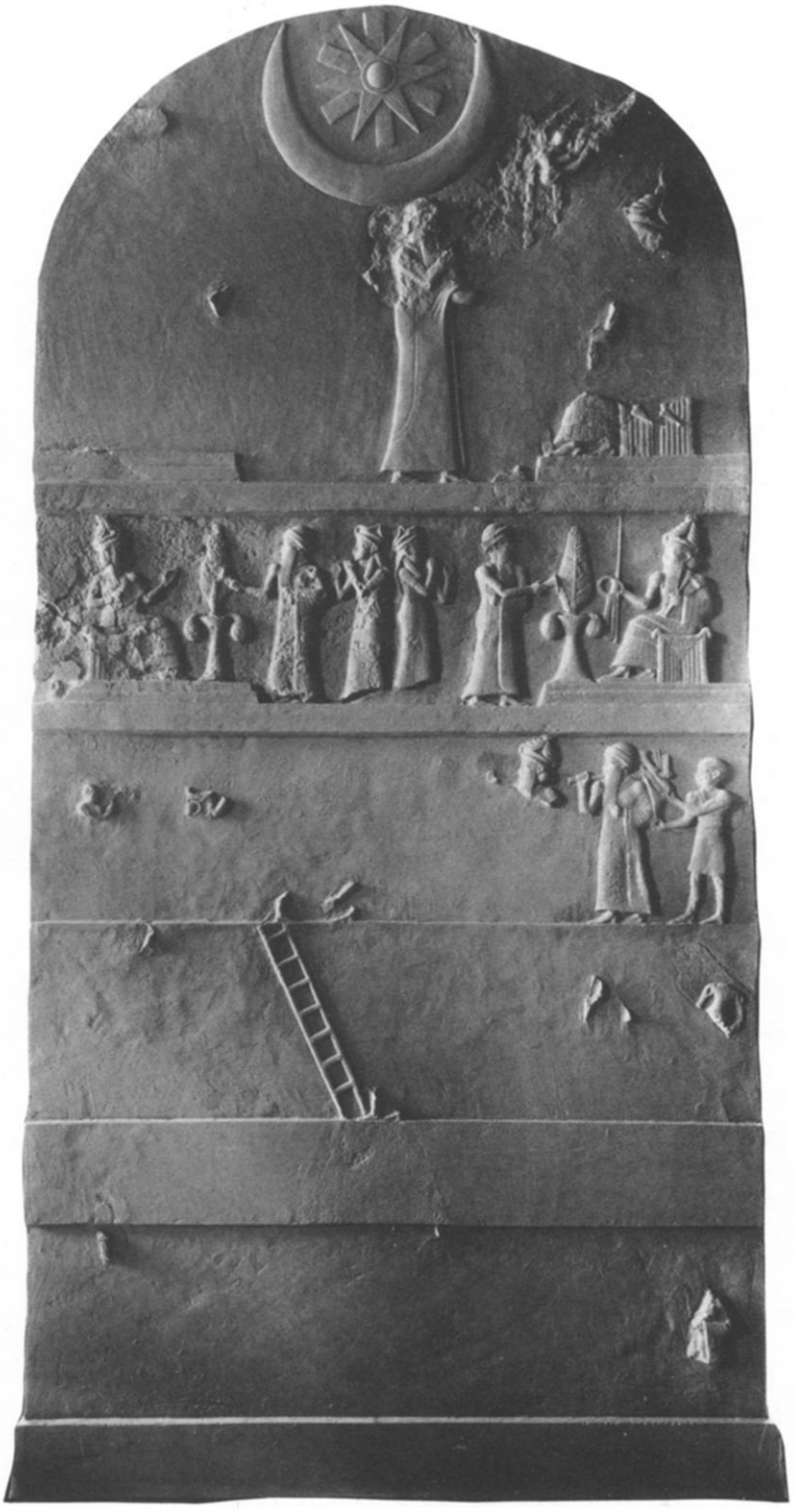
# The Weeping Goddess: Sumerian Prototypes of the *Mater Dolorosa*

by Samuel Noah Kramer

Some time about 2000 B.C., a devastating calamity befell Sumer, a disaster that well-nigh ended the existence of Sumer as a political entity. What made this catastrophe particularly tragic, was the poignant fact that it marked



*Ur-Nammu, the founder of the Third Dynasty, erected this stele at Ur. Only fragments of the stele were preserved, but it has been restored to its original size of approximately ten feet high and five feet wide. The top decorative zone shows the king pouring libations before an enthroned deity. The scene is repeated in the second zone with Ur-Nammu appearing twice—once before the moon-god Nanna and once before the goddess Ningal. The heavily damaged, lower zones of the stele originally depicted the king engaged in building operations. University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.*

the end of a Sumerian renaissance of political and economic power, a period when learning, literature, and music flourished throughout the land. It had begun when a king of Erech by the name of Utuhegal defeated the barbaric Gutian hordes from the east that had subjugated much of Sumer. Utuhegal, however, did not rule long over Sumer—his throne was usurped by one of his ambitious governors, Ur-Nammu, who succeeded in founding the last important Sumerian dynasty, commonly known as the Third Dynasty of Ur. Ur-Nammu reigned for sixteen years and proved to be a capable military leader, a great builder, and an outstanding administrator.[1]

Ur-Nammu was followed by his son Shulgi, who reigned for close to half a century. Shulgi was one of the truly great monarchs of the ancient world: an outstanding military leader, a punctilious administrator, an energetic builder of monumental temples, and, even more important, a veritable cultural Maecenas. He extended Sumer's political power and influence from the Zagros ranges on the east to the Mediterranean Sea on the west. He instituted an effective bookkeeping and accounting system in palace and temple, rearranged the calendar, and standardized weights and measures throughout the land. He brought to completion the construction of Sumer's most imposing stage tower, the ziggurat of Ur, which his father had left unfinished, and built numerous religious structures in the cities of Sumer. He was a lavish patron of the arts—he founded or at least liberally supported Sumer's two major academies of learning, one in Ur and one in Nippur.

But despite Shulgi's remarkable achievements, the dynasty was nearing its end. His two sons, Amar-Sin and Shu-Sin, reigned only nine years each, and we now hear for the first time of serious incursions by nomadic Amorites from the Syro-Arabian desert. Shu-Sin found it necessary to build a huge fortified wall to keep the barbaric nomads at bay, but to no avail. They continued their inroads into Sumer during the reign of Ibbi-Sin, the last king of the dynasty, who succeeded in holding on precariously to his throne for twenty-four years. Throughout his reign, his situation was insecure and even pathetic. Undermined by the repeated incursions of the nomads from the west,

*Detail of copper statuette of Ur-Nammu from the Inanna temple at Nippur.*

and assaulted by the hateful Elamites from the east, his empire tottered and crumbled, and the governors of all the more important cities of Sumer found it advisable to abandon their king and fend for themselves. One of these governors, Ishbi-Irra by name, was a crafty Machiavellian type, who kept on increasing his power by beguiling the confused and rather obtuse Ibbi-Sin with spurious comforting promises and honeyed seductive assurances that lulled the king into a false sense of security. So much so, that in time Sumer found itself under the rule of two kings: Ibbi-Sin, whose dominion was limited to the capital Ur and its environs, and Ishbi-Irra, who controlled most of the other cities of Sumer from his capital Isin.

Finally, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, the Elamites and their allies, the Su-people, overwhelmed and destroyed Ur and led off Ibbi-Sin, and no doubt many of the nobles and priests, into captivity. It was this calamitous event that left a bitter, distressing, harrowing impression on the Sumerian psyche. And in the years following this catastrophe, after Ur had recovered to some extent, when the priestly poets and bards were called upon to help conduct services in Ur's restored temple, they were moved to compose lengthy poems consisting primarily of mournful laments over the sad fate of Sumer and its cities, but all ending on a note of hope and deliverance. It was in the course of composing these heartrending laments that the Sumerian poets created the image of the grieving "weeping goddess," sorrowful, tender, and compassionate.

### The Appearance of the Weeping Goddess in Sumerian Literature

In the course of the centuries that followed, the "weeping goddess" image became a current motif in the dirges and laments that abound in the Sumerian literary repertoire. She appears in numerous and diverse guises: as the divine queen bemoaning the destruction of her city and temple, the suppression of her cult, the suffering of the ravaged and dispersed people. Or, she is the spouse, the sister, and above all the mother, of Dumuzi, or a Dumuzi-like figure, who had been carried off into the nether world, a tragic fate that came to symbolize the death of the king and the destruction of her city and temple. For this paper I have combed the Sumerian literary documents in order to uncover and collect the more significant and intelligible passages that portray in one way or another the role, character, and behavior of the "weeping goddess" as imagined by Sumer's poets and bards over the centuries.

These documents fall into three categories: (1) A group of five city lamentations which give the impres-

[1]Until very recently Ur-Nammu was thought to have promulgated the first written law code in the history of man. Now, new facts have come to light. See my article, "Who Wrote the Ur-Nammu Law Code?" in the forthcoming issue of *Orientalia*.

sion that the destruction of Sumer and its cities was a tragic event whose bitter memories were still rather fresh in the hearts and minds of the Sumerian poets and bards. Two of these, the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur" and the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur," were probably composed no more than a generation or two after the collapse of the Third Dynasty of Ur, that is, about 1900 B.C. The other three, the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Nippur," the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Erech," and the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Eridu," were composed about a century later, during the reign of Ishme-Dagan, the fourth ruler of the Dynasty of Isin. (2) A group of formulaic, repetitive, stereotypical liturgies and litanies that echo from afar, as it were, the destruction of such cities as Kesh, Isin, Ur, Nippur, Erech, Eridu, and Larsa. (3) A considerable number of liturgic laments relating to the death of Dumuzi, or one of the deities that came to be associated with him; most of these are couched in language that is laconic, enigmatic, ambiguous, and obscure.

### Lamentations

**Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur.** By far the most vivid, graphic, and comprehensive delineation of the "weeping goddess" and her agony and torment is found in the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur," a composition of over four hundred lines divided into eleven stanzas. This work bewails the destruction of Ur by the Elamites and the Su-people, and the ravaging of the land by a devastating calamity designated as a cruel, ruthless, and heartless "storm." The first two stanzas set the stage, as it were, for the appearance of Ningal as the "weeping goddess." After bewailing the abandonment of all the more important cities of Sumer by their tutelary deities, these stanzas conclude with an exclamatory address by the poet to the far-famed, high-walled city of Ur, bemoaning its destruction, the carrying off of its people like kids and lambs from their mothers, and the alienation of its rites and rituals.

**It was in the course of composing laments over the sad fate of Sumer and its cities that Sumerian poets created the image of the grieving "weeping goddess," sorrowful, tender, and compassionate.**

The poet then begins the third stanza by introducing the agonizing, sleepless Ningal who seats herself on the ground with her plaintive lyre, and chants a lament, the burden of which is the suffering inflicted upon her by the terrifying, cyclonic destructive storm which she cannot escape day or night and which does not allow her one day of peace and rest. Because of the anguish of the land, the poet has her continue, she trod the earth like a cow in search of its calf, but the land was not delivered of fear. Although, because her city was in agony, she flew to its aid, flapping her wings like a bird in the sky, the city was nevertheless destroyed to its very foundations. Although when spying the "hand of the storm" she cried "Return, Storm, to the steppe," her command was of no avail. The storm chose not to depart. Her Enunkug, her house of queenship, for which she had been promised long days, lay hugging the ground in tears and laments. In her temple, which used to be the place where the spirit of the "blackheads" (that is, the blackheaded people, the Sumerians) was soothed and comforted, wrath and distress now abound instead of joyous celebrations.

Not, cries the grieving goddess, that she had abandoned her city and forsaken her temple—she had tried desperately to prevent the catastrophe that befell Ur and its inhabitants. On the very day that she had learned that the great gods An and Enlil had decreed the destruction of Ur and the extermination of its people, she claims to have poured out "the water of her eyes" before An and to have come as a suppliant before Enlil, pleading with them and saying "Let not Ur be destroyed! Let not its people perish!" But in vain—"An changed not his word. . . . Enlil soothed not my heart (by saying) 'It is good, so be it!'"

Even so, continues the goddess, she refused to resign herself. With bent knees and outstretched arms she came before the council of the gods meeting in solemn session and repeated her plea: "Let not Ur be destroyed! Let not its people perish!" But again in vain. An and Enlil refused to change their cruel verdict and they directed the utter destruction of the city and the death of its people.

With Ningal's plea rejected, the poet devotes the next two stanzas to a detailed, distressing description of the destruction of Ur on Enlil's command. He called the cruel merciless storm, accompanied by raging winds and scorching fire, against the trembling, horrified land. After destroying the cities of Sumer it turned to Ur and "covered it like a garment, enveloped it like a cloth." Ur's high walls were breached by the Elamites and their allies, the Su-people. Dead bodies lay rotting away at Ur's lofty gates and wide promenades; the blood of its people flowed like molten metal in the crucible. Its arms-bearing men died fighting; those who escaped were killed by the storm. Young and old, weak and strong, perished through famine. The old men and old women who stayed in their houses were burnt alive. Disorder and confusion reigned everywhere. Mother forsook daughter; father forsook son; wife and child were abandoned. Ningal, herself, had to flee the city "like a bird on the wing." Ur's possessions were defiled, its storehouses were burnt, its rivers were

dried up. Ninlil, concludes the poet, left the city crying out to her spouse Nanna: "Alas for my city, alas for my house.... Ur has been destroyed, its people have been dispersed!"

The poet now brings the embittered Ningal once again on the scene, and has her utter a long heartbreaking soliloquy bemoaning the fate of her city and temple. An, she cries, has cursed her city, and Enlil has turned inimical to her house. Ur has been destroyed inside and outside. In its rivers dust is heaped high; there is no fresh water. There is no grain in the field; gone is its field-worker. Her palm groves and vineyards have brought forth the mountain-thorn. Her possessions have been carried off to the lands above and below; her precious metals, stones, and lapis lazuli lie scattered about. Her ornaments of precious metal and stone now adorn the bodies of those who "know not" precious metal and stone. Her sons and daughters have been carried off into captivity; she is no longer queen of Ur. Her city and house have been demolished and a strange city and a strange house have been erected in their place. Woe is her, she exclaims, Ur has been destroyed; its people have been put to death; where now shall she sit down, where stand up?

Here the poet interrupts Ningal's mournful soliloquy with a brief three-line passage depicting the goddess's violent emotional state: With tear-filled eyes she tears out her hair like rushes, and beats her breast like a drum. He then has the goddess continue her despondent monologue: Woe is her; her house is a stall torn down whose cows have been dispersed—she was an unworthy shepherdess who let her ewes be struck down by the weapon. Woe is her; she has been exiled from her city and can find no rest, can find no home. As if she were a stranger in a strange city, curses and abuse are pressed upon her and she can say nothing in response.

The goddess now proceeds to berate the personified "City-Fate" and "House-Fate" who had dared approach her for destroying her city and turning her house into ruins, warning them that she will lie down in the debris and, like a fallen ox, rise no more. Finally, turning once again to her city, she concludes her lamentful soliloquy with the accusation that her house had been built in deceit and that her city, from

*This tablet is inscribed with the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth stanzas of the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur." University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.*

which all offerings were now cut off, was devastated by the storm, out of hatred and without cause.

So moved is the poet by Ningal's tears that he exclaims, "O Queen, make your heart like water, how can you keep on living?" and repeats this and parallel phrases as a persistent refrain. Finally, after cataloguing the misfortunes that have overtaken her, he pleads with the goddess to return to the city that loved her and looked up to her like a child to its mother. He begs her to return like an ox to its stall, like a sheep to its fold, like a maiden to her chamber. An, he consoles her, is no longer angry with her, and Enlil will restore her city so that she might once again be its queen.

**Other Lamentations.** So much for the weeping Ningal as portrayed in the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur." Nothing quite comparable to this striking, poignant, sensitive depiction of the "weeping goddess" is to be found in any other extant Sumerian lament, not even in the four other impressive lamentations listed in the first group. In the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur," for example, a composition of over five hundred lines that is of no little historical significance, one of the stanzas mentions briefly virtually every important Sumerian city that had been destroyed by the enemy, as well as the name of its weeping divine queen. But all that the poet says about each of these suffering goddesses is that they cry bitterly "Oh my destroyed city! Oh my destroyed house!"—a vague, colorless assertion that says virtually nothing about any passionate, emotional reaction to the suffering and devastation about them.

In the case of the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Nippur," a composition of which the first part only is a lament, while the second, larger part is actually a song of jubilation celebrating the deliverance of Nippur by the messiahlike Ishme-Dagan, its divine queen Ninlil is only briefly mentioned, and not as a "weeping goddess" but rather as a "great mother" offering a prayer to her spouse Enlil who, according to the poet, had already been moved to mercy and compassion by the plight of the city and its anguished plea for the restoration of his temple and the deliverance of the "blackheads."

The "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Erech" is only about half-preserved and in the extant portion there is no mention of its queen Inanna in the role of a "weeping goddess." Inanna does appear toward the very end of the composition, not as a "weeping goddess" but as the exalted Eve-

ning and Morning Star to whom the poet offers a prayer for the life of Ishme-Dagan who had restored the city and who, he assures her, would serve her faithfully with sacrifices, libations, music, and song. Only in the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Eridu" is there a portrayal of a "weeping goddess" that may be at all compared with that of Ningal in the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur." In this composition the poet depicts the divine queen of Eridu, Damgalnunna, as lacerating her body with dagger and sword and weeping over the destruction of her city and the suppression of her cult. Other cities, she laments, have been destroyed by the deities in charge of them, but none have been completely abandoned, and in time their temple and cult were restored. Why then, she complains, should Eridu and its temple stay desolate and forsaken? On hearing Damgalnunna's plaint, Enki, the Sumerian god of wisdom whose seat was Eridu, becomes extremely despondent but is comforted by the poet who pleads with him to return to his city and temple.

**Liturgies and Litanies**

In the liturgical, litany-padded laments that constitute the second group of documents in which the image of the "weeping goddess" is a prominent structural feature, it is primarily the goddess Ninisinna, the divine queen of Isin (and the several deities associated or identified with her), and Inanna, the divine queen of Erech, who play the leading roles, at least in the extant texts. In one composition, for example, the poet depicts Ninisinna bemoaning the dire consequences of the destruction of her city and temple thus: She now has no savory food and drink; no place to sit or lie down; no dining table with its silver and bronze vessels; no sweet-sounding musical instruments such as the lyre, drum, tambourine, and reed pipe; no comforting songs and soothing words from the temple singers and priests. Her spouse and her son no longer live with her; she can no longer walk proudly in her own house.

**Nothing comparable to the striking depiction of the "weeping goddess" in the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur" can be found in any other Sumerian lament.**

In another of these liturgical laments, Ninisinna complains bitterly that it is the cruel relentless word of An and Enlil that have brought about the destruction of her temple by the enemy, who carried off her possessions in boats loaded front and rear; who came into her holy cella without taking off his shoes; who laid a terrifying hand on her; who tore off her garments and dressed his wife with them; who ripped off her ornaments and adorned his child with them. So terrified was she, the goddess grieves, that she darted to the roof of her house like a frightened dove; fluttered about in the crevices like a bat; fled her city and house like a bird on the wing; exclaimed, "You are not my house, you are not my city" when he kept calling after her.

The poet now introduces a motif that in one form or another appears in several of the liturgic laments: the goddess's despondent response to the accusation that it was she herself who had dishonored herself by destroying her house and city. No, the poet has the goddess assert, it was not she who was responsible—it was her "father" An, and/or Enlil, the lord of all the lands, who did these terrible things to her.

Another of these Ninisinna liturgies, one that may be entitled "The Goddess and Her Lyre: A Doleful Dialogue," begins with a bitter soliloquy by the goddess in which she laments the tragic misfortune that has befallen when the stormlike, cruel word of An and Enlil overtook her: Her city and house were devastated; deprived of her possessions and of her husband and son, she wanders about aimless and overcome; the fledglings of her nest are hungry, the young of her stall are thirsty; her Dilmun boat has been sunk in the swamps and her fishing boat is lost in the marshes; she is an enemy in her own city, despised in her birthplace, without strength and willpower. After an obscure passage in which the goddess continues to lament for her ravaged city and house, she solemnly proclaims that she has decided to flee the word of An and Enlil and hide where no one can find her, not even they who seek her in the most desolate places. These mournful words so move her lyre, which the poet imagines to be in earshot of the sombre soliloquy, that it breaks into a lamentful chant addressed to the goddess, the burden of which is that her flight from the word of An and Enlil will only make matters worse: The princely children will rush pell-mell out of her sheepfold and will be cut down by the word of An and Enlil. The response of the goddess is not clear, but to judge from the general tone of her speech which continues to dwell on the dreaded word of An and Enlil, she remains firm in her resolve to flee.

One of these Ninisinna liturgic compositions, consisting of close to six hundred lines, is inscribed on a ten-column tablet which is more than half-preserved. The text, which is replete with repetitious litanies and refrains, nevertheless adds to the repertoire of plaints uttered by the "weeping goddess." Thus we find the poet picturing her as walking about bent low in her defiled cult chamber, bemoaning the devastation of her temple and her treasure house that was once overflowing with riches but is now so desolate and dust-covered that even dogs and scorpions have abandoned it; the doves flee its crum-

bled spires; its much admired gates are broken down and desolate; its roof beams lie in the sun like a man who is disease-ridden; its lofty brickwork lies weeping like a grieving woman; its reed mats squirm and twist like a man afflicted by colic; its roof hedges lie scattered on the ground like ripped-out hair; its hedgerows (?) dart into the crevices like flying bats; its door posts lie rubbed raw like a man water-scrubbed; its door hinges have been torn apart; its locks and bolts groan and moan; her lofty cult chamber has been given to the wind. It is Enlil, she complains bitterly, who dishonored her temple and brought moaning and weeping into her house that had been built for the celebration of joyous feasts.

Fate, bitter tragic fate symbolized by the nether-world demon Namtar, is frequently mentioned in the Sumerian lamentations. But there is one liturgic composition, a rather difficult text found in several versions according to which the "weeping goddess" is either Ninisinna or Inanna, that treats Namtar as the villain par excellence, the goddess's *bete noir* as it were. Beginning with the mournful words "I will cry woe, I will cry oh; I will cry woe, I will cry oh again and again; I will cry woe for my house, I will cry oh for my city," the goddess complains that Namtar is standing at her side day and night; she married a spouse but now has no spouse; she gave birth to a son but now has no son; like a ewe she cherished a strange lamb; like a mother-goat she cherished a strange kid; she has been devastated in her own city; her friends, male and female, are distraught because of her. She therefore announces her decision to go to Enlil's "House of Fate" and bring him her defiant complaint. Pressing open the door and crying out "Open, Namtar" she accuses Enlil of decreeing a wretched fate for her. But her cry is in vain. Namtar, she continues, looked at her angrily, screamed at her, and clung tenaciously to her lap and side, so that she became even more despondent, because of her desolation.

Namtar, she weeps, brought her misery as if it were a silver ornament for her hand and a precious stone for her neck; then he added insult to injury by pressing her to meet fate with a cheerful face, to rejoice in the death of her husband and son. But, she retorts

*The goddess Ningal is portrayed in this diorite statue which was dedicated by the high priest, Enannatum (2080 B.C.). University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.*

defiantly, she is not a slave-girl and will not submit to fate; though she be made to stagger when walking and to bow her head when sitting, though her hair be ripped out and her skin torn apart, she will not submit.

Burdened as she is with Namtar on her lap, she proclaims that she has decided to journey to the steppe where she will drink water from unfamiliar rivers, eat grain from unfamiliar fields, walk about in unfamiliar paths. But even there, in the steppe, she complains, she is hunted by Namtar as birds are hunted in the canebrake. There, moreover, a new calamity befalls her; she is afflicted by Asag, the demon of disease. And so she cries out to her mother about her wretched fate: No one now seeks her out in the steppe, no one asks about her, not even Enlil as he walks to his stall; she is treated like an unmentionable ghost of the steppe. And when her mother tries to console her, imploring her not to cry for she is beautiful and lovely, adorned with kohl and bedecked with ornaments, and urging her to keep on beautifying herself, to wash and soap herself, to paint her eyes with kohl, and to put on clean clothes, she responds despondently that there is no lyric chant in her broken heart and that no one who sees her shamed face and mumbling lips will have any sympathy for her. The composition, rather strangely, closes with an obscure four-line address to the goddess that relates in some way to the death of Gilgamesh, an enigmatic ending whose real meaning is at present difficult to penetrate.

The indictment of Enlil as the god responsible for the goddess's misfortune is also underlined in at least two other compositions in which Inanna plays the role of the "weeping goddess." In a long liturgy of several hundred lines that is only about half-preserved, the poet depicts the goddess bewailing the destruction of her city and temple and the pillaging of her possessions; she sighs and moans by the Euphrates and its canals, without food to eat and water to drink; she wanders about aimlessly crying "oh and woe" for the dead "lord" of her house. And when she is chided for her shameful part in the destruction of her city and temple, she responds despairingly that it is not she who did it but her father Enlil.

An even more vivid example of Inanna's complaint against Enlil is found in an Inanna lament inscribed on an as yet unpublished tablet in the British Museum. Beginning with the goddess's reproach that he, Enlil, had filled her with dismay and consternation, the text continues with a picture of Inanna seated before Enlil in his temple, demanding answers to her bitter, plaintive queries. She wants him to tell her, now that her house and city have been destroyed and her spouse and son no longer live there, where is she to find a home. Or, as the weeping goddess herself puts it:

> The bird has its nesting place,
> but I—my young are
> dispersed;
> The fish lies in calm waters,
> but I—my resting place
> exists not;
> The dog kneels at the thresh-
> old, but I—I have no
> threshold;
> The ox has its stall, but
> I—I have no stall;
> The cow has a place to lie
> down, but I—I have no place
> to lie down;
> The ewe has its fold, but
> I—I have no fold;
> The beasts have a place to
> sleep, but I—I have no place
> to sleep.

Inanna's homelessness is also a motif in another liturgy that begins with the familiar cry of woe for her temple that had been so devastated that even the dog and the scorpion, not to mention humans, abandoned it. In this case, however, it is the poet, not the goddess, who asks plaintively, where will she live now that she allowed the storm to roar day and night in her temple and cella? Moreover he chides the goddess for permitting this shameful act. Inanna's expected answer, that it was Enlil who did it, is probably omitted in this composition, which seems to end in medias res.

Finally, there is a brief poignant lament by Inanna that summarizes much of the tone, mood, and content of the much longer formulaic liturgies:

> I, the hierodule of An, the
> Queen of Heaven—
> I, the destroyer of mountains,
> the Queen of Eanna—
> My house that had been built
> for me in a dream,
> My city that had been built for
> me in a dream,
> My house that fecundates like
> stalls and sheepfolds,
> My house that fecundates like
> sheep in the sheepfold,
> My house where the seal-
> cutter cuts seals,
> My house where the lapis-
> lazuli worker, works lapis
> lazuli,
> My (house) at whose gate one
> stands in wonder,
> My sanctuary of all mankind,
> My treasure house of all the
> lands—
> When it was built, the land,
> too, was built,
> When it was destroyed, the
> land was destroyed with it.
> The comely spouse has been
> carried off by the enemy;
> The comely son has been
> carried off by the enemy;
> Its great feasts are no longer
> properly celebrated;
> Its precious *me* (divine powers)
> are locked away;
> Its collected *me* stand (useless)
> in the corner;
> Its rites have been altered, its
> reign has turned hostile.
> The righteous house—its reign
> has been transformed into
> a hostile reign;
> The righteous house has been
> devastated; it has been turned
> over to the wind.

The capture and death of the husband and son referred to in the above lament constitute a recurrent stereotypical motif in the liturgical "weeping goddess" laments, especially those relating to the goddesses Ninisinna and Inanna. In none of these liturgies is the husband or son identified by name, and this poses somewhat of a quandary. In the case of Inanna it would seem reasonable to assume that the husband refers to her spouse Dumuzi (or the king who was deemed to be an avatar of Dumuzi) who, mythologically speaking, was carried off bound and fettered to the nether world—there is, however, no son of Inanna who suffered death and captivity. In the case of Ninisinna, on the other hand, it was her son Damu, a deity often associated and interchanged with Dumuzi, who

*This tablet from Nippur dates to Dynasty I of Isin and records the "Myth of Enlil and Ninlil." University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.*

was carried off to the land of the dead—her husband, Pabilsag by name, is not characterized as a dying god in any extant text. Inanna, it might therefore be expected, should be mourning only for her doomed husband, and Ninisinna only for her doomed son. Since, however, the two goddesses are often interchanged in the liturgies, their authors and redactors did not seem to find it necessary to distinguish between them and to specify who mourned for whom in the husband-son motif that had become a literary stereotype. This brings us to the third class of "weeping goddess" compositions, those consisting of laments for the capture and death of Dumuzi and Damu, and the deities who for some unknown reason had come to be associated with them.

**Laments for Dumuzi, Damu, or Associates**

In the case of Dumuzi, the "weeping goddesses" who mourned his cruel fate were his spouse Inanna, his sister Geshtinanna, and his mother Ninsun. This is put succinctly in a recently published new version of the death of Dumuzi in which the poet has Dumuzi himself bemoaning his cruel fate and actually imagining and visualizing his spouse Inanna weeping bitterly for him in her temple Eanna, while his sister Geshtinanna rips out her hair and rends her sinews by the boulevard of his mother Ninsun. To be sure, Inanna's tears for her spouse are, in a sense, crocodile tears, since it was she herself who according to the myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," turned him over to the cruel little demons to carry him off bound and fettered to the "land of no return." Nevertheless the poets did not seem to find it incongruous to portray her as weeping for the husband/son who had been taken captive and put to death in Kullab, a district in her city of Erech, and lamenting:

Gone now is my husband,
sweet husband;
Gone now is my son, sweet
son;
My husband has gone among
the early plants;
My son has gone among the
late plants;
My husband who has gone
to seek plants, has been
given over to the plants;
My son who has gone to
seek water, has been given
over to the water;
My bridegroom has de-
parted from the city as if
it were a fly-infested place;
He has departed from the
city as if it were infected
with early-plant flies.

According to another composition consisting almost entirely of a lament uttered by Inanna, it was not the nether-world demons who carried off Dumuzi but, strange and inexplicable as it may seem, a bison with mottled eyes and crushing teeth. Lamenting for her husband Dumuzi, who is no longer alive, she weeps:

Wild ox, how can you lie
there—the ewe and its lamb
have fallen alseep;
Wild ox, how can you lie
there—the mother-goat and
its kid have fallen alseep.

**Fate, bitter tragic fate, is frequently mentioned in the Sumerian lamentations.**

She then decides to go looking for him in the "Hill of the Bison" and keeps asking for his whereabouts, for him "who is no longer given food to eat and water to drink." When the answer is given that the bison has carried him off to the nether world, she pleads with him not to seal tight his comely open eyes and not to silence his comely open mouth. But her plea is in vain, and she concludes her lament with these mournful lines:

On his cot the dog lies;
My man—in his hut the
raven dwells;
His flute-song the wind utters;
My man—his chants the North
Wind utters.

While there may be some doubt about the sincerity of Inanna's tears for her spouse, there is no doubt whatever about the deep concern and profound agony of Dumuzi's sister Geshtinanna who, according to the mythographers, loved him so dearly that she was prepared to sacrifice her own life to save his. There must have existed numerous laments uttered by Geshtinanna for her brother in the Sumerian literary repertoire, but at present only a few brief dirges can be identified as having been uttered by the goddess. One of these is part of a telescoped version of the myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" in which Geshtinanna plays a major role. The scene for this brief lament is set in Geshtinanna's home whither Dumuzi, beaten and tortured, has fled to escape the pursuing nether-world demons. Upon catching sight of her unfortunate brother, Geshtinanna lacerates her body and weeps:

Oh my brother, oh my brother,
lad whose days have not
been fulfilled,
Oh my brother, Shepherd
Aamushungalanna, lad whose
days and years have not
been fulfilled,
Oh my brother, lad who has no
wife, who has no son,
Oh my brother, lad who has no
friend, who has no
companion,
Oh my brother, lad who brings
no comfort to his mother.

In another brief passage that is part of a complex and obscure composition, Geshtinanna thinks of herself as Dumuzi's mother as well as his sister. Thus, according to the poet, when Dumuzi tells her that he would go to his mother, weeping and crying like a small child, she seems to comfort him with these ambiguous words:

Oh my brother with the *lumlum*
eyes, with the *lamlam* eyes,
Who is your sister? I am your
sister;
Who is your mother? I am your
mother.
The sun that rises for you rises
also for me;
The sun that gazes upon you,
gazes also upon me.

As for Dumuzi's mother Ninsun, we have at present only one reasonably intelligible lament actually uttered by the goddess for her son—its laconic repetitive contents may be paraphrased as follows: Her heart, she cries, has set up a dirge in the steppe, on the shepherd's hill, where Dumuzi lies bound and fettered, "where the ewe has given up its lamb, the mother-goat has given up its kid." Having heard her suffering son plead "Would that my mother could reach me!" she can only repeat helplessly, "My heart has set up a dirge in the steppe." The

**On his cot the dog lies;**
**My man—in his hut the raven dwells;**
**His flute-song the wind utters;**
**My man—his chants the North Wind utters.**

text closes with a portrayal of the mother who, having braced her drooping hands and feet, arrived at the place her son was lying and gazed with a shudder upon his lifeless face.

Since Dumuzi, the son of Ninsun, is often fused and confused with Damu, the son of Ninisinna in the dying-god laments, it is not surprising to find that the mothers, too, were sometimes interchanged, so that it is not clear who mourned whom. This is especially true of a composition entitled by the ancient scribes "In the Steppe Among the Early Plants," which is concerned primarily with the mother's search for her lost son. The sequence of events in this long and rather obscure text is quite uncertain. It may have begun with the mother comparing her missing son metaphorically to a dead tamarisk, to an uprooted poplar, to withered plants. It continues with the mother cursing the day when she was bereft of her son, as she wanders from canebrake to canebrake pleading that someone reveal to her the whereabouts of her son. When she is informed that he has been carried off by the fiendish deputies of the nether world who will not return him to her, she proceeds to the deputy-gate and pleads for the return of her son, but to no avail—Dumuzi was now in the land of the dead, and unable to respond to his mother's tears.

In quite a number of the *mater dolorosa* compositions, the name of the lost martyred son is not stated, and it is uncertain whether the mother is mourning Dumuzi, Damu, or some other of the dying-god prototypes. Thus there is one partially preserved lament attributed to the goddess Ninisinna, who is depicted as a woebegone mother who had wedded a spouse but now has no husband, who had given birth to a son but now has no son, and who rushes about searching desperately for her unnamed son whom has been taken from her and whom she compares to a choice donkey-foal that has been abducted, a lamb snatched by a wild beast, a calf carried off by a wild beast. In her own city, she exclaims, she has been mistreated; she is a ewe whose lamb has been taken from her, a mother-goat whose kid has been taken from her; with a heart that is disconsolate and bewildered, she pleads nonetheless that her city and temple not be destroyed.

This tablet from Nippur records the "Lament for Dumuzi." University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

In another of the *mater dolorosa* compositions it is the great mother-goddess Ninhursag (or two of the deities associated with her) that is mourning her unnamed son. The first part of this composition is virtually identical with that of the Ninisinna text just cited. But the burden of Ninhursag's lament that constitutes the second half is quite different—it centers on the futility and profitlessness of her having wedded a loving spouse and having given birth to a princely son, a choice donkey-foal, whom death would take from her.

Ninhursag is the *mater dolorosa* in a dying-god composition inscribed on a tablet in the British Museum that has only just been edited (1982). According to this text, the goddess's comely, attractive, unnamed son had disappeared, and she went about searching and questioning in the vicinity of a mountain, which she traversed from base to summit. Carrying rushes and reeds in front of her, the goddess, designated as "the mother of the lad" and "the mother of the lord," sets up a lament among the reed thickets. The burden of her plaint is largely unintelligible—it seems to involve a fallen meteor that had turned noon to dusk, setting the earth atremble and interfering with her search. In any case she did not find her missing son, and it was finally revealed to the weeping goddess, portrayed as a cow lowing to its unresponding calf, that there was no point to her searching and lamenting—her son is in the nether world, and the officials in charge will not give him back to her.

One of the goddesses associated with Ninhursag in the composition just cited is her daughter Lisin who is the *mater dolorosa* in two dying-god laments that have only recently come to light. One of these is a fairly well-preserved text of seventy-six lines that is quite remarkable for its relatively rich and surprising content as well as for its metaphor-oriented style. The poet sets the stage with a brief introductory passage: The goddess Lisin, after searching in vain over meadow and high steppe for her lost son, turns pale and weeps, uttering her cry of woe in regions high and low. After pleading to no avail that her

*These tablets from Nippur are inscribed with the story of "Inanna's Descent." University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.*

unnamed son—she depicts him metaphorically throughout the text as a choice donkey-foal who has been torn to pieces by a pack of dogs, as a bird whose nest has been destroyed, as a calf whose sleeping place has been destroyed, as a wild donkey cut down in the forest, as a canal inspector overcome by the river, as a farmer whose field has been inundated— be returned to her, she lies down among the saplings and laments once again for her metaphorically designated son. The poet now introduces a rather startling motif unknown from any other literary source: Lisin accuses her own mother Ninhursag of having put to death her son, that is, Ninhursag's own grandson. To quote the goddess:

> To whom shall I compare her?
> To whom shall I compare her? I—to whom shall I compare her?
> My young hero—my mother has killed him. I—to whom can I compare her?
> My mother who bore me, Ninhursag,
> My mother has killed him. I—to whom shall I compare her?
> To a bitch that has no compassion I shall compare her again and again.

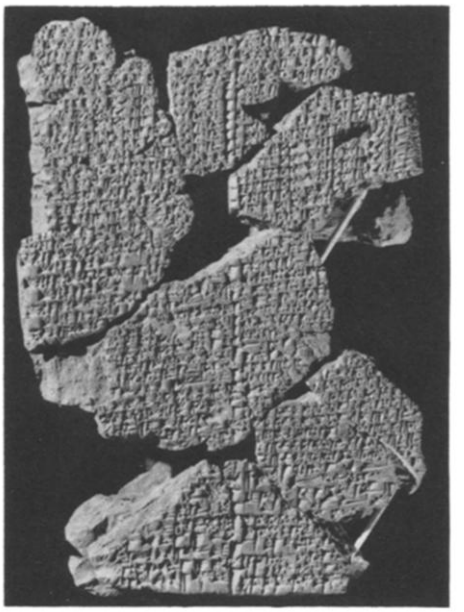
Lisin, according to the poet, now seats herself all alone with aching heart and continues her plaint with special stress on her loneliness and alienation:

> Like a celibate I will weep and weep.
> Like one who has no boyfriend I will eat all by myself;
> Like one who has no girlfriend I will eat all by myself;
> The doorstep of my house—that is my sister;
> The doorbolt of my house—that is my brother;
> The marshes have taken my donkey-foal, the sweet;
> I will make weeping "live" for my choice donkey-foal;
> I will make sighing "live" for my choice donkey-foal;
> I have offered a prayer for his head;
> I have invoked (?) a blessing (?) for his cheek.

The poet now depicts the goddess as lowing anew for her choice donkey-foal like a cow, and braying for him like a donkey-mare along the marshes and river, repeating the lament for the loss of her son, and the denunciation of her mother as a pitiless bitch. Embittered and despondent the goddess abandons her city and sits down all alone with a *kurgarra* (a being connected in some way with the nether world) at her head and Namtar, the demon of death, at her cheek; tears of lament flow from her eyes.

Finally, it is probably Lisin who is portrayed as the *mater dolorosa* in a composition of forty-five lines that is fairly well preserved but whose contents are laconic, allusive, ambiguous, and

obscure. As I very tentatively interpret the text, it consists of an introduction describing the suffering of the woebegone, fasting goddess Lisin; an obscure narrative passage concerns the search for her son in the river, the bringing of his corpse to her by the official in charge, and the setting up of her grieving lament; the lament itself, the burden of which is that because of a violent destructive tempest sent against her by the Father (unnamed —perhaps the god Enlil), she was wrecked like a boat and forced to surrender her son to the waters. Following the plea by the goddess to the skipper of a boat sailing downstream not to set aquiver her son who is also sailing, as it were, on the waters and not to force him to gash his nose like a river frog but to keep searching for him in river and marsh, the poet concludes the composition with a melancholy three-line address to Lisin's dead son, bemoaning the grievous suffering of the mother who is restless and unable to sleep.



*This tablet in the Hilprecht Collection of the Friederich-Schiller University in Jena, East Germany, is inscribed with the seventh stanza and part of the eighth stanza of the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur."*

## Bibliographical Guide

Below is a list of the works of Sumerian literature discussed in this article. The bold numbers that appear after items refer to the following reference list. For a general overview of this literature, see references **2**, **3** (pp. 1–40), **8** (pp. 277–325), **20** (pp. 11–51), and **21** (pp. 1–7).

"Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur": **4**, **9**, **11**, **13**.
"Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur": **14**.
"Lamentation Over the Destruction of Nippur": **12**.
"Lamentation Over the Destruction of Erech": **8** (p. 293).
"Lamentation Over the Destruction of Eridu": **8** (pp. 326–74).
First Ninisinna liturgic lament: **3** (pp. 103–06).
Second Ninisinna lament: **23** (pp. 374–79).
Third Ninisinna lament: **23** (pp. 363–69).
Fourth Ninisinna lament: **20** (pp. 52–223).
"Fate" lament: **3** (pp. 96–103 and 175–79).
First Inanna liturgic lament: **1**, **7** (pls. 35–38), **17** (p. 297).
Second Inanna lament: **15** (pp. 91–93), **17** (p. 297).
Third Inanna lament: **3** (pp. 66–69 and 158–59).
Fourth Inanna lament: **3** (pp. 70–71 and 159–61).
Death of Dumuzi: **16**.
Inanna's husband/son lament: **3** (pp. 73–74), **10** (p. 50).
"Bison" lament: **3** (pp. 89–91 and 170–74).
First Geshtinanna passage: **22** (p. 228, lines 42–46).
Second Geshtinanna passage: **10** (p. 68).
Ninsun lament: **10** (pp. 54–55).
"In the Steppe Among the Early Plants": **10** (pp. 63–66).
Ninisinna *mater dolorosa* lament: **6** (No. 19).
First Ninhursag *mater dolorosa* lament: **10** (p. 105).
Second Ninhursag *mater dolorosa* lament: **18**.
First Lisin *mater dolorosa* lament: **5** (No. 144), **10** (p. 106).
Second Lisin *mater dolorosa* lament: **19**.

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*This is a detail of the stele of Ur-Nammu shown on page 69. The king is represented twice. On the right Ur-Nammu stands as he pours libations before the moon-god Nanna. The seated figure's multihorned headdress and his throne, decorated like a temple facade, indicate he is a god. In his right hand Nanna holds the "line and the rod," surveying instruments used to build a temple. This scene is mirrored on the left with Ur-Nammu facing the opposite direction toward Nanna's consort, the goddess Ningal. In each case, Ur-Nammu is followed by a minor goddess with uplifted arms. University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.*

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# BM 23631: Bread for Enlil, Sex for Inanna

(Tab. II-IV)

Samuel Noah KRAMER

BM 23631 is a four-column tablet (two on the obverse and two on the reverse) inscribed with two compositions designated by the scribe as sìr-nam-šub's of Utu[1]. The first of these consists of approximately 102 lines of which the first 68 are quite well preserved, while the last 34 are either destroyed or illegible[2]. The second sìr-nam-šub consists of 55 lines, of which the first 16 are virtually entirely illegible while the last thirty-nine are in almost perfect condition.

The first sìr-nam-šub is divided by the scribe into nine kirugu, in the first four of which, rather surprisingly, it is Enlil, rather than Utu, who plays the major role. To judge from the third of these kirugu, the author was interested primarily in depicting a ritual involving a temple-priest, a worshipper designated as a "righteous man" or "the most righteous of men" (perhaps, the king), the god Enlil, and his sukkal Nusku. As the poet saw it in his imagination, the worshipper has come into the temple with bread, beer, wine, and flour, and presented them to the temple-priest who exhorts Nusku to pour out the beer and wine for his lord Enlil. Whereupon Nusku turns to Enlil and pleads with him to accept the food and liquor which the worshipper brought, and to eat and drink them so that plants and grains may exist in the field and carp-fish in the river.

But the securing of food for mankind was not the sole, or even primary purpose of the ritual. Rather, it was intended to assure long life to the "righteous man", as is evident from the strong emphasis of this theme in the second kirugu, and perhaps also from the fourth kirugu which stresses the worshipper's generous, overflowing, beer-offering[3]. As for the brief, laconic, elliptical first kirugu, this seems to be introductory in

[1] For a detailed treatment of the sìr-nam-šub-compositions, cf. Mark Cohen, *JAOS* 95, 502-611.

[2] The numbering of the lines may be off by one, two, or three lines, because in the illegible part of the tablet, indented lines are at times difficult to recognize.

[3] Cf., however, the alternate translation of lines 51-52 in note 15.

character; it is intended to adumbrate and foreshadow the nature of the ritual depicted in the kirugu that follow.

Beginning with the fifth kirugu, it is Utu, rather than Enlil, with whom the composition is concerned. This kirugu consists entirely of a plea to Utu, presumably by the temple-priest officiating at the ritual, to gaze with propitious eye upon the man. The sixth kirugu seems to continue the priest's address to Utu — he pleads with Utu to give him to eat and drink the malt and grain which the god had eaten and drunk after he had collected this nourishment for him from various sources. The remaining three kirugu are so poorly preserved that it is impossible to surmise the nature of their contents. But from the fact that Utu's beer-vats may be mentioned in lines 69 and 70[4], it is not improbable that these kirugu relate in some way to Utu's role as the tavern-keeper who provided the beer in the drinking scene depicted in the second sìr-nam-šub[5].

This second sìr-nam-šub which, if correctly interpreted, portrays Inanna, the love-goddess par excellence, as one who knew not how to perform the sexual acts, consists of a continuous text not subdivided into kirigu. The beginning, the first 16 lines, of this remarkable text is, as noted earlier, virtually entirely illegible and unintelligible. To judge from what follows, however, it is not unreasonable to assume that the missing passage related how Inanna, for some reason, had left her temple in Zabalam, as well as her mother, mother-in-law, and sister-in-law, and on her way had encountered her brother Utu in his tavern. When the text becomes intelligible (lines 120 to end), we find Inanna pleading with her brother who had provided beer for the presumably thirsty, wandering goddess, that he should let her accompany him to his cedar mountain, since she knew not such womanly acts as kissing and copulating. Then, her plea continues, after having eaten of the herbs and cedar on his mountain[6], he is to send her back to her home and intimate family in Zabal-

[4] The crucial words are é-lam-ra in line 69 and ugu-lam-sá in line 70, which may be identical with the lam-re and lam-śa(r)-vats discussed by Civil in the *Oppenheim Festschrift* 84-85.

[5] It is to be noted that the rituals depicted in this sìr-nam-šub composition, despite the seemingly concrete, specific descriptive details, are constructs of the author's imagination, and are not to be viewed as authentic portrayals of some temple religious service — the Nusku-Enlil scene in the third kirugu, for example, is obviously the product of author's fancy. The author must of course have had some purpose for composing the two sìr-nam-šub inscribed on this tablet. But as is true of most of the Sumerian literary works, this is not readily discernible — they may have been composed to be recited on special religious celebrations involving the god Utu. But it is not altogether impossible that they were literary creations intended to be read, admired and enjoyed by the author's literate colleagues and peers in the temple and court personnel.

[6] Presumable the eating of the herbs and cedars of Utu's mountain would endow the

am[7]. For she concludes, he is both father and mother to the wandering traveller, as well as to the orphan and widow.

As can be seen from the above, these two hitherto unknown compositions shed new light on Sumerian cultic practice and mythological invention, and it is pleasure and a privilege to dedicate this pioneering study of their contents to J. J. A. van Dijk, my friend and colleague of many years, who has done so much to illuminate Sumerian religion, theology, and myth.

## Transliteration[8]

### Obverse col. i

1. ninda-zé-eb bí-in-kú-a kaš-zé-bé in-ga-nag
2. é mu-lu-zi-dè kurún-bur-ra
3. ù-mu-un-urim$_x$-ma kur-gal-$^d$mu-ul-líl-le
4. nin-urim$_x$-ma ama-gal-$^d$nin-líl-le
5. šul-$^d$utu ù-mu-un-ḫur-sag-gá-ke$_4$
6. $^d$šè-nir-da en-šul-mé-ke$_4$

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goddess with the sexual knowledge of which she was ignorant. But this is not stated explicitly in the text, nor are we informed how Inanna had learned that these herbs and cedars would educate her sexually, as it were.

[7] According to lines 150-151, Utu is to send Inanna back to her mother-in-law Ninsun and to her siter-in-law Geštinanna. These lines imply therefore that the goddess was already married to Dumuzi. If so, it is not unreasonable to surmise that she was unable to consummate her marriage sexually, and that this was why she resolved to journey to her brother's mountain. On the other hand, it is rather surprising that she does not ask her brother to send her back to Dumuzi, which seems to imply that he was not yet her spouse.

[8] On the whole the signs in this tablet are inscribed expertly and masterfully. Here and there, however, the scribe had to make corrections by writing over partially erased signs, as well as by erasing several incorrectly written consecutive signs, cf. e.g. NINDA in line 8; KUR in line 12; MA in line 13; the erased ZI between the two ZI-signs in line 20; the first A-signs in lines 30-31; several erased signs following k i r ì - a in lines 37; KU in line 63; ŠEŠ in line 133; the partially erased garbled writing of - m u - m u for m u - š è following e - r i b - b é in line 151. There are several glosses on the tablet: k i - r i under KA in line 37; m u - n u under MUNÙ in line 63; an illegible gloss under KU in the same line; ...- g a - a g under ?? a n - t a in line 65; d u - ú r under DÚR in line 69. The first s ì r - n a m - š u b inscribed on this tablet is written almost entirely in Emesal; the exceptions are: g á l for m a - a l in lines 18 and 20; l ú for m u - l u in in line 51, and d u m u for d u$_5$ - m u in line 59. As for the goddess Ninlil (lines 4, 13, 50), her name, to my knowledge, is never written g a - š a - a n - l í l ; the same may be true of the deities mentioned in line 7, as well as of the e n in e n - š u l mé-ke$_4$ (lines 6, 15). In the second s ì r - n a m - š u b , the first six lines (lines 120-125) that are narrative in character are written in Emegir, while Inanna's address to Utu, that constitutes the rest of the composition is written in Emesal, eccept for š à - g a instead of š à - b a and i g i instead of i - b í in line 134, and a - n a for t a in lines 141-142 and 145. As for the first person precative particle, this is written g a rather than d a in both s ì r - n a m - š u b.

7. $^{d}$en-ki $^{d}$nin-ki $^{d}$en-mul $^{d}$nin-mul-e
ki-ru-gú-diš-kam-ma
8. mu-lu-zi ninda-zu
9. $u_4$-sù-da ga-àm da-ré-éš
10. gub-ba-àm-da e-lum e-lum e-lum e-la-lu
11. mu-lu-zi-zi-da-$ke_4$ ninda-zu
12. ù-mu-un-$urim_x$-ma kur-gal-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl
13. nin-$urim_x$-ma ama-gal-$^{d}$nin-líl
14. šul-$^{d}$utu ù-mu-un-ḫur-sag-gá-$ke_4$
15. $^{d}$šè-nir-da en-šul-mé-ke
16. $u_4$-sù-du ga-àm-da-ré-éš
17. gub-ba-àm-da e-lum e-lum e-lum e-la-lu
18. mu-lu-zi zi-sù-ud-gál
19. dè-$em_x$-tuku ga-àm da-ré-éš
20. mu-lu-zi-zi-da-$ke_4$ zi-sù-ud-gál
21. dè-$em_x$-tuku ga-àm da-ré-éš
22. gub-ba-àm-da e-lum e-lum e-lum e-la-lu
ki-ru-gú-min-kam-ma
23. a-ù-àm-ma é-a ù-lil-li
24. al-li-li-àm-ma é-a ù-li-li
25. kaš dé-an-na-ni kurún dé-an-na-ni
26. sukkal ù-mu-un-zu-ra kurún dé-an-na-ni
27. $^{d}$nusku $^{d}$mu-ul-líl-ra kurún dè-an-na-ni
28. kaš $u_4$-dè i-dé kaš-ne-èm ga-ra-nag-nag
29. kurún $u_4$-dè i-dé kurún-ne-èm ga-ra-te-en-te
30. ù-mu-un kú-a(!) nag-a dè-ra-tuku-àm
31. $^{d}$mu-ul-líl kú(!)-a nag-a dè-ra-tuku-am
32. kú-a-zu-šè gu àm-ši-ma-al še àm-ši-ma-al
33. nag-a-zu-šè íd-da a-eštub$^{ku6}$ àm-ši-ma-al
34. kú-a-zu-šè a-šà-ga še-gu-nu àm-ši-ma-al
35. mu-lu-zi ša-mu-ra-túm-a tuku-a-a
36. zì mu-lu-zi-zi-da ša-mu-ra-túm-a tuku-a-a
37. šu-ni kirì-a ša-ri-ma-al
38. kú-a ša-mu-ra-ab-bé nag-a ša-mu-ra-ab-bé
ki-ru-gú-$es_5$-kam-ma
39. kaš bur-ra $gi_4$-a šà-gú-bi-[$gi_4$]-a
40. ne-sag-é-e-ka kaš [bur-ra] $gi_4$-a
41. bur-gal-gal an-né-$su_8$-[ba]-šè
42. ninda šu-sikil-la-zé-èm-mà-šè
43. é mu-lu-zi-dè šu-è-ba-se
44. mu-lu-zi-zi-da-$ke_4$ su-è-[ba]-šè
45. dìm-me-er-mu-lu-$ke_4$ šu-e-[ba-še]

col. ii

46. ù-mu-un-$^{d}$am-an-ki-ke$_4$ šu-[è-ba-šè]
47. šà-bi-šè mu-lu-zi-dè gú-[bi mu-un-ši-íb-gi$_4$]
48. mu-lu-zi-dè mu-lu-zi-zi-da-[ke$_4$]
    gú-bi mu-un-si-íb-[gi$_4$]
49. ù-mu-un-urim$_x$-ma kur-gal-$^{d}$mu-ul-líl
    gú-bi mu-un-ši-íb-gi$_4$
50. nin-urim$_x$-ma ama-gal-$^{d}$nin-líl gú-bi mu-un-ši-[íb-gi$_4$]
51. lú-zi-zi-da-ke$_4$ kaš-zu bur-ra me-ri ki a-da-ab-díb
52. zabar-bi ši-sù-ud-ma-al dè-ra-ab-dirig-ge
53. nibru$^{ki}$ dù-dù-a-ba ?-ki ?-?-?-a-ba
    še-ib-é-e-?-a-ba ....
54. dam-ti-la é-? ... dirig(?)-ge
55. a-é-a a-? ...
    ki-[ru-gú-limmu-kam-ma]
56. i-bí bar-mu-[ši-ib i-bí bar-mu]-ši-ib
57. $^{d}$utu i-bí bar-[mu-ši-ib i-bí bar-mu]-ši-ib
58. am-é-babbar-ra i-[bí bar-mu-ši-ib i-bí] bar-mu-ši-ib
59. su$_6$-mú dumu-$^{d}$[nin-gal-e-tu-da ...]
    [i-bí bar-mu-ši-ib]
60. za-e i-bí-zu gud [tùr-ra um-ši-bar gud tùr-re àm]-si(?)
61. za-e i-bí-zu e-zé amaš-[a um-ši-bar é-zé am]aš-e àm-si(?)
62. lú-lu$_7$-ra um-ši-bar me šu(?)-e àm-?
    ki-ru-gú-iá-kam-ma
63. munù-ta KU bur$_5$-ta ma-ra-ra-ri-ri
64. še-ta še-en-nar-re ma(!)-ra-ra-ri-ri
65. ?-?-an-ta KA-bur$_5$(?)$^{mušen}$-ra me-e ma-ra-ra-ri-ri
66. ág-e ù-mu-un-e dè-kú-e IM bí-kú
67. ur-sag-šul-$^{d}$utu dè-nag-nag IM bí-nag
68. šul-$^{d}$utu dè-ŠEŠ(?)-e ma-kú-e dè-ŠEŠ(?)-e ma-nag-nag
    ki-ru-gú-àš-[kam-ma]
69. kaš-dúr-é-lam-ra-zu ....
70. ugu-lam-sá-zu ....
71. sukkal-zi gala ....
72. sukkal-é-zi-da ....
73. šul-$^{d}$utu ? ? ....
    ki-[ru-gú-imin-kam-ma]
74. u$_4$ šà-ab-? ....
75. a-kal-la ....
76. ne-sag kù(?) ....

77. sul-$^{d}$utu kù(?)
ki-ru-[gú-ussu-kam-ma]
78. ù-li-li ....
79. $^{d}$mu-u[l-líl] ....
80. ....

Rev. col. iii

This column is very poorly preserved and is almost entirely illegible. It contains approximately 39 lines of text (the numbering may be off by one or two lines because of the difficulty of recognizing indented lines) as follows:
81-83 destroyed. 84. dam .... 85. da .... 86-87 illegible 88. lú(?) .... 89-90 illegible. 91. .... kur .... 92 illegible. 93. .... gu(?) .... 94-100 illegible. 101. ama-mu .... 102. ama-mu .... Following this line is probably the rubric sìr-nam-šub-$^{d}$utu-kam. 103. ĦÉ .... 104. kur(?) .... 105. $^{d}$utu(?) .... 106. $^{d}$utu(?) .... 107-114 illegible. 115. IM .... 116 IM KA(?) .... 117-119 illegible.

col. iv

120. šul-$^{d}$utu GÌRx?-re-ne amar-sú[n-n]a-ke$_4$
121. amar-sún-na-ke$_4$ amar-dumu-zi-da-ke$_4$
122. $^{d}$utu šeš-lugal-$^{d}$inanna-ke$_4$
123. en-me-en-DU.DU sila-sír-ra-ke$_4$
124. $^{d}$utu kaš mu-un-gál é-kaš-tin-ka-ke$_4$
125. šul-$^{d}$utu kaš mu-un-gál é-kaš-tin-ka-ke$_4$
126. šeš-mu ù-mu-un-ní-gùr-ru kur-šè ga-ba-e-da-u$_5$
127. ù-mu-un-an-na u-mu-un-ní-gùr-ru ù-mu-un kur-šè ga-ba-e-da-u$_5$
128. kur-šim-ma-šè kur-$^{giš}$erin-na-se kur-šè
129. kur-$^{giš}$erin-na kur-ĦA-šu-úr-ra-šè kur-šè
130. kur-kù-ga kur-za-gìn-na-šè kur-šè
131. kur GAKKULA mu-un-mú-mú-[šè kur-šè]
132. íd-ĦAL-ĦAL-la a-ki-ta sù-ud-bi ...[-šè]
133. šeš-mu DU-a ga- ....
134. šeš-mu ab-šà-ga igi-mu NE ....
135. šeš-mu munus-e-ne mu ....
136. $^{d}$utu munus-e-ne mu ....
137. ág-munus-e-ne mu mu(?)-?-nu-zu-mèn
138. ág-munus-e-ne mu-dug$_4$-nu-zu-mèn
139. ág-munus-e-ne še-su-ub-nu-zu-mèn
140. mu-dug$_4$-nu-zu-mèn še-su-ub-nu-zu-mèn

141. kur-ra a-na-mu-un-ma-al a-na ga-kú-un-dè-en
142. ḫur-sag-gá a-na-mu-un-ma-al a-na ga-kú-un-dè-en
143. kur-šim-ma-šè kur-$^{giš}$erin-na-šè
144. kur-$^{giš}$erin-na kur-ḫa-šu-úr-ra-šè
145. kur-ra a-na-mu-un-ma-al a-na ga-kú-un-dè-en
146. šim mu-un-kú-a-ta $^{giš}$erin mu-un-kú-a-ta
147. šu-mu šu ù-bí-dù é-mu-šè $gi_4$-mu
148. é-mu-šè $gi_4$-mu é-mu zabalam$^{ki}$-a-ra
149. ama-mu-šè $gi_4$-mu ama-mu-ga-ša-an-gal-ra
150. ušbar-mu-šè $gi_4$-mu ga-ša-an-sun-na-ra
151. e-rib-bé-mu $gi_4$-mu $^{d}$mu-tin-an-na-ra
152. šu-aš-è-da-$ke_4$ é-lú-è-da-$ke_4$
153. è-lú-è-da-$ke_4$ šu-aš-è-da-$ke_4$
154. $^{d}$utu ama-bi-me-en $^{d}$utu a-a-bi-me-en
155. $^{d}$utu nu-sik-$ke_4$ $^{d}$utu nu-mu-su-e
156. $^{d}$utu nu-sik-$ke_4$ a-a-ni-gim igi-bi ma-ra-pàd
157. $^{d}$utu nu-mu-su-e ama-bi-gim šu-$gi_4$-$gi_4$-bi-me-en
158. a-lu-za-da a-lu-DU-DU
min-sìr-nam-šub-$^{d}$utu-kam

## Translation

### Obv. col. i

1. Who has eaten there the good bread, also drank the good beer,
2. The house (where) the righteous man — wine in the pitcher.
3. The Lord of the storehouse, the Great Mountain Enlil,
4. The Lady of the storehouse, the Great Mother Ninlil,
5. The valiant Utu, the Lord of the mountain,
6. Šenirda, the valiant e n of battle,
7. Enki, Ninki, Enmul, Ninmul.

### The first k i r u g u

8. The righteous man, your bread,
9. Unto distant days, indeed forever,
10. Stand by him, Oh Eminence, Oh Eminence, Oh Eminence — e l a - l u .

11. The most righteous of men, your bread,
12. Oh Lord of the storehouse, Great Montain Enlil,
13. Oh Lady of the storehouse, Great Mother Ninlil,
14. Oh valiant Utu, Lord of the mountain,
15. Oh Šenirda, valiant e n of battle,
16. Unto distant days, indeed forever,
17. Stand by him, Oh Eminence, Oh Eminence, Oh Eminence — e l a - l u .
18. The righteous man — long life
19. May you grant him, indeed forever.
20. The most righteous of men — long life
21. May you grant him, indeed forever,
22. Stand by him, Oh Eminence, Oh Eminence, Oh Eminence — e l a - l u .

The second k i r u g u

23. a u a m m a — in the house — u l i l i !
24. a l l i l i a m m a — in the house — u l i l i !
25. Pour out for him beer there, pour out for him wine there,
26. Oh s u k k a l , pour out wine there for your lord.
27. Oh Nusku, pour out wine there for Enlil.
28. "I have now poured out beer, I will give you this beer to drink;
29. I have now poured out wine, I will give you this wine to refresh yourself.
30. Oh Lord, eat, drink, may it be acceptable to you,
31. Oh Enlil, eat, drink, may it be acceptable to you.
32. As you eat, plants, will have come into being, grain will have come into being,
33. As you drink, carp will have come into being in the river,
34. As you eat, g u n u-grain will have come into being in the field.
35. What the righteous man has brought to you, accept pray,
36. The flour which the most righteous man has brought to you, accept pray,
37. He has put his hand on (his) nose for you,
38. He says to you 'Eat', he says to you 'Drink'."

The third k i r u g u

39. The beer that has filled the pitcher, that has overflowed it,
40. Among the offerings of the house, the beer that has filled the pitcher —

41. At the huge pitchers that reach to heaven,
42. At the bread offered by a pure hand,
43. At the house where the righteous man offered prayers,
44. At (the house where) the most righteous of men offered prayers,
45. [At] (the house where) the god of the man offered prayers,

col. ii

46. At (the house where Lord Enki [offered prayers],
47. At its midst the righteous man made it ove[rflow],
48. The righteous man, the most righteous of men, made it overflow,
49. Oh Lord of the storehouse, Great Mountain Enlil, he has made it overflow,
50. Oh Lady of the Storehouse, Great Mother Ninlil, he has made it overflow.
51. The most righteous of men having caused your beer to ... in the pitcher,
52. May this bronze (vessel) increase long life for you.
53. When Nippur had been completely built, when ... had been .., when the brickwork of this house had been ..,
54. The living spouse ...,
55. The seed of the house, the seed ... .

[The fourth] k i [r u g u]

56. Gaze [upon him], [gaze] upon him,
57. Oh Utu, gaze [upon him], [gaze] upon him,
58. Oh Wild Ox of the Ebabbar, ga[ze upon him], gaze upon him,
59. Oh bearded one, son [born of Ningal ..., gaze upon him,]
60. When you have gazed upon the oxen [in the stall, the oxen] filled(?) [the stall],
61. When you have gazed upon the sheep [in] the fold, the sheep filled(?) the [fo]ld,
62. When you have gazed upon the man ..... .

The fifth k i r u g u

63. From the malt .. from the birds I will collect for you,
64. From the grain .... I will collect for you,
65. Fro the .., the .. of the birds(?) I will collect for you,

66. May the lord eat this thing — he has eaten . .,
67. May the hero, the valiant Utu drink — he has drunk . .,
68. May the valiant Utu . . he will give it to me to eat; may he . . — he will give it to me to drink.

The sixth k i r u g u

69. Your beer, the dweller(?) of the l a m r a-house . . .,
70. Your (that which is) over the l a m s a-(vat) . . .,
71. The righteous s u k k a l, the g a l a . . .,
72. The s u k k a l of the righteous house . . .,
73. The valiant Utu . . . .

The [seventh] k i [r u g u]

74. The day the heart . . . .,
75. The precious seed . . . .,
76. The sacrifices . . . .,
77. The valiant Utu . . . .,

The [eighth] k i r u [g u]

78. u l i l i . . . .,
79. En[lil] . . . .,
80. . . . .

Rev. col. iii

Lines 81-119 unintelligible

col. iv

120. The valiant Utu . . . . the calf of the wild cow,
121. The calf of the wild cow, the calf of the righteous son,
122. Utu, the royal brother of Inanna,
123. Who brings thirst to street and path,
124. Utu provided beer — he of the tavern,
125. Valiant Utu provided beer — he of the tavern.
126. "My brother, awesome lord, I would ride with you to the mountain,

127. Lord of heaven, awesome lord, lord, I would ride with you to the mountain,
128. To the mountain of herbs, to the mountain of cedars,
129. To the mountain of cedars, to the mountain of ḫašur-trees, to the mountain,
130. To the mountain of silver, to the mountain of lapis lazuli, to the mountain,
131. [To] the mountain that grows GAKKUL.A, [to the mountain],
132. [To] the swift-flowing river, the water that ... from the earth.
133. My brother, come(?), I would ....,
134. My brother, my eyes .... the midst of the sea,
135. My brother, women ....,
136. Utu, women ....,
137. I am one who knows not that which is womanly — ..,
138. I am one who knows not that which is womanly — copulating,
139. I am one who knows not that which is womanly — kissing,
140. I am one who knows not copulating, I am one who knows not kissing.
141. That which exists in the mountain, that, let us eat,
142. That which exists in the highland, that, let us eat,
143. At the mountain of herbs, at the mountain of cedars,
144. At the mountain of cedars, at the mountain of ḫašur-trees,
145. That which exists in the mountain, that, let us eat.
146. After the herbs had been eaten, after the cedars had been eaten,
147. Having put (your) hand on my hand, return me to my house,
148. Return me to my house, my house in Zabalam,
149. Return me to my mother, my mother Ningal,
150. Return me to my mother-in-law Ninsun,
151. Return me to my sister-in-law Geštinanna.
152. Of him who ventures forth single-handed, of him who ventures forth from a man's house,
153. Of him who ventures forth from a man's house, of him who ventures forth single-handed,
154. Utu, you are their mother; Utu, you are their father,
155. Utu, the orphan; Utu, the widow —
156. Utu, the orphans look to you like their father,
157. Utu, you are one who succurs the widows like their mother.
158. a-lu is with you, Oh (you) who bring(?) a-lu.

Two nam-šub-songs of Utu.

## Commentary

Lines **1-7.** In line 1, the subject of the verbs is probably Enlil, hence perhaps the subject-element -e following $^{d}$mu-ul-líl in line 3[9]. The laconic, elliptical line 2 seems to contain an anticipatory allusion to the ritual depicted in the third kirugu. For the reading urim$_x$, cf. Krecher, *SKly* 115 ff. The mythological implications of the designation of Utu's spouse, Šenirda, as the en-šul of battle (lines 6) are unknown. The deities mentioned in line 7 are the well-known theologically conceived ancestors of An and Enlil; they are not mentioned anywhere else in the text, and it is not clear why they are alluded to in this line.

Lines **8-22.** In the elliptical lines 8 and 11, the -zu of ninda-zu probably refers to enlil, since the lines seem to allude to the righteous man's offering of bread to Enlil; hence the prayer to Enlil to stand by the righteous man and grant him long life in the lines that follow[10]. Im line 9 (also lines 16, 19, 21) ga-àm is assumed to be a contraction for in-ga-àm. The thrice repeated elum (Emesal for alim; lines 10, 17, 23), the well-known epithet of Enlil, is a prayerful utterance of profound adoration and veneration, the word elalu that follows is no doubt intended as a stirring, mellifluous chant-like interjection. The literal meaning of mu-lu-zi-zi-da-ke$_4$ is probabley "(he) of the most righteous men". In line 16, note the writing u$_4$-sù-du instead u$_4$-sù-da as in line 9. The reading of the first complex in lines 19 and 21 as dè-em$_x$-tuku is a surmise based on the context[11].

Lines **23-38.** In lines 23-24, auamma, ulili, and alliliamma are probably chant-like interjections uttered by the officiating priest to help create a jubilant mood preparatory to the promise-laden ritual that follows. In lines 28-29, the second complex may perhaps read u$_4$-ne. The rendering of ga-ra-nag-nag and ga-ra-te-en-te as "I will give you to drink", and "I will give you to refresh yourself", is a surmise only; the literal meanings "I will drink for you", and "I will refresh myself for you", hardly fits the context. In lines 30-31, the rendering "may it be acceptable to you", for dè-ra-tuku-àm is a reasonable surmise, although the exact nuance of tuku in this verbal form is rather

[9] Note that kaš-zé-bé in line 1 might have been expected to read kaš-zé-eb.

[10] To judge from lines 14-16, Ninlil, Utu, and Šenirda may also be included in this prayer, but hardly on the same level as Enlil who is the only one mentioned in the vivid and informative third kirugu, and to whom the epithet elum is especially applicable.

[11] The literal meaning of dè-em$_x$-tuku is assumed to be "may you cause to have".

uncertain[12]. In lines 35-36, the subject element -e might have been expected following mu-lu-zi and mu-lu-zi-zi-da; the nuance of the ša- in ša-mu-ra-túm-a is uncertain and is ignored in the translation; the second -a of tuku-a-a seems to be a kind of enclitic, it is tentatively rendered by "pray".

Lines **39-55.** Lines 39-40 lack a finite verbal form, and seem to be introductory in character[13]. For šà-gú-bi-gi$_4$-a, "flooding", "overflow", cf. *CAD* M$_2$ sub *mīlu*, and especially Gudea Cyl. A col. i 5-9 that read: (5) šà-gú-bi nam-gi$_4$ (6) šà-$^{d}$en-líl-lá-gú-bi nam-gi$_4$ (7) šà-gú-bi nam-gi$_4$ (8) a-mi-en nam-mul IM-ÍL-ÍL (9) šà-$^{d}$en-líl-lá-ke$_4$ $^{id}$idigna-àm a-dùg-ga nam-túm, which may be rendered: "(5) The heart overflowed, (6) The heart of Enlil overflowed, (7) The heart overflowed. (8) The floodwaters shined bright, the awesome, (9) The heart of Enlil, the Tigris, brought sweet water." The literal meaning of šà-gú-bi—gi$_4$ seems to be "the heart returns upon its bank"; in the Gudea passage, the heart is that of the Tigris, in our passage the heart is that of the pitcher[14].

For lines 41-46, cf. lines 10-15 of the obv. of the sìr-nam-šub of Inanna (CT XLII 13, cf. PAPS 107, 503-504) which can now be restored to read as follows:

10. bur-gal-gal-an-ne-su$_8$-ga-šè di-da-mu-dè
11. [ninda]-šu-sikil-e-zé-èm-mà-šè di-da-mu-de
12. [é] mu-lu-zi-dè šu-è-ba-šè di-da-mu-dè[15]
13. ù-mu-un-$^{d}$am-an-ki šu-è-ba-šè di-da-mu-dè
14. $^{d}$dam-gal-nun-na šu-è-ba-šè di-da-mu-dè
15. $^{d}$asar-lú-ḫi šu-e(sic!)-ba-šè di-da-mu-dè

10. When I proceeded to the huge pitchers that reach to heaven,
11. When I proceeded to the [bread] offered by a pure hand,
12. When I proceeded to to the [house] where the righteous man offered prayers,
13. When I proceeded to (the house where) the Lord Enki offered prayers,
14. When I proceeded to (the house where) Damgalnunna offered prayers,
15. When I proceeded to (the house where) Asarluhi offered prayers.

[12] In these two lines, kú-a "eat", may refer either to the "bread" mentioned in the preceding two ki-ru-gú, or to the zì "flour" mentioned in line 36.

[13] Grammatically gi$_4$-a in lines 39-40 may of course be an imperative rather than a passive participle, and the two lines could be construed as a brief address by the officiating priest to the mu-lu-zi-dè mentioned in line 43, but this seems rather unlikely.

[14] Cf. also lines 446-447 of "Enki and Inanna: The Organization of the Universe".

[15] For the meaning of the recurring šu-è-ba-šè, cf. the comment to line 19 of BM 98396 in the *Orlinsky Festschrift* 144.

Cf. also obv. ii 16-21 of the Enlil composition VS II 8, that can now be restored to read as follows:

16. ki-ninda-kú-. .-a(?)-šè
17. bur-gal-gal-an-ne-[su$_8$-ga-šè]
18. ninda-šu-sikil-la-zé-[èm-mà-šè]
19. é lú-zi-di(sic!)-[šu-è-ba-šè]
20. lú-zi-zi-da-[ke$_4$-šu]-è-ba-šè
21. dingir-lú-lu$_6$-ke$_4$-[šu]-è-ba-šè

16. To the place where bread is eaten(?) . .,
17. [To] the huge pitchers that [reach] to heaven,
18. [To] the bread off[ered] by a pure hand,
19. [To] the house where the righteous man [offered prayers],
20. To (the house where) the most righteous of men [offe]red prayers,
21. To (the house where) the god of the man [of]fered prayers.

In line 46, Enki's presence in house where the righteous man was making his generous beer-offering, is rather surprising since he is not mentioned anywhere else in the text[16]. In line 47, šà-bi-šè is assumed to refer to "house" mentioned in line 43. In lines 47-50, the rendering assumes that šà is to be understood before gú-bi. In line 51, the action of the lú-zi-zi-da-ke$_4$, to judge from the context, might be expected to parallel that of the preceding lines, but the word division of the second half of the line is uncertain, and its meaning obscure. In line 52, the rendering assumes that zabar refers to the pitcher, that -bi is a demonstrative pronoun, and that the ši- of the following complex is identical in meaning with zi — all of which is rather uncertain. If the line is correctly rendered, it would seem to indicate that Enlil's long, enduring life was thought to depend to some extent on the lavish offerings of the righteous man[17]. Lines 53-55 are too fragmentary for any trustworthy comment on their contents or their connection with the preceding lines.

Lines **56-62.** The restorations in lines 56-59 are reasonable conjectures. The restorations in lines 60-61 are no more than tentative sur-

[16] The Enki mentioned in line 7 is not to be identified with the Enki of line 46. This Enki is identical with the Enki mentioned in the CT XLII passage cited above, alongside of Damgalnunna and Asarluḫi, the deities worshipped in Eridu whither Inanna was proceeding in her journey.

[17] It is not impossible that lines 51-52 are to be rendered: "Oh most righteous of men, having caused your beer ... in the pitcher, May this bronze (vessel) increase long life for you." In this case, the blessing for long life would concern the righteous man rather than Enlil.

mises. The obscure second half of line 62 no doubt provides the favorable result of Utu's gazing upon man.

Lines **63-68.** Lines 63-65 are virtually unintelligible; the difficulties relating to the first part of each of these lines are obvious, while the rendering "I will collect for you" for the repeated ma-ra-ra-ri-ri is no more than a surmise[18]. In line 66 ám-e, if correctly rendered as "this substance", probably refers to the grain, malt, and whatever food or drink was mentioned in the unintelligible first complex of line 65. The reading and meaning of the IM preceding bí-kú in this line and the following, are uncertain, nor is it clear how this IM bí-kú relates to the preceding part of the lines. In line 68, the repeated dè-šeš(?)-e may depict some auspicious act of Utu relating to the food and drink that would make them more hallowed and sanctified.

Lines **69-119** are too fragmentary for comment[19].

Lines **120-158.** In line 120, the reading and meaning of the second complex are uncertain; the "wild cow", is presumably an epithet of Utu's mother Ningal. In line 21, the repitition of amar-sun-na-ke$_4$ is probably a poetic device; the "righteous son", seems to be an epithet of Utu's father, Nanna. In line 122, the implication of "royal" in the expression "royal brother", is not too clear, The rendering of line 123 is quite uncertain; it assumes that en-me-en is the well-known enmen/immen "thirst" (cf. *CAD* Ş sub *ṣūmu*), that DU.DU is to be equated with *abālu/babālu,* and that sír of sila-sír-ra-ke$_4$ is for e-sír (cf. *AHw* sub *sūqum*). In lines 124-125, note that é-kaš-tin-ka-ke$_4$ contains a double genitive and that although it qualifies Utu, it is placed after the verb for poetic effect. Line 126 begins Inanna's address to Utu that continues to the end of the composition; admittedly it seems rather strange that there is no introductory line stating this explicitly. In line 131, GAKKUL.A is obviously the name of a plant; perhaps it is related in some way to the rather ambiguous word gakkul following ḫi-is$^{SAR}$ "lettuce", in the passage cited by Civil in the *Oppenheim Festschrift* 83-84. For íd-ḫal-ḫal-la in line 132, cf. now Hallo, *JAOS* 103, 177, comment to line 259. Lines 133-136 are too fragmentary for comment. The obscure line 137 seems to parallel to a large extent the two lines that follow. In line 147, the precise action intended by the verb šu—dù is rather difficult to conjecture; its frequently found meaning "to bind", "to

[18] Grammatically ma-ra-ra-ri-ri is assumed to be mu-ra-ra-ri-ri(-en) that is, mu became ma because of the following -ra-, the first -ra is the dative infix, the second -ra- is the privative infix referring back to the -ta in the first complex.

[19] For é-lam-ra in line 69 and lam-sá in line 70, cf. note 4. The rubric sìr-nam-šub-$^{d}$utu-kam (between lines 102 and 103) is reasonably assured.

fetter", (cf. e.g. Alster, *Dumuzi's Dream* 112-113) hardly fits the context. In line 151, the -bé following e-rib seems unjustified. The renderings of lines 152–153 are fairly reasonable conjectures[20]; the two chiastically repeated complexes seem to be poetic circumlocutions for a lonely traveler, such as Inanna who had left her house and family. For Utu as the protector of orphans and widows (lines 153-157), cf. especially the Utu incantation published by Castellino in *OA* 8, 1-57. Line 158 is unintelligible because of the obscure a-lu.

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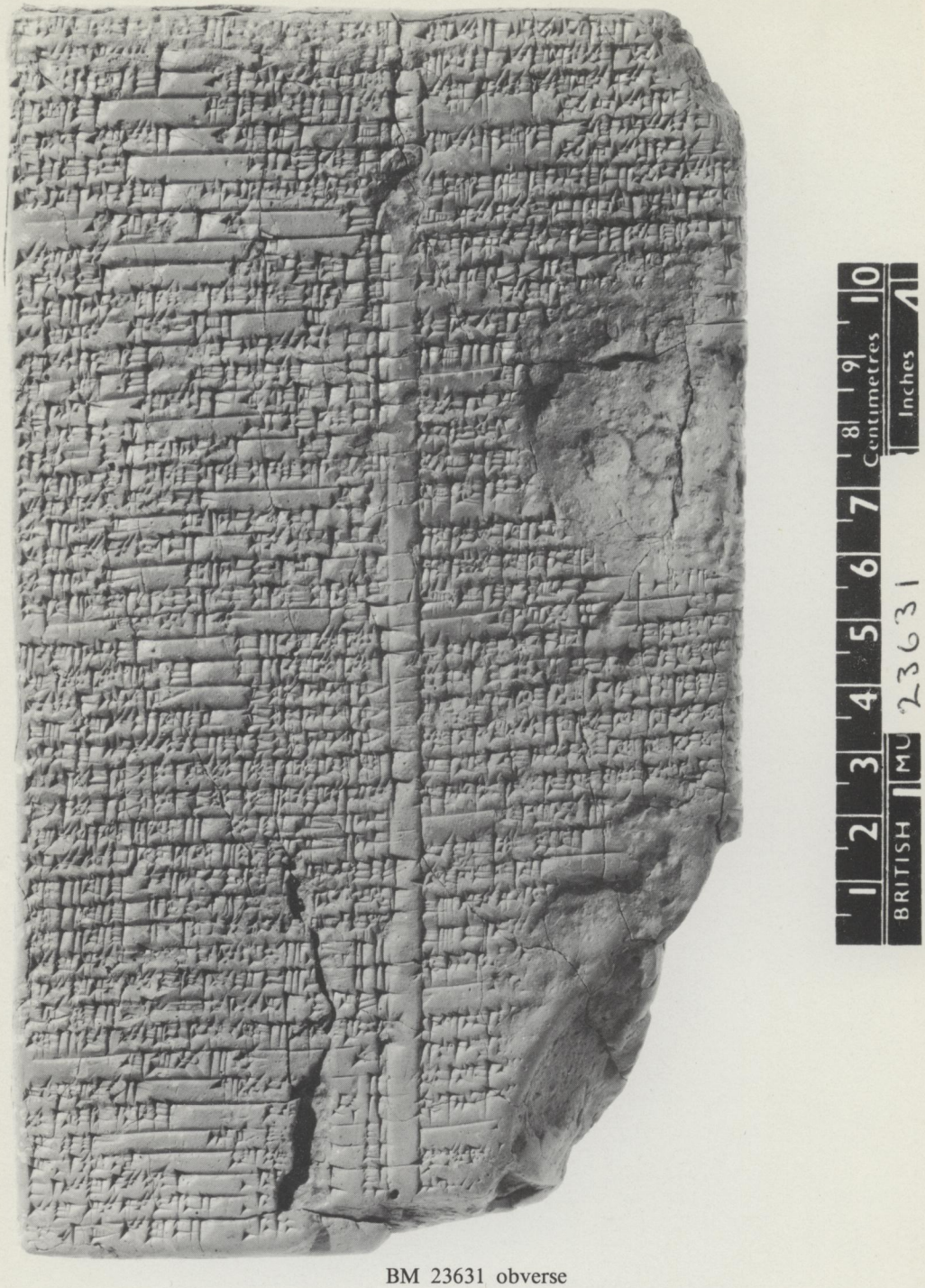


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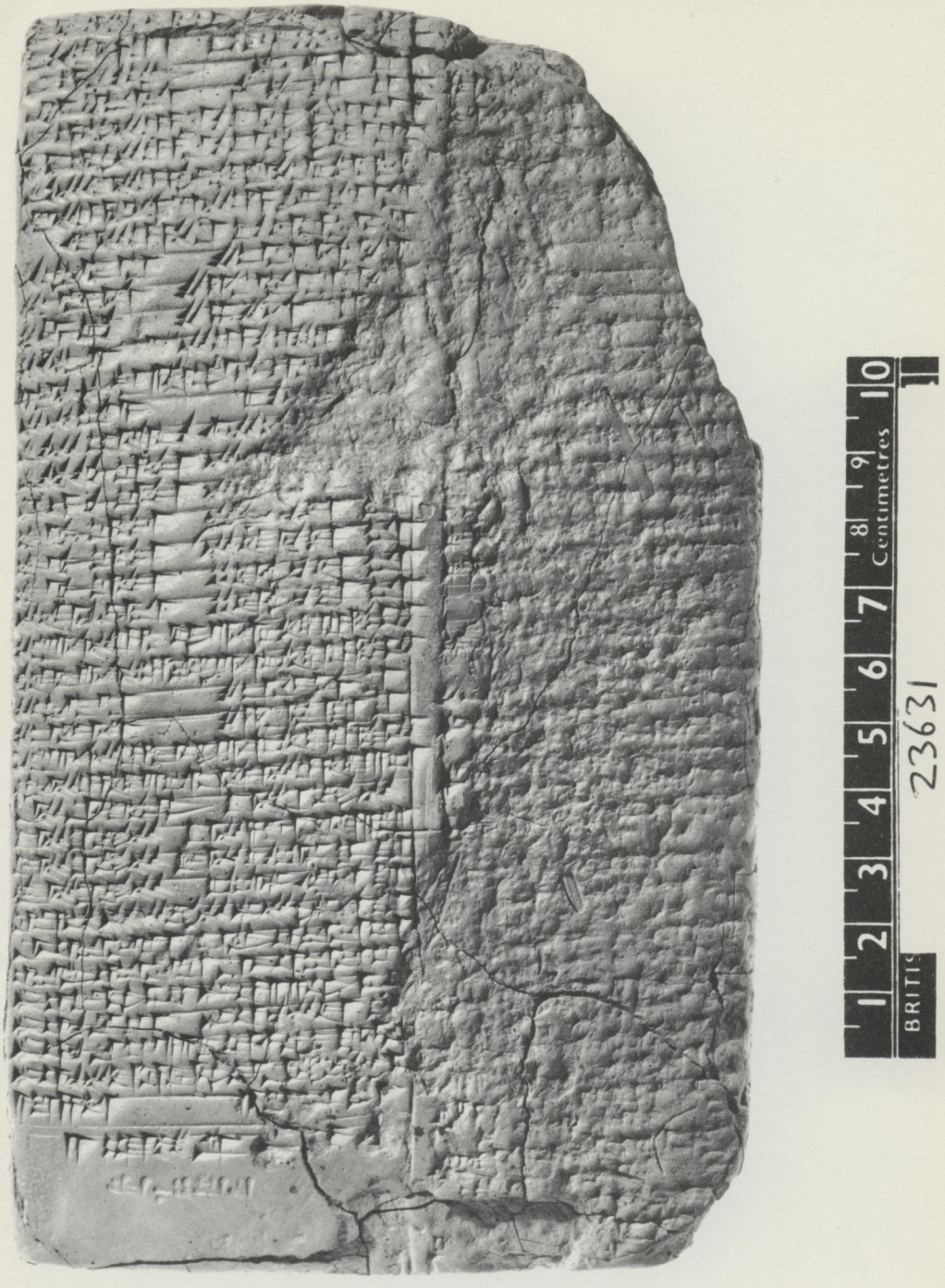


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# THE CHURNS' SWEET SOUND: A SUMERIAN BUCOLIC POEM

SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER
The University of Pennsylvania, Emeritus

This paper presents a translation and interpretation of two versions of a Sumerian composition designated as a *bal-bal* of Inanna, that is of very special interest in two respects. Firstly, the two versions, though duplicating each other to a large extent, differ no little from each other, and thus illustrate and clarify some features and characteristics of the process of Sumerian scribal redaction of literary compositions. Secondly, they provide clear and convincing evidence for the identification of a Sumerian king as Dumuzi incarnate, a significant theological concept that is only rarely exemplified in the extant literary documents. The cuneiform text of one of the versions (A) was published more than half a century ago by Henri de Genouillac as No. 97 of *Textes Religieux Sumériens du Louvre* (1930), and was edited thirty years later by W.H.P. Römer in his *Sumerische Königshymnen der Isin Zeit* (1965), pp. 21–22. The other (B) was published (in transliteration only) and edited by W.W. Hallo one year later in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 23 (1966), pp. 244–245. Both the Römer and Hallo editions of the composition are valuable major contributions to its translation and interpretation. But as is common knowledge among cuneiformists, the Sumerian literary texts, even when they are well preserved, often lend themselves to different translations and interpretations because of their laconic allusive context, as well as because of the ambiguous reading and meaning of some of the words and phrases, not to mention numerous grammatical and syntactical obscurities. The translation and interpretation presented in this paper differ quite significantly from those of Römer and Hallo,[1] but are by no means without error and infallible. It is a high honor and profound privilege to dedicate this modest study to Yigael Yadin, one of the truly great archaeologists and epigraphists of our days, a gifted excavator who might well have uncovered Sumerian literary tablets in the soil of Israel had he lived long enough to pursue and achieve his archeological plans and goals.

*Version A*

Except for the last two lines,[2] this version consists entirely of an address by the poet to Inanna which may be divided into four sections. In the first (lines 1–8). he prays rather wishfully that the sweet sound made by the churn of her husband, Išme-Dagan (as Dumuzi incarnate) greet her immediately upon her entering the stall, thus:

1 The cow — the sweet sound, the calf — the distant sound!
2 Innin, you who are going to the stall,
3 Maid, the moment you will have entered there,
4 Inanna, may the churn utter the sound,
5 May the churn of your spouse utter the sound,
6 Inanna ⟨may the churn of your spouse utter the sound⟩,
7 May the churn ⟨of Išme-Dagan utter the sound⟩,
8 Inanna ⟨may the churn of Išme-Dagan utter the sound⟩.[3]

In the second section (lines 9–14), the poet announces to the goddess that the righteous shepherd (that is, Išme-Dagan as Dumuzi incarnate) will

utter a loud sweet chant for her, the burden of which is that he will make the rocking churn sing for her and thus make joyous her heart and spirit, thus:

9 "I will make sing for you the rocking of the churn,
10 Inanna, may it make joyous the spirit,"
11 The righteous shepherd, he of the sweet chant,
12 Will utter the chant loudly for you:
13 "Innin, may that which makes everything sweet,
14 Inanna, make joyous your heart."[4]

In the third section (lines 15–20), the poet proclaims the joy her presence brings to the stall, sheepfold, and feeding-pen, thus:

15 Innin, when you enter the stall,
16 Inanna, the stall rejoices with you;
17 Hierodule, when you enter the sheepfold,
18 Inanna, the sheepfold rejoices with you;
19 When you enter the feeding-pen,
20 The trusty ewe spreads (its) wool for you.[5]

In the fourth section (lines 21–24), the poet continues his address to the goddess in the form of a wishful prayer for enduring prosperity in the stall and sheepfold, and for long life for Išme-Dagan, thus:

21 May the holy stall (besprinkle) wide the ground with cream for you,
22 May the stall make abundant(?) cream and milk for you,
23 In the stall may joy long endure,
24 Išme-Dagan — may his days be long.[6]

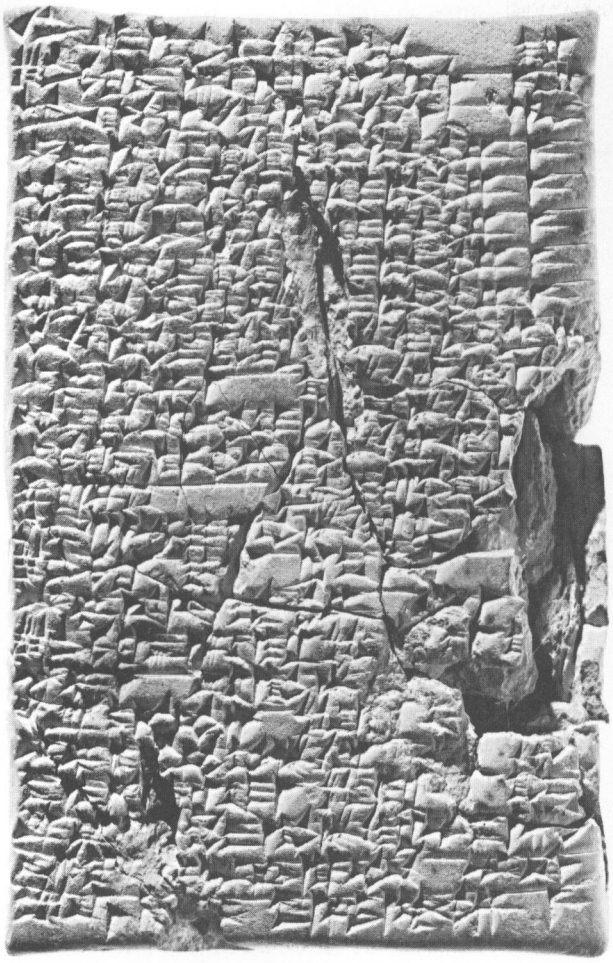
*Commentary*

*Lines 1–8.* "Sound" in line 1, no doubt, refers to that made by the churn (cf. lines 4–8), whose rocking, metaphorically speaking, is reminiscent of, and can be compared with, the voice of the mother-cow and that of its calf — the mother's sound full of love for its calf is sweet, while the sound of the calf, separated from its mother, is distant. The *-e* following *in-nin*$_9$ in line 2, seems redundant; note that there is no *-e* following the first complex in lines 3 and 4, although these are vocatives parallel to *in-nin*$_9$. The grammatical structure of the second half of line 2 is rather problematic; the rendering assumes that *tùr-e* is for the expected *tùr-šè*; that *gen-na* is the longer form of the intransitive participle *gen*; that the final *-e* is semantically without significance. In line 3, note that the *-du-ù-nam* of the verbal form is a variant of *dun*$_9$*-na-àm* in B, and that the verbal root in both cases is therefore *dun* "to enter". In line 5, the rendering assumes that the *-zu-ke*$_4$ of the first complex is a variant of *-za-ke*$_4$ (cf. B). The restoration of lines 6–8 is reasonably assured; the assumption that it is Išme-Dagan rather than Dumuzi who is referred to in lines 7–8 seems justified by the fact that it is Išme-Dagan rather than Dumuzi for whose long days the poet prays (cf. line 24); it is not impossible, however, that in the first part of the poem it is Dumuzi rather than Išme-Dagan whom the poet had in mind, in which case $^{d}$dumuzi should be substituted for Išme-Dagan in lines 7–8.

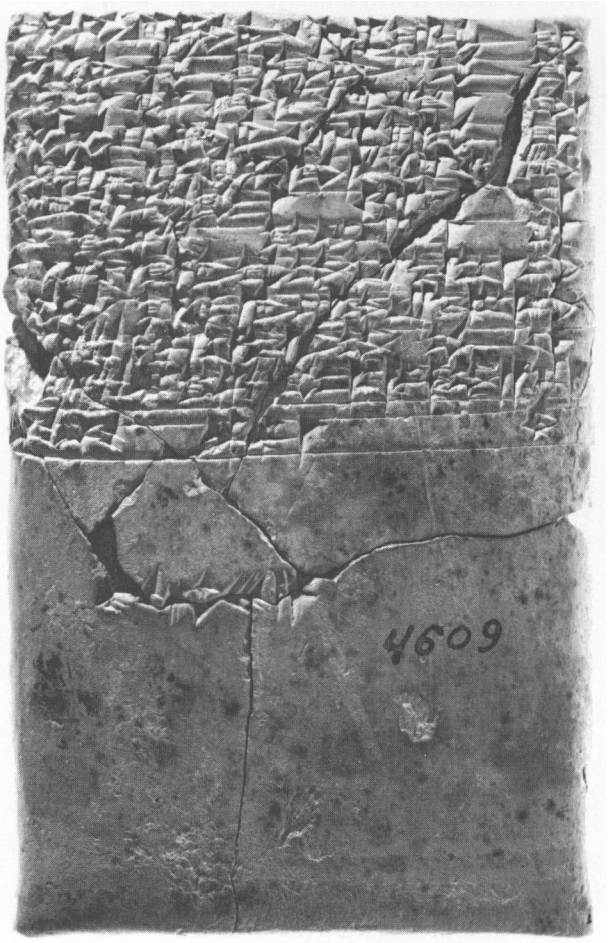
*Lines 9–14.* The rendering assumes that the "I" of "I will make sing for you the rocking of the churn," refers not to the poet who composed this poem, but to the "righteous shepherd" of line 11 (that is, to Išme-Dagan in the role of shepherd Dumuzi); this interpretation assumes therefore that lines 9–10 and 13–14 constitute the "sweet chant" referred to in lines 11–12. The rendering of lines 10 and 14, which assumes that the subject of the verbs is the singing of the churn, is reasonable but rather uncertain, especially because of the ambiguous *hur-re* (if, as the rendering assumes, lines 10 and 14 are parallel, it should have read *hur-zu*); note, too, that the *-e-* of the verbal forms is assumed to be semantically without significance.

*Lines 15–20.* This passage consists of three parallel verses. The rendering of the first two is reasonably assured. The rendering of the third (lines 19–20), however, is rather problematic, since (1) the meaning of *é-bu-ra* is somewhat uncertain — the rendering "feeding-pen" assumes that it is a variant writing for *é-ubur-ra* (cf. B); (2) the position of *síg* "wool" preceding *u*$_8$*-zi-dè* instead of following it, is rather unusual; (3) the *-mam* at the end of the verb *šu-mu-ba-ra-ge-nam* seems inexplicable (note that it is omitted in B).

*Lines 21–24.* "Besprinkle wide the ground" attempts to render the rather difficult *ki-dagal* (note that in B the corresponding lines have *sù* instead of *dagal*).



Ill. 1




Ill. 2

*Version B**

This version of the poem (Ills. 1, 2), like that of A, may be divided into four sections. The first consists of eight lines, just like the first section of A, thus:

1 The cow — the sweet sound, the calf — the distant sound!
2 Inanna, you who keep(?) circling(?) about(?) the stall,
3 Maid, no sooner will you have entered there,
4 Inanna, may the churn utter the sound,
5 May the churn of your spouse utter the sound,
6 May the churn of Dumuzi utter the sound,
7 Inanna, may the churn utter the sound,
8 May the churn of Dumuzi utter the sound.[7]

This section, therefore, resembles that of A in large part; the differences are as follows: (1) the second half of line 2 seems to be a rather strange variant for its counterpart in A;[8] (2) line 3 has a variant verbal form (cf. commentary to A); (3) lines 5–8 have some minor variations of their counterpart in A, but by far more important is the introduction of the name Dumuzi in lines 6 and 8 (cf. commentary to A).

The second section (lines 9–16) is a somewhat expanded version of that in A; it reads as follows:

9 "I will make sing for you the rocking of the churn,

* My study of B is based on a photograph kindly made available to me by W.W. Hallo.

10 Inanna, it will make joyous the spirit.
11 The holy churn will . . .
12 Ninegal, it will make joyous the spirit,"
13 The righteous shepherd, he of the sweet chant,
14 Will utter the chant loudly for you:
15 "Innin, may the chant, the most sweet,
16 Inanna, make joyous your heart."[9]

This section therefore corresponds in large part to that of A, the major difference consisting of the introduction in B of two lines (11–12) that are not in A, both of which I assume to be part of the shepherd's sweet chant (cf. comment to A). The second of these lines (12) is identical to line 10, except for substitution of Inanna by one of her epithets, and the first, (line 11) might therefore have been expected to parallel line 9, but to judge from the rather fragmentary, unintelligible second half of the line, this does not seem to be the case.

The third section (lines 17–22) is virtually identical to that of A; it reads as follows:

17 Innin, when you enter the stall,
18 Inanna, the stall rejoices with you;
19 Hierodule, when you enter the sheepfold,
20 Inanna, the sheepfold rejoices with you;
21 When you enter the feeding-pen,
22 The trusty ewe spreads (its) wool for you.[10]

It is the fourth section (lines 22–35), much longer than that of A, that differs considerably from the latter, even in the case of the four lines that correspond more or less with each other; it reads as follows:

23 May your spouse Amaušumgalanna,
24 Utter . . . on your holy breast;
25 May the holy stall besprinkle the ground with cream for you,
26 It will besprinkle cream, it will besprinkle milk,
27 Inanna, it will make joyous the spirit;
28 May the holy sheepfold besprinkle the ground with cream for you,
29 Ninegal, it will make joyous the spirit.
30 For the king whom you have called to (your) heart,
31 For Dumuzi, the son of Enki,
32 May the stall produce(?) cream (and) milk,
33 May the sheepfold produce(?) joy;
34 The righteous shepherd — may his days be long,
35 Dumuzi, the righteous shepherd — ⟨may⟩ the days of prosperity ⟨be long⟩.[11]

Note the following: Lines 23–24 are not in A, they seem to depict an act that is presumably essential, at least in the opinion of the poet, for the production of cream and milk by the stall and sheepfold. Lines 25 and 28 are identical to line 21 of A, except for the verbal forms. Line 26, which seems to be a parenthetical poetic extension of line 25, is not found in A. Lines 27 and 29, that reiterate the theme of Inanna's rejoicing are also omitted in A. So, too, are lines 30–31, while line 32 seems to be a variant of line 22 in A (the rendering "produce(?)" in this line and the next for the rather difficult and obscure *hé-en-da-ab-bé* is a surmise only). Line 33 seems to be a variant of line 23 of A. Line 34 corresponds to line 24 in A, but unlike the latter it speaks not of Išme-Dagan, but of "the righteous shepherd" who is identified in the line following as Dumuzi. Line 35 has no verb; the suggested translation assumes that it is the *hé-sù-ud* of the preceding line, and that $^{d}$*dumu-z?-dè* is for $^{d}$*dumu-zi-da*.

## NOTES

[1] These differences and the reasons for them will be pointed out in the commentary and notes.

[2] These two lines which may be rendered "Upon the ewe caring tenderly for its lamb, may my spouse look on in sweet wonder," are obviously spoken by Išme-Dagan, and it is difficult to see how they relate to the preceding context.

[3] My transliteration of these lines reads:

1 áb gù-dùg-ga amar gù-sud(!)-[ra]
2 in-nin$_9$-e tùr-e gen-na-e
3 lú-ki-sikil u$_4$ um(!)-du-u-nam
4 $^{d}$inana $^{dug}$šakir-e gù hé-im-me
5 $^{dug}$šakir-nitalam-zu-ke$_4$(!) gù(!) hé-im-me
6 $^{d}$inanna ⟨$^{dug}$šakir-nitalam-zu-ke$_4$ gù hé-im-me⟩
7 $^{dug}$šakir-⟨$^{d}$iš'me-$^{d}$da-gan-na-ke$_4$ gù hé-im-me⟩
8 $^{d}$inanna ⟨$^{dug}$šakir-$^{d}$iš-me-$^{d}$da-gan-na-ke$_4$ gù hé-im-me⟩

Note that according to this transliteration there is no need for a line 8[a]; also that the final [-*ra*] of the line is based on B (the traces in A do not point to -*ra*, but need collation).

[4] Cf. Römer's transliteration, but note that I read line 9 thus: *búr-búr-*$^{dug}$*šakir-ra ga-mu-ra-ab-tuk*(!?) (or *túk*).

[5] Cf. Römer's transliteration, but note that I read lines 19–20 thus: *é-bu-ra-ka ku$_4$-ra-zu-dè síg u$_8$-zi-dè šu-mu-ba-ra-ge-nam*; note, too, that the sign transliterated by Römer as *tu* (lines 15, 17, 19) is now read *ku$_4$*; as for the *šu* of *šu-mu-ba-ra-ge-nam*, note that it is a variant of ša-, the *a* having become *u* by assimilation to the *u* of the following -*mu*- (it is not clear, however, why the *ša* did not become *šu*- in the verbal form *ša-mu-u$_8$da-húl-le* in lines 16 and 18.

[6] My transliteration of these lines reads:

21 amaš-kù-ge i ki ha-ra-ab-dagal-e
22 é-tùr-e i ga ha-mu-ra-ab-?
23 amaš-a kir$_4$-zal-la hé-sud(!)
24 $^{d}$iš-me$^{d}$da-gan u$_4$-da-ni hé-sù(!)-ud.

[7] Cf. Hallo's transliteration but note the following: In line 3, the verb reads *nu-um-ši-du$_9$na-àm* (not *nu-un-du$_9$-na-'am*). In line 5, *nitalam* is probably followed by -*za-ke$_4$* (not by -*zu*). In lines 6 and 8 $^{d}$*dumu-zi* was probably followed by -*da* (now broken away on the tablet).

[8] The tentative rendering assumes that *níg-nigín* is for a reduplicated *nig(ín)-nigín*.

[9] Cf. Hallo's transliteration. but note that in lines 10 and 12, the verbal forms probably begin with *ša* rather than with *ga*- (actually one might have expected the verb to read *hé-im-húl-le* (cf. line 16; also line 10 of A). In line 11, the last two signs can hardly be restored as -*ab-bé*, and the rendering of the second half of the line with its rather unexpected -*na*- is quite uncertain.

[10] Cf. Hallo's transliteration, but note that the beginning of the line probably reads *síg*(!) *u$_8$-zi-dè* (although admittedly, the first sign does look more like *u$_8$* on the photograph).

[11] Cf. Hallo's transliteration, but note the following: In line 24, the rendering assumes that *al* (fourth sign from the end) belongs to the preceding complex that is somewhat fragmentary and unintelligible. In line 30, the first complex ends in -*bí-pàd-da-zu* (not -*ne-pàd-da-zu*). In line 31, the second complex reads *dumu-*$^{d}$*en-ki-ra* (not *dumu-*$^{d}$*en-líl-ra* (Dumuzi is the son of Enki, not of Enlil).

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# A NEW DUMUZI MYTH

by Samuel Noah KRAMER

*Introduction*

BM 96692 is (probably) the lower two-thirds of a tablet, each side of which was originally inscribed with approximately thirty to forty lines of text. In its present condition only forty-six lines of consecutive text are extant, and of these, only lines 18-42 are fully preserved or restorable with reasonable certainty. To judge from the preserved portion of the text, it is a Dumuzi myth that included an hitherto unknown plot-motif as well as some interesting new stylistic features. It is a melancholy privilege to dedicate this edition of a fragmentary but by no means insignificant Sumerian mythic document to the memory of Edmond Sollberger, my friend and colleague of many years, who has done so much to help clarify and illuminate the history, culture, and literature of the Ancient Near East.

As noted above, the beginning of our text is either broken away altogether or quite fragmentary, and it is not clear just what took place that made Dumuzi weep, and come with a bread-offering, before the sun-god Utu and the moon-god Nanna, to plead for their help (lines 1-17). But to judge from what follows, Dumuzi and his flock had suffered a dire calamity: his sheep were attacked by snakes, and crippled by disease; his dog suffered from palsy; and he himself was attacked by the treacherous *kurgarra*. He therefore pleads with Utu and Nanna to drive away the snakes, to uproot and remove the diseases from his sheep and dog, and to prevent the *kurgarra* from harming him. If they do so, he concludes, he will pronounce their names on the prime cheese and cream in his sheepfold—that is, presumably he will bring them offerings of the first portions of the cream and cheese produced in his sheepfold (lines 18-25).

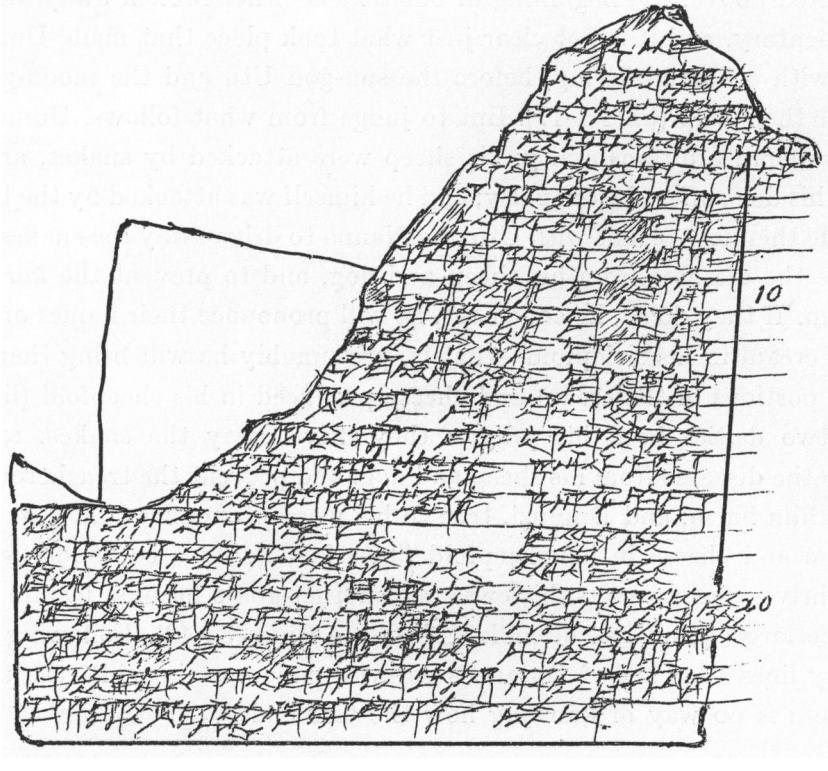
The two deities heed his prayer: they drive away the snakes, remove and expropriate the diseases from his sheep and dog; and prevent the treacherous *kurgarra* from doing him harm; and Dumuzi, true to his word pronounced their names on the prime cream and cheese in his sheepfold (lines 26-33). As a consequence Dumuzi's sheepfold thrives and prospers: his ewes and mother-goats become fecund and fertile and produce large quantities of milk and cheese (lines 34-42). Following four more fragmentary lines that tell of Dumuzi's carrying cream at his side, the text breaks off, and there is no way of knowing how the tale ends.[1]

1. Note that it is not impossible that our text is only part of a myth inscribed on several tablets.

*Transliteration*

*Obv.*

1. ....
2. ....
3. .... [mu-un]-na-da-ab-šám-š[ám]
4. .... mu-u]n-na-da-ab-šám-šám
5. .... mu-un-na-da-ab-si-ig-e
6. .... -na-ka gú mu-un-na-lá-e
7. ....-[DU-D]U ír im-da-še$_8$-še$_8$
8. ....-[DU]-DU ír im-da-še$_8$-še$_8$
9. ....-DU-DU ír im-da-še$_8$-še$_8$
10. ....-ŠID(?) gi-ub-zal ma-kú-e
11. ....-ŠID gi-ub-zal ma-kú-e
12. ....-mu gi-ub-zal ma-kú-e
13. ....-ma-mu gi-ub-zal ma-kú-e
14. .... ninda mu-ŠID šu-ni ba-ab-sì-mu

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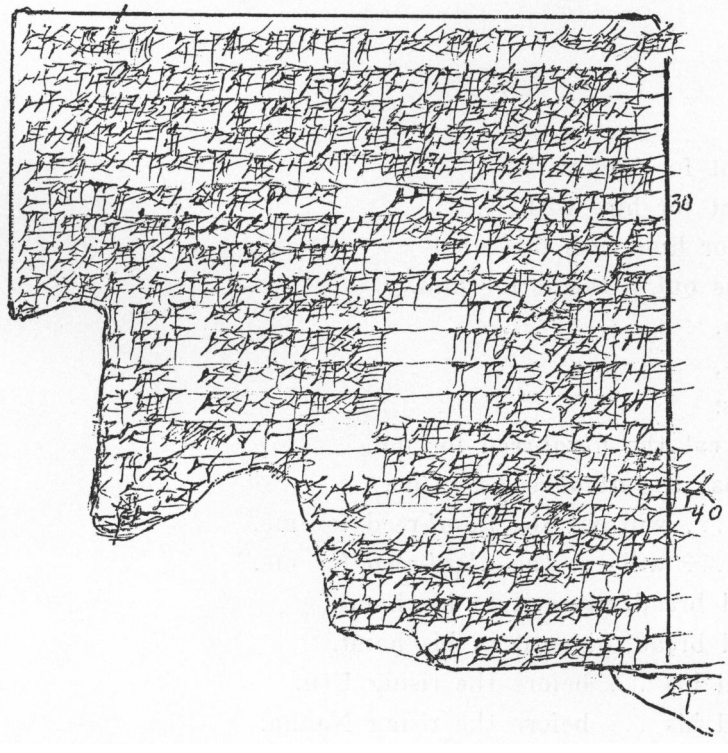
15. .... ninda mu-ŠID šu-ni ba-ab-sì-mu
16. .... $^{d}$utu-è-a-ra ?-?-ni àm-ši-ma-al
17. .... $^{d}$nanna-è-a-ra ?-?-ni àm-ši-ma-al
18. ú(?)-a-i(?)-$^{d}$utu $^{d}$utu ḫé-me-en-ku-li-mu
19. ú(?)-a-i(?)-$^{d}$nanna $^{d}$nanna ḫé-me-en-du$_{10}$-ús-sa-mu
20. u$_{8}$-muš-a-ka-mà muš è-ma-ra-ab ḫé-me-en-ku-li-mu
21. ùz-ga-na-ka-mà ga-an è-ma-ra-ab ḫé-me-en-du$_{10}$-ús-sa-mu
22. giš-šub-mu-ta dugud ba-ma-ra-ab an-na ḫu-mu-un-nigin
23. ur-mu sa-ad(?)-NIM(?) zi-ma-ra-ab amaš-a ḫu-mu-un-ús-e
24. ma-a-ra kur-gar-ra-lul-la-ra šu-dingir dù-mu-na

*Rev.*

25. amaš-kù-mà ìa-sag-ga-ra-sag-gá mu-zu ga-àm-mi-in-pàd
26. $^{d}$utu e-ne-èm-mà ba-e-dè-gub sipad-dè amaš-a-na
27. $^{d}$nanna e-ne-èm-mà ba-e-dè-gub $^{d}$dumu-zi amaš-a-na
28. u$_{8}$-muš-a-ka-ni muš im-ma-ra-è e-ne ku-li-ni
29. ùz-ga-na-a-ka-ni ga-an im-ma-ra-è e-ne du$_{10}$-ús-sa-ni
30. giš-šub-a-ni dugud im-ta-an-ba an-na mu-un-nigin




96692 (rev.)

31. ur-ra-ni sa-ad(?)-NIM(?) im-ta-an-zi amaš-a mu-un-ús-e
32. e-ne-ra kur-gar-ra-lul-la-ra šu-dingir mu-na-an-dù
33. amaš-kù-ga ìa-sag-ga-ra-sag-gá mu-ni im-mi-in-pàd
34. [$u_8$-e] min-àm mu-na-ù-tu min-a-bi SAL.?-àm
35. [ùz-dè] $eš_5$-àm mu-na-ù-tu $eš_5$-a-bi SAL.KÀR-àm
36. [min-$gi_6$]-$gi_6$-ga mu-na-ù-tu min-a-bi SAL.?-àm
37. [$eš_5$-babbar]-babbar-ra mu-na-ù-tu $eš_5$-a-bi SAL.KÀR-àm
38. [ga(?)]-šà-ba amaš-nu-me-a giš-ú-$šeg_x$ mu-na-ab-lá
39. [ga-a-ú] a-GUD-nu-me-a a-kàr-ra mu-na-an-dé
40. [ga-i-t]i-ir-da [kun-en]-na-nu-me-a ki-in-dar mu-un-na-ab-kud
41. [ga-àra]-tur-tur [$du_6$-šè mu-na]-$du_8$ sipad-ra amaš-a-na
42. [ga-àra-gal-gal pa-šè mu-na]-ná $^d$dumu-zi-ra amaš-a-na
43. .... [mu]-un-lá $u_5$ zag-šè mu-un-lá
44. .... [mu]-un-lá $u_5$ zag-šè-mu-un-lá
45. .... [mu-un-lá] $u_5$ zag-šè mu-un-lá
46. ....

*Translation*

*Obv.*

1. ....
2. ....
3. .... bought for him with it,
4. .... bought for him with it,
5. .... fills for him with it,
6. .... weighs out a talent for him.
7. .... weeps,
8. .... weeps,
9. .... weeps:
10. "..... will eat the *ubzal*-reed for me,
11. .... will eat the *ubzal*-reed for me,
12. .... my .... will eat the *ubzal*-reed for me,
13. .... my .... will eat the *ubzal*-reed for me."
14. .... baked bread, gives it in his hand,
15. .... baked bread, gives it in his hand,
16. .... placed his ... before the rising Utu,
17. .... placed his ... before the rising Nanna:
18. "Oh and woe! Utu, Utu, pray be my friend,

19. Oh and woe! Nanna, Nanna, pray be my companion,
20. From my snake-(menaced) ewe, make the snake go away,
21. From my scab-(afflicted) mother-goat, make the scab go away,
22. From my lot expropriate the *miqtu*-disease, let it whirl about in heaven,
23. From my dog remove the seizures, let him follow the sheepfold,
24. As for me, fashion a divine hand against the treacherous *kurgarra*,

*Rev.*

25. In my holy sheepfold I will pronounce your name on the prime cream, on the prime cheese."
26. Utu stood by him in the matter—by the shepherd in his sheepfold,
27. Nanna stood by him in the matter—by Dumuzi in his sheepfold,
28. From the snake-(menaced) ewe, he made the snake go away—he is his friend,
29. From the scab-(afflicted) mother-goat, he made the scab go away—he is his companion,
30. From his lot he expropriated the *miqtu*-disease, it whirled about in heaven,
31. From his dog he removed the seizures, he followed his sheepfold,
32. As for him, he fashioned a divine hand against the treacherous *kurgarra*,
33. In the holy sheepfold he pronounced his name on the prime cream, on the prime cheese.
34. [The ewe] gave birth to two for him—the two of them are suckling lambs,
35. [The mother-goat] gave birth to three for him—the three of them are suckling kids
36. Gave birth to [two] black ones for him—the two of them are suckling lambs,
37. Gave birth to [three] white ones for him—the three of them are suckling kids.
38. [The milk] inside them—there being no sheepfold—was spread out for him over the *ašāgu*-shrubs,
39. [The "plant"-milk]—there being no early flood—was poured out for him in the meadow,
40. The *itirda*-[milk]—there being no [*enna*-basin]—crevices were split open for him,
41. The little [cheeses] were piled up [into mounds for him]—for the shepherd in his sheepfold,
42. [The big cheeses] were laid [on sticks for him]—for Dumuzi in his sheepfold.
43. .... carried, carried cream at the side,
44. .... carried, carried cream at the side,
45. .... carried, carried cream at the side,
46. ....

COMMENTARY

*Lines 1-17.* In lines 1-6, there are too many unknowns for any reasonable surmise of the actions involved—the translations of the extant verbal forms are no more than obvious literal renderings of the more usual meanings of the verbal roots and their accompanying grammatical elements. In lines 7-9, the subject is no doubt Dumuzi. The meaning of the preserved second half of lines 10-13 is altogether obscure, although the reading seems reasonably assured.[2] In lines 14-15, *mu-ŠID* may of course be rendered by "counted" rather than "baked"; in either case it might have been expected to read *mu-un-ŠID*; the rendering "in his hand" for *šu-ni* assumes that it is equivalent to *šu-na*. In lines 16-17, the initial break may perhaps be restored to read *su$_8$-ba-dè* and $^{d}$*dumu-zi-dè*; the *-ši-* of *àm-ši-ma-al* refers back to the *-ra* of the first legible complex.

*Lines 18-25.* The rendering of this passage that consists of Dumuzi's plea to Utu and Nanna, is reasonably assured. In lines 18-19, *ú-a-i*, if the reading is correct, is assumed to be a variant for such cries of grief as *ù-a*, *ù-u$_8$-a*, etc. (cf. Joachim Krecher, *Sumerische Kultlyric*, pp. 115-116). The *ḫé-me-en* of the last complex in lines 18-19 (as well as lines 20-21), might perhaps have been expected to follow rather than precede *ku-li-mu* and *du$_{11}$-us-sa-mu*. In lines 20-21, the first complex should read grammatically *u$_8$-muš-a-mu* and *ùz-ga-na-mu* (literally: "my ewe of the snake" and "my mother-goat of the scab"); the unjustified *-ka-* may be due to confusion with the *-ka-* of the first complex of lines 28-29 where it is grammatically correct, but the *-mà* for the expected *-mu* seems inexplicable. In line 22, the implication of "my lot", if the rendering is correct, is rather unclear; it may refer to the fate allotted Dumuzi by the gods; for *dugud=miqtu*, cf. *CAD sub miqtu*, and note that another of *miqtu*'s Sumerian equivalents ia *an-ta-šub-ba* "that which has been hurled down from heaven" (hence the appropriateness of Dumuzi's plea "let it whirl about in heaven", that is, let it return to its original home where it belongs); for *ba*=expropriate, cf. *PSD sub ba (6)*. The reading and rendering of *sa-ad-NIM* are surmises only, cf. perhaps *ŠL* No. 104:75 and *CAD sub bennu*. The *kurgarra* (line 24) is a transvestite cult-performer, usually a devotee of Inanna, who is also associated in some way with death and the Nether World, cf. *CAD sub kurgarrû*, for the essential bibliographical references.[3] In line 25, *ga-ra* is a variant of *ga-arà*.

*Lines 26-33.* No comment except that in line 27, *-dè* might have been expected to follow $^{d}$*dumu-zi*.

*Lines 34-42.* The restorations in lines 34-37 are reasonable surmises only. In lines 34 and 36, the rendering of *SAL.?-àm* as "suckling lambs" assumes that it is parallel to *SAL.KÀR-àm* in lines 35 and 37, and that the latter is a variant of *SAL.AŠ-KÀR=unīqum* (cf. *ŠL* No. 554:62 and *AHw sub unīqum*). Lines 38-42 probably depict in hyperbolic diction the vast quantities of milk and cheese produced by Dumuzi's ewes and mother-goats: if there was no (second) sheepfold to receive the milk (presumably because the first was already full), it spilled over the *ašāgu*-plant (line 38);[4] there was so much "plant"-milk that it could water the meadows when there was no seasonal flood to water them (line 39);[5] if there was no *enna*-basin to receive the *itirda*-milk (presumably because the first was already full), it would overflow into crevices split

2. For the obscure *gi-ub-zal*, cf. especially Miguel Civil, The Home of the Fish (*Iraq* XXIII, 1961), p. 170 *sub* lines 71-72.

3. Cf. especially the Lisinna lament, *UET* VI, No. 144, line 69 that may be restored to read : *sag-gá-ni-ta kur-gar-ra in-gar te-gá-ni-ta nam-*[*tar in-gar*] : "At her (Lisinna's) head the *kurgarra* has been placed, at her cheek Nam[tar has been placed].

4. For *giš-ú-šeg$_8$=ašāgu*, cf. Mark Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology*, p. 185 *sub* line 81.

5. For *a-GUD=a-eštub*, cf. *CAD sub mīlu*.

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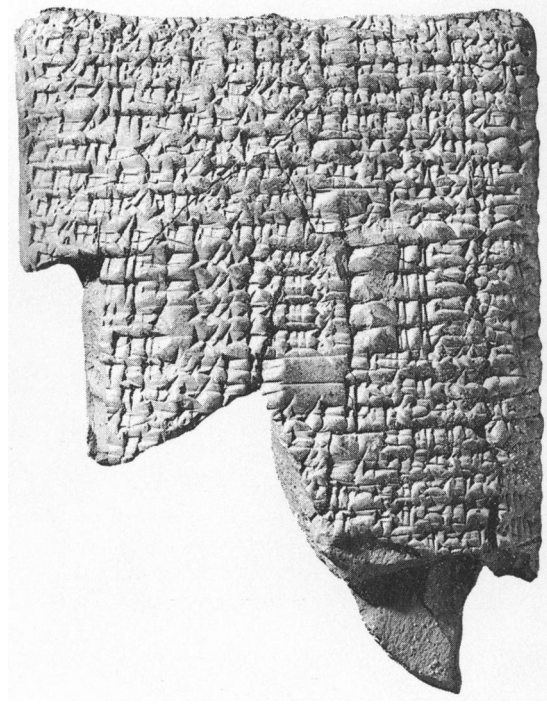

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open to receive it (line 40); the little cheeses were so many that they were piled up into mounds (line 41); the big cheeses had to be laid on sticks (presumably because they were so heavy) (line 42).

*Lines 43-46.* These lines which depict Dumuzi carrying cream are reminiscent of lines 25-28 on *SLTN 35* which depict Dumuzi carrying cream and milk to Inanna's house in order to induce her to marry him, thus:

lú-sipad-dè ìa šu-šè mu-un-lá
$^{d}$dumu-zi-dè ga zag-šè mu-un-lá
ìa-ga níg-bàn-da zag-šè mu-un-lá
ga $^{duk}$šakir(?)-ra zag-šè mu-un-lá

The shepherd carried cream at the hand,
Dumuzi carried milk at the side,
Carried cream (and) milk in *nig-bàn-da*-vessels at the side,
Carried milk in šakir(?)-vessels at the side.[6]

6. For this improved reading of the passage, cf. Yitschak Sefati, "Love Songs in Sumerian Literature" (unpublished dissertation in the Assyriological Institute of Bar-Ilan University, 1985), pp. 324-5. For *nig-bàn-da*, cf. *ŠL* No. 597:172.

# ANCIENT
# NEAR EASTERN TEXTS

## *Relating to the Old Testament*

EDITED BY
JAMES B. PRITCHARD

## *Third Edition with Supplement*

PRINCETON · NEW JERSEY
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# Sumerian Myths and Epic Tales

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

## Enki and Ninhursag: a Paradise Myth

"Enki and Ninhursag" is one of the best preserved of the Sumerian myths uncovered to date. The story it tells is well nigh complete and at least on the surface most of the details of its rather complicated plot are reasonably intelligible. Unfortunately, the main purpose of the myth as a whole is by no means clear and the literary and mythological implications of its numerous and varied motifs are not readily analyzable.[1] Nevertheless it adds much that is significant for the Near Eastern mythological horizon, and perhaps even provides a number of interesting parallels to the motifs of the biblical paradise story as told in the second and third chapters of Genesis.[2] Briefly sketched, the contents of "Enki and Ninhursag" run as follows: The poem begins with a eulogy of Dilmun,[3] described as both a "land" and a "city," where the action of the story takes place. This Dilmun, according to our poem, is a place that is pure, clean, and bright (lines 1-13). It is a land in which there is probably neither sickness nor death (lines 14-30). It is a city which, by the command of the Sumerian water-god Enki, has become full of sweet water and of crop-bearing fields and farms and has thus become known as "the house of the ***bank-quays*** of the land" (lines 31-64).

Following a brief passage whose interpretation is far from clear (lines 65-72),* the main action of the myth begins. Enki impregnates the goddess Ninhursag, "the mother of the land," who, after nine days of pregnancy gives birth, without pain and effort, to the goddess Ninmu. Enki then proceeds to impregnate his daughter Ninmu, who in the same way as her mother Ninhursag, gives birth to the goddess named Ninkurra (lines 89-108). Enki then impregnates his granddaughter Ninkurra, and the latter gives birth to the goddess Uttu[5] (lines 109-127). Enki is now evidendy prepared to impregnate his great-granddaughter Uttu when Ninhursag, the great-grandmother, intervenes and offers the latter some pertinent advice. Unfortunately the relevant passage (lines 128-152) is almost completely destroyed. But to judge from the passage that follows (lines 153-185) Uttu may have been instructed by Ninhursag not to cohabit with Enki until and unless he brings her a gift of cucumbers, ***apples***, and grapes. Be that as it may, we next see Enki obtain the cucumbers, ***apples***, and grapes from a gardener[6] who probably brought them to him in gratitude for his watering the dikes, ditches, and uncultivated places (lines 153-167). Enki brings them to Uttu as a gift, and the latter now joyfully receives his advances and cohabits with him (lines 165-185).

But of this union probably no new goddess is born. Instead, Ninhursag seems to utilize Enki's semen in a way which leads to the sprouting of eight different plants: the "tree"-plant, the "honey"-plant, the ***roadweed***-plant, the ***apasar***-plant,[7] the Morn-plant, the ***caper***-plant, a plant whose name is illegible, and the cassia-plant (lines 186-195). And now Enki commits a sinful deed. As he looked about him in the marshland, he noticed the eight plants and probably determined to decide their fate. But first, it seems, he had to ***k$^{now}$*** their heart, that is, he probably had to taste what they were like. And so his messenger, the two-faced god Isimud, plucks each of the eight plants for Enki, and the latter eats them one by one (lines 196-217). Angered by this act, Ninhursag, the goddess who is so largely responsible for their first coming into existence, utters a curse against Enki, saying that until he dies she will not look upon him with the "eye of life." And, as good as her word, she immediately disappears.

Whereupon, Enki no doubt begins to pine away, and the Anunnaki, the "great" but nameless Sumerian gods, sit in the dust. At this point the fox[8] comes to the rescue; he asks Enlil, the leader of the Sumerian pantheon,[9] what would be his reward if he brought Ninhursag back to the gods. Enlil names his reward, and the fox, sure enough, succeeds in some way in having Ninhursag return to the gods in Dilmun (lines 221-249). Ninhursag then seats the dying Enki ***by*** her vulva,[10] and asks where he feels pain. Enki names an organ of the body which hurts him, and Ninhursag then informs him that she has caused a certain deity to be born for him,[11] the implication being that the birth of the deity will result in the healing of the sick member. All in all, Ninhursag repeats the question eight times.[12] Each time Enki names an organ of the body which pains him, and in each case Ninhursag announces the birth of a corresponding deity (lines 250-268).[13] Finally, probably at the request of Ninhursag, Enki decreed the fate of the newborn deities, the last of whom, Enshag by name, is destined to be "the lord of Dilmun."

The text of "Enki and Ninhursag" is based primarily on a fairly well-preserved six-column tablet excavated in Nippur and

[1] For a discussion of the aims and techniques of the Sumerian mythographers, cf. the writer's review of *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* in *JCS,* 11, 39 ff.

[2] cf. *BASOR SS,* No. 1, 8-9.

[5] For a detailed discussion of Dilmun and its location, cf. the writer's Dilmun, the Land of the Living, *BASOR,* 96, 18-28; for a contrary opinion, cf. now P. B. Cornwall, *BASOR,* 103 (1946), 3-11.

[4] The suggestion in *SS,* No. 1, that the passage "may contain a description in anthropomorphic terms of the poet's notion of the formation of the marshlands in the neighborhood of the deltas bordering the Persian Gulf' (pp. 4-5) is highly dubious and might perhaps better not have been made in the first place.

[5] The mythological motifs involved in the birth of the goddesses Ninmu, Ninkurra and Uttu (note, too, that according to a variant of our text, a goddess by the name of Ninsig is to be added as a fourth in this chain of births) are obscure; Ninmu and Ninsig, to judge from their names ("the Lady who brings forth" and "the Lady who makes green"), seem to be deities whose activities originally concerned vegetation; the goddess Ninkurra, "Lady of the mountain-land" or perhaps "Lady of the nether world," is a deity whose activities seem to be restricted to stone working; the goddess Uttu seems to be a deity whose activities had to do with clothing (cf. now Jacobsen, *JNES,* v, 143).

[6] The presence of the gardener is not to be taken as an indication that our myth deals in any way with human beings; the gardener is no doubt to be considered as one of a host of minor deities in charge of a particular activity in the service of the gods.

[7] The reading of the name of this plant is uncertain.

[8] At least in Dilmun, therefore, which may perhaps be characterized as a divine paradise (cf. *SS* No. 1, 8, note 28), some animals were conceived as existing at the time when the action of our myth is supposed to take place.

• Note that Enlil, too, thus seems to be present in Dilmun.

[10] Actually the text seems to say "in her vulva."

[11] For the difficulties involved in the interpretation of the relevant lines, cf. *SS,* No. 1, 6, note 22.

[12] Note that the number of Enki's sick organs corresponds to the number of plants which he had eaten.

[13] The correspondence between the sick member and the healing deity rests on the superficial and punlike etymologizing of the ancient scribes; the Sumerian word for the sick organ contains at least one syllable in common with the name of the deity. Thus e.g. one of the organs that pained Enki was the "mouth," the Sumerian word for which is ***k,a,*** and the deity created to alleviate this pain is called Nin^asi; similarly, the goddess born to alleviate the pain of the rib, the Sumerian word for which is ***ti,*** is named Nin/i, etc.

now in the University Museum; it was copied and published by Stephen Langdon under the tide ***Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man*** in ***PBS,*** x, Pt. 1 (1915). Since then a fragment of unknown provenience has been published by Henri De Genouillac in ***TRS,*** 62, but the nature of its contents was first recognized by Edward Chiera (cf. ***JAOS,*** LIV, 417). Both tablets were actually inscribed some time in the first half of the second millennium **B.C.;** the date when the myth was first composed is unknown. A transliteration and translation of the poem were published by the writer in ***BASOR SS*** No. 1 (1945); here will be found references to earlier literature. A translation of the poem based on the transliteration in ***SS*** No. 1 has been published by M. Witzel in ***Orientalia NS,*** xv (1946), 239-285. A resume of the contents of the myth and a translation of the first 25 lines were published by T. Jacobsen in ***The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man***, pp. 157-160 (cf. the present writer's comment in ***JCS,*** n, 58, note 40).[14]

"[The *place*] is [pure]...,
... [the land] Dilmun is pure;
[The land Dilmun] is [pu]re ...,
... the [la]nd D[il]mun is pure;
The land Dilmun is pure, the land Dilmun is clean;
The land Dilmun is clean, the land Dilmun is most bright
Who had lain by himself in Dilmun—
The place, after Enki had lain with his wife,
That place is clean, that place is most bright;
(Who had lain) by himself (in Dilmun)— (10)
The place, (after) Enki (had lain) by Ninsikilla,
That place is clean, (that place is bright).
In Dilmun the raven utters no cries,[18]
The *ittidu*-bird" utters not the cry of the *ittidu*-bird,
The lion .kills not,
The wolf snatches not the lamb,
Unknown is the kid-devouring *wild dog,,*
Unknown is the grain-devouring...,
[Unknown][17] is the ... widow,
The bird on high... s not its..., (20)
The dove *droops* not the head,
The sick-eyed says not "I am sick-eyed,"
The sick-headed (says) not "I am sick-headed,"
Its[19] old woman (says) not "I am an old woman,"
Its old man (says) not "I am an old man,"
Unbathed is the maid, no sparkling water is poured in the city,
Who crosses the river utters no...,
*The wailing priest walks not round about him,*
The singer utters no *wail,*
By the side of the city he (utters) no *lament.* (30)
Ninsikilla says to her father[20] Enki:

"The city thou hast given, the city thou hast given, thy...,
Dilmun, the city thou hast given, the city (thou hast given, thy ...),
Has not... o/ the river;
Dilmun, the city thou hast given, the city (thou hast given, thy...),
...,
... *furrowed fields (and)* farms,[21]
...,
...." (40)
[Father Enki answers Ninsikilla, his daughter]:
["Let Utu[22] *standing* in heaven],
[From the ..., the *breast* of his...],
[From the... of Nanna],[23]
[From the 'mouth whence issues the water of the earth,' bring thee sweet water from the earth];
Let him bring up the water into thy large...,
Let him make thy city drink from it the waters of abundance,
(Let him make) Dilmun (drink from it) the waters of ab(undance),
Let thy well of bitter water become a well of sweet water,
[Let thy *furrowed* fields (and) farms *bear* thee grain],[24] (49a)
Let thy city become the *bank-quay*[25] house of the land,[26] (50)
Now Utu is a ..."
Utu *standing* in heaven,
From the..., the *breast* of his...,
From the ... of Nanna,
From the "mouth whence issues the water of the earth," brought her sweet water from the earth;
He brings up the water into her large ...,
Makes her city drink from it the waters of abundance,
Makes Dilmun (drink from it) the waters of ab(undance),
Her well of bitter water, verily it is become a well of sweet water, (60)
Her *furrowed* fields (and) farms *bore* her grain,
Her city, verily it is become the *bank-quay* house of the land
Dilmun, (verily it is become) the *bankr(quay)* house (of the land),
Now Utu is... ;[27] verily it was so.
Who is alone, *before* the wise Nintu, the mother of the land,[28]

[14] Note also the review of *SS* No. 1 by Raymond Jestin in *Syria,* xxv (1946-1948), 150-155.

[15] The scribe of the tablet on which the text of the poem is based, often omitted words and contplexes (or parts of words and complexes) that were obvious repetitions; such omissions are given in parentheses throughout this translation.

[16] Lines 13-25 seem to fit the assumption that Dilmun is a land in which there is neither sickness nor death; the implications of lines 26-30, however, are obscure even where the renderings are relatively certain.

[17] The *ittidu-bud* is probably a bird whose cry is a mark of death and desolation.

[18] Brackets erroneously omitted in *SS* No. 1.

[19] "Its" in this and the next line refers to Dilmun.

[20] The word "father" is here used as an honorific tide and does not denote actual paternity.

[21] Note that this rendering differs slighdy from that in *SS* No. 1.

[22] Utu (not to be confused with the goddess Uttu) is the sun-god.

[23] Nanna is the moon-god.

[24] This line must have been accidentally omitted by the scribe, cf. line 61; note too, the slighdy varying rendering of these two lines from that in *SS* No. 1.

[25] Note this new rendering, and cf. Witzel, *Orientalia,* xv, 268.

[26] The Sumerian word here rendered "land" usually refers to Sumer; but since "thy city" refers to Dilmun, the implications of the line are not too clear.

[27] The first half of this line corresponds to line 51.

[28] Perhaps the rendering of this line and Ac next should read: "Who is alone, the wise, *before* Nintu, the mother of the land; Enki, the wise, before Nintu, the mother of the land," cf. *SS* No. 1, 24; for the word "land" cf. note 26.

Enki (*before*) the wise Nintu, (the mother of the land),
*Causes his phallus to water* the dikes,[2*]
*Causes his phdlus to submerge* the reeds,
Verily *causes his phallus to*[80]...,
Thereupon he said,"*Let* no one walk
in the marshland," (70)
Thereupon Enki said: ("*Let* no one walk in the marshland),"
He swore by the life of Anu.[31]
*His... of* the marshland,... o/ the marshland,
Enki... d *his* semen of Damgalnunna,[82]
Poured the semen in the womb of Ninhursag.
She took the semen into the womb, the semen of Enki.
One day being her one month,
Two days being her two months,
Three days being her three months,
Four days being her four months, (80)
Five days (being her five months),
Six days (being her six months),
Seven days (being her seven months),
Eight [days] (being her eight months),
Nine [days] being her nine months, the months of "womanhood,"
L[ike... fat], like ... fat, like good princely fat,
[Nintu], the mother of the land, like [ . . . fat], (like ... fat, like good princely fat),
Gave birth to [Ninmu].
Ninmu... d *at* the bank of the river,[88]
Enki in the marshland *looks about,*
*looks about,* (90)
He says to his messenger Isimud:
"Shall I not kiss the young one, the fair?
(Shall I not kiss) Ninmu, the fair?"
His messenger Isimud answers him:
"Kiss the young one, the fair,[84]
(Kiss) Ninmu, the fair,
For my king I shall *blow up a mighty wind,* I shall *blow up a mighty wind."*
*First* he set his foot in the boat,[85]
*Then* he set it on *dry land,*
He embraced her, he kissed her, (100)
Enki poured the semen into the womb,
She took the semen into the womb, the semen of Enki,
One day being her one month,
Two days being her two months,
Nine days being her nine months, the months of "womanhood,"[88]
[Like ... ] fat, like [ ... fat], like good princely fat,
[Ninmu], (like) . . . [fat], (like . . . fat, like good princely fat),
Gave birth to Nink[urra].
Ninkurra... d *at* the bank of the river,
Enki in the marshland *[looks about,*
*looks about],* *(no)*
He [says] to his messenger Isimud:
"Shall I not [kiss] the young one, the fair?
(Shall I not kiss) Ninkurra, the fair?"
His messenger Isimud answers him:
"Kiss the young one, the fair,
(Kiss) Ninkurra, the fair.
For my king I shall *blow up a mighty wind,* I shall *blow up a mighty wind?*
*First* he set his foot in the boat,
*Then* he set it on *dry land,*
He embraced her, he kissed her, (120)
Enki poured the semen into the womb,
She took the semen into the womb, the semen of Enki,
One day being her one month,
Nine days being her nine months, the months [of] "womanhood,"[87]
Like... fat, like... fat, like good, princely fat,
Ninkurra, (like) ... fat, (like... fat, like good, princely fat),
Gave birth to Uttu, the *fair* lady.
Nintu says [to] Uttu, [the *fair* lady]:
"Instruction I offer thee, [take] my instruction,
A word I speak to thee, [take] my word. (130)
Someone in the marshland *look[s] about, [looks about],*
Enki in the marshland *[looks about, looks about],*
*The eye ...*
(approximately 10 lines destroyed)
... Uttu, the fair lady ...,
...,
*... in his...,*
*... heart...*
*Bring* [the cucumbers in *their...],*
*Bring [the apples]* in their [...],
*Bring* the grapes in their..., (150)
In the house may he take hold of my leash,[38]
May Enki there take hold of my leash."
A second time while he[8*] was filling with water,
He filled the dikes with water,
He filled the ditches with water,
He filled the uncultivated places with water.
The gardener *in the dust* in his joy ...,
He embrac[es] him.
"Who art thou who... [my] garden?"
Enki [answers] the gardener: (160)
M
...,
*[Bring me the cucumbers in their...],*
*[Bring me the apples in their...],*
*[Bring me the grapes in their.... ]"*
[He] *brought* him the cucumbers in *their...,*
He *brought* him *the apples* in their...,

[29] "Dikes" instead of "ditches," as in *SS* No. i.
[30] Should have been italicized as doubtful in *SS* No. i.
[31] Anu is the god of heaven, who early in Sumerian history was the leading deity of the pantheon.
[32] The implications of the phrase "the semen of Damgalnunna" are obscure; Damgalnunna is well known as the wife of Enki, and it is hardly likely that she is identical with the goddess Ninhursag (also known as Nintu throughout our poem) mentioned in the following line, cf. too, n.53.
[33] Note the new rendering which differs considerably from that in *SS* No. 1; so also line 109.
[34] The rendering is based on the assumption of a scribal error; cf. lines 115-116.
[39] Note the new renderings of lines 98-99 and 118-119.
[36] Note that the scribe does not repeat days three to eight.
[37] Note that the scribe does not repeat days two to eight.
[38] "To take hold of the leash" probably connotes "to follow the lead of someone" "to do exacdy as had been planned by someone."
[89] "He" probably refers to Enki.

He *brought* him the grapes in their..., he heaped them on his lap.
Enki, his face turned green, he gripped the staff,
To Uttu Enki directed his step.
"Who ... st *in her house*, open."[40]
"Thou, who art thou?"
"I, the gardener, would give thee cucumbers, *apples*, and grapes as a 'so be it.' "[41]
Uttu with joyful heart opened the door of the house.
Enki to Uttu, the *fair lady,*
Gives the cucumbers in their...,
Gives *the apples* in their...,
Gives the grapes in their
Uttu, the fair lady ... s the ... for *him,*. . . s the . . . for *him.*[42]
Enki took his joy of Uttu,
He embraced her, lay in her lap,
He ... s the thighs,[48] he touches the ...,
He embraced her, lay in her lap,
With the young one he cohabited, he kissed her.
Enki poured the semen into the womb,
She took the semen into the womb, the semen of Enki.
Uttu, the fair lady ...,
Ninhursag... d the *semen from the thighs,*
[The "tree'-plant sprouted],
[The "honey"-plant spro]uted,
[The *roadweed*-plant spro]uted,
[The .. .-plant s]prouted,
[The *thorn* s]prouted,
[The *caper*-plant] sp(routed),
[The.. .-plant] sp(routed),
[The cassia-plant s]prouted.
Enki in the marshland *looks about, loo\s about,*
He says to his messenger Isimud:
"Of the plants, their fate ...,
What, pray, is this? What, pray, is this?"
His messenger Isimud answers him:
"My [king], the 'tree'-plant," he says to him;
He[44] cuts it down for him, he eats it.
"My king, the 'honey'-plant," he says to him;[45]
He plucks it for him, he eats it.
"My king, the *r[oadwee]d-$hint,* he (says to him),
He cuts it down for him, he eats it).
"My king, the .. .-plant," he (says to him);
[He plucks it for him, he (eats it)].
"[My king, the t]horn-plant," he (says to him);
[He cuts it down for him], he (eats it).
"[My king, the ca]per-[plant]," he (says to him),
[He plucks it for him, he (eats it)].
["My king, the .. .-plant," he (says to him)];
[He cuts it down for him], he (eats it).
"My king, the cassia-plant," he says to him;
[He plucks it for him], he eats it.
Of the plants, [Enki] decreed their fate, *knew* their "heart."
(Thereupon[46]) Ninhursag cursed Enki's name:
"Until he is dead I shall not look upon him with the 'eye of life.' "[47]
The Anunnaki sat in the dust,
(When)[48] up speaks the fox to Enlil:
"If I bring Ninhursag before thee, what shall be my reward?"
Enlil answers the fox:
"If thou wilt bring Ninhursag before me,
In my city[49]1 will *plant* trees *(and) fields* for thee, verily thy name will be uttered."
The fox, *as one...* d *his skin,*
*As one, loosened his...,*
*As one*, painted *his face.*
(four lines destroyed)
"[To *Nippur] I shall go,* Enlil
*[T]o [Ur] I shall go*, Nanna ...,
*To [Larsa] I shall go, Utu...,*
*To [Erech] I shall go*, Inanna...,
*... is, my name ... bring."*
*Enlil...*
Ninhursag
(four lines destroyed)
*... stood by him.*
Ninhursag... d ...,
The Anunnaki seized her garments,
*Made...;*[1]
Decreed the fate,
*Interpreted* the ...,
Ninhursag seated Enki *by*[62] her vulva:
"My brother,[58] what hurts thee?"
"My ... hurts me."
"Abu I have caused to be born for thee."[54]
"My brother, what hurts thee?"
"My *jaw* hurts me."
"Nintulla I have caused to be born for thee."
"My brother, what hurts thee?" "My tooth hurts me."
"Ninsutu I have caused to be born for thee."
"My brother, what hurts thee?" "My mouth hurts me."
"Ninkasi I have [caused] to be [born] for thee."
"My brother what hurts thee?" "My.. [. hurts me]."

[40] In 55 No. 1, there is one "open" too many.
[41] For a leading god like Enki to give something as a "so be it," may be another way of saying "to present as a permanent gift."
[42] Note the slightly variant rendering from that of 55 No. i.
[43] "Thighs" instead of "buttocks" as in 55 No. i; cf„ too, line 187.
[44] The first "he" refers to Isimud, the second "he" refers to Enki.
[45] Note that the scribe omits the text corresponding to line 199 before lines 203, 205, 207, etc.
[46] "Thereupon" should have been placed in parentheses in 55 No. i.
[47] "The eye of life" had its opposite in the "eye of death," cf. e.g. line 164 of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" on p. 55.
[48] So, rather than as in 55 No. 1.
[49] That is Nippur, the city where Enlil had his great temple, the Ekur.
[50] For the restoration of the place names in lines 233-236, cf. Witzel's excellent suggestion in *Orientalia,* NS, xv, 282. In 55 No. 1, note that Uttu in line 235 is an error for *Utu.*
[51] In 55 No. 1, two dots are superflous; so too, in line 249.
[52] Actually the text seems to say "in her vulva."
[53] Note that if the words "my brother" are to be taken literally, Enki and Ninhursag were conceived as brother and sister, at least by the mythographers of this period; at present it is not clear how this concept was justified.
[84] For the nature of the correspondence between the sick members and the healing deities listed in this passage, cf. n.13. As for the deities listed throughout this passage, they are relatively minor and comparatively litde is known of their place in the Sumerian pantheon; among the better known are the god Abu; Ninkasi, the goddess of strong drink; Ninazu, a nether-world deity (cf. *SM,* 46, for the story of his birth); for the god Ningishzida, cf. E. Douglas Van Buren's study in *Iraq,* 1, 60-89.

"Nazi I have caused to be [born] for thee."
"My brother, what hurts thee?" "[My] arm [hurts me]."
"Azimua I have [caused] to be [born] for thee."
"My brother, what hurts thee ?" "[My] rib [hurts me]."
"Ninti I have caused to be [born] for thee."
"My brother, what hurts thee?" "My ... [hurts me]."
"Enshag I have caused to be [born] for thee.
For the little ones which I have caused to be born___""
"Let Abu be the king of the plants, (270)
Let Nintulla be the lord of Magan,[56]
Let Ninsutu marry Ninazu,
Let Ninkasi be she who *sates the desires,*
Let Nazi marry *Nindara,*
Let Azi[mua] marry [Nin]gishzida,
Let N[inti] be the [qu]een *of the months,*
Let [Ensha]gbe the lord of Dilmun."
[O Father Enki], praise!

# Dumuzi and Enkimdu: the Dispute between the Shepherd-God and the Farmer-God

This poem is one of a group of Sumerian compositions whose plot is based on what may not inapdy be described as the "Cain-Abel" motif; their contents consist in large part of disputes between two gods, two demigods, or two kings,[1] each of whom attempts to convince the other of his superiority by extolling his own virtues and achievements and belittling those of his opponent To be sure, in all our extant compositions, the dispute ends in a reconciliation, or at least in a peaceful settlement, rather than in a murder; indeed in the case of the present poem, one of the characters, the farmer-god, is an unusually meek and peaceful person who takes the wind out of his opponent's sails by refusing to quarrel in the first place.[2] But the psychological ingredient is the same throughout, an aggressive attitude on the part of one of the characters resulting, at least in some cases, from a feeling of inferiority and frustration. In the case of the present poem, it is Dumuzi, the shepherd-god, who, having been rejected by the goddess Inanna in favor of the farmer-god,[8] is impelled to enumerate his superior qualities in elaborate detail, and to pick a quarrel with his peace-loving rival.

The characters of our poem are four in number: the goddess Inanna; her brother, die sun-god Utu; the shepherd-god Dumuzi; and the farmer-god Enkimdu. Its contents may be summarized as follows: Following a brief introduction, whose contents are largely fragmentary (lines 1-9), we find Utu addressing his sister and urging her to become the wife of the shepherd Dumuzi (lines 10-19). Inanna's answer (lines 20-34?)[4] consists of a flat refusal; she is determined instead to marry the farmer Enkimdu. Following several fragmentary lines of uncertain meaning (lines 35?-39), the text continues with a long address of the shepherd, directed probably to Inanna, in which he details his superior qualities (lines 40-64). We then find the shepherd rejoicing on die riverbank, probably because his argument had convinced Inanna and induced her to change her mind.[5] There he meets Enkimdu and starts a quarrel with him (lines 65-73). But the latter refuses to quarrel and agrees to allow Dumuzi's flocks to pasture anywhere in his territory (lines 74-79). The latter, thus appeased, invited the farmer to his wedding as one of his friends (lines 80-83). Whereupon, Enkimdu offers to bring him and Inanna several selected farm products as a wedding gift (lines 84-87). The poet then ends the composition with the conventional literary notations.

The text of the poem is reconstructed from three tablets and fragments excavated in Nippur; they date from the first half of the second millennium **B.C.** A transliteration and translation of the poem prepared recendy by the writer will be found in ***JCS,*** 11 (1948), pp. 60-68. A preliminary sketch of the plot of the poem under the tide Inanna Prefers the Farmer, together with translations of several excerpts from the poem was published by the writer in ***SM,*** (1944), 101-103. An interpretation of the contents of the poem under the tide, The Wooing of Inanna: Relative Merits of Shepherd and Farmer, was published by Thorkild Jacobsen in ***The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*** (1946), 166-168.

Who is a maid, the stable ...
The maid Inanna, the sheepfold ...
*Kneeling in* the furrows ...
Inanna...
*A garment...*

... I am not...
*From...*
... wife of the shepherd
Her brother, the hero, the warrior, Utu (10)
Says [to] the pure Inanna:
"O my sister, let the shepherd marry thee,
O maid Inanna, why art thou unwilling ?
His fat is good, his milk is good,
The shepherd, everything his hand touches is bright,
O Inanna, let the shepherd Dumuzi marry thee,
O thou who..., why art thou unwilling?
His good fat he will eat with thee,
*O protector of* the king, why art thou unwilling ?"
*"[Me]* the shepherd shall not marry, (20)
In his new *[garment]* he shall not *drape* me,
*When I...* he shall not... me,
Me, the maid, let the farmer marry,

55 The translation assumes that this line contains the words of Ninhursag; it is not altogether impossible, however, that it is Enki who is speaking; in this case the line should be rendered "For the litde ones which thou hast caused to be born. . . ." Similarly, the translation assumes that lines 270-277 contain the words of Enki; there is a bare possibility, however, that it is Ninhursag who is speaking.

56 The land Magan is usually identified either with Arabia or with Egypt.

1 cf. for the present the poems "Emesh and Enten" *(SM,* 49-51), "Catde and Grain" *(ibid.,* 53-54), "Enmerkar and Ensukushsiranna" *(PAPS,* xc, [1946], 122-123). The motif was extended to include disputes between animals and inanimate objects; cf. the four wisdom compositions mentioned on p. 15 of *SM;* cf. also Jacobsen in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man,* 165-166.

2 Note, on the other hand that, in the Cain-Abel story as told in the book of Genesis, it is the former, Cain, who seems to be the more aggressive throughout.

3 In the Cain-Abel story, it is the farmer who feels rejected by his god.

4 The reader will do well to note that there is no introductory statement to indicate who addresses whom in any of the speeches in our poem except in case of the first, that is, in the case of Utu's address to Inanna; in all other instances it is only from the context that we can gather who the speaker is. Helpful to the translator, however, is the Sumerian dialect in which the speech is reproduced; when it is in the Emesal dialect, the speaker must be Inanna.

5 It must be stressed, however, that this is only an inference from the context, it is not expressly stated anywhere in the text.

The farmer who makes *plants* grow abundantly,
The farmer who makes grain grow abundandy,
... (Approximately 8 lines are destroyed.^
*Me...*
This *matter...*
To the shepherd...
The king of [dike, ditch, and plow] ...
The shepherd Dumuzi...
... to speak ...
"The f[arme]r (more) than I, the farmer (more) than I, the farmer what has he more (than I) ?
Enkimdu, the man of dike, ditch, and plow,
(More) than I, the farmer, what has he more (than I) ?
Should he give me his black garment,
I would give him, the farmer, my black ewe for it,
Should he give me his white garment,
I would give him, the farmer, my white ewe for it,
Should he pour me his prime date wine,
I would pour him, the farmer, my yellow milk for it
Should he pour me his good date wine,
I would pour him, the farmer my ^u/zw-milk for it,
Should he pour me his ... date wine,[8]
I would pour him, the farmer, my ... milk for it,
Should he pour me his diluted date wine,
I would pour him, the farmer, my *plant*-milk for it,
Should he give me his good *portions,*
I would give him, the farmer, my *itirda-mi\k* for them,
Should he give me his good bread,
I would give him, the farmer, my *honey-chzzsz* for it,
Should he give me his small beans,
I would give him, the farmer, my small cheeses for them;
After I shall have eaten, shall have drunk,
I would *leave* for him the extra fat,
I would *leave* for him the extra milk;
(More) than I, the farmer, what has he more (than I) ?"
He rejoiced, he rejoiced, ...*on* the riverbank rejoiced,
*On* the riverbank, the shepherd on the riverbank *[rejoiced],*
The shepherd, moreover, *[led]* the sheep *on* the riverbank.
To the shepherd *walking to and fro on* the riverbank,
To him who is a shepherd, the farmer [*approached],*
The farmer Enkimdu *[approached].*
Dumuzi, the farmer, the king of dike and ditch ...,
In his plain, the shepherd in his [plain starts] a quarrel with him,
The [sh]epherd Dumuzi in his plain starts a quarrel with him.
"I against thee, O shepherd, against thee, O shepherd, I against thee
Why shall I strive ?
Let thy sheep eat the grass of the riverbank,
In my *meadowland* let thy sheep walk about,
In the bright fields of Erech let them eat grain,
Let thy *k}ds* and *lambs* drink the water of my *Unun* canal."

[6] So, rather than as in *ICS,* n, 66.

"As for me, who am a shepherd, at my marriage,
O farmer, mayest thou be counted as my friend,
o farmer Enkimdu, as my friend, O farmer, as my friend,
Mayest thou be counted as my friend."
"I would bring thee wheat, I would bring thee beans,
1 would bring thee...,
O thou who art a maid, whatever is... to thee,
O maid Inanna,... I would bring thee."
In the dispute which took place between the shepherd and the farmer,[7]
O maid Inanna, thy praise is good.
It is a *balbale.*[8]

## The Deluge

This Sumerian myth concerning the flood, with its Sumerian counterpart of the antediluvian Noah, offers the closest and most striking parallel to biblical material as yet uncovered in Sumerian literature. Moreover, its introductory passages are of considerable significance for Mesopotamian cosmogony; they include a number of important statements concerning the creation of man, the origin of kingship, and the existence of at least five antediluvian cities. Unfortunately, only one tablet inscribed with the myth has been uncovered to date, and of that tablet only the lower third is preserved. As a result, much of the context of the story is obscure, and but a few of the passages can be rendered with any degree of certainty. Briefly sketched, the contents run as follows: Following a break of about 37 lines, we find a deity[1] addressing other deities and probably stating that he will save mankind from destruction.[2] As a result, the deity continues, man will build the cities and temples of the gods. Following the address are three lines which are difficult to relate to the context; they seem to describe the actions performed by the deity to make his words effective. These lines are in turn followed by four lines concerned with the creation of man, animals, and, perhaps, plants. Here another break of about 37 lines follows, after which we learn that kingship was lowered from heaven, and that five cities were founded. A break of about 37 lines now follows; these must have dealt largely with the decision of the gods to bring the flood and destroy mankind. When the text becomes intelligible again we find some of the gods dissatisfied and unhappy over the cruel decision. We are then introduced to Ziusudra, the counterpart of the biblical Noah, who is described as a pious, a god-fearing king,* constandy on the lookout for divine revelations in dreams or incantations. Ziusudra seems to station himself by a wall, where he hears the voice of a deity[4] informing him of the decision taken by the assembly of the gods to send a flood and "to destroy the seed of mankind." The text

[7] To judge from the other compositions of this literary genre, one might have expected here a line reading approximately "The shepherd having proved the victor over the fanner."

[8] *Balbale* is the technical name for a category of Sumerian compositions which, to judge from the extant material, are hymnal in character; the actual meaning of the complex is still uncertain.

[1] There is some possibility that it is more than one deity who is speaking; die relevant Sumerian verbal forms in this passage seem to be inconsistent in regard to the use of the singular and plural. The name of the speaker (or speakers) is destroyed; probably it is either Enki or Anu and Enlil (perhaps better Anu Enlil; cf. n.7).

[2] The nature of this destruction is not known; it is rather unlikely that it refers to the deluge.

[8] The text does not give the name of the state over which he ruled, but we know from the Sumerian king list that he is supposed to have ruled over Sumer from his capital city Shuruppak; cf. *AS* 11, p. 26, n.34.

[4] Probably EnVi; the name of the deity is not given in the text.

must have continued with detailed instructions to Ziusudra to build a giant boat and thus save himself from destruction.[8] But, all this is missing since there is another break of about 40 lines at this point When the text becomes intelligible once again, we find that the flood in all its violence had already come upon the "land,"[6] and raged there for seven days and nights. But then the sun-god Utu came forth again, bringing his precious light everywhere, and Ziusudra prostrates himself before him and offers sacrifices. Here again there follows a break of about 39 lines. The last extant lines of our text describe the deification of Ziusudra. After he had prostrated himself before Anu and Enlil,[7] he was given "life like a god" and breath eternal, and translated to Dilmun,[8] "the place where the sun rises." The remainder of the poem, about 39 lines of- text, is destroyed."

The "deluge" tablet, or rather the lower third of it which is extant, was excavated in Nippur, and is now in the University Museum. It was published by Arno Poebel in ***PBS,*** v (1914), No. 1; a transliteration and translation of the text, together with a detailed commentary, were published by the same author in ***PBS,*** iv, Pt. 1, pp. 9-70. Poebel's translation is still standard, and except for slight modifications, underlies the present translation.[10]

(approximately first 37 lines destroyed)
"My mankind, *in* its destruction I will...
To Nintu[12]1 will *return the...* 0/ my creatures,
I[13] will *return* the people *to[14]** their *settlements,* (40)
Of the cities, verily they[18] will build their *places of (divine) ordinances*,[18] I[17] will make peaceful their shade,[18]
Of *our*[19] houses, verily they will lay their bricks in pure places,

[5] Whom else and what else he took with him in the boat are not found in the extant text, but note that, to judge from line 211, he had certainly taken along a number of animals.

[6] The Sumerian word here rendered as "land" usually se*ms to refer to Sumer.

[7] Perhaps a rendering "Anu Enlil" for "Anu and Enlil" is preferable; that is, the Enlil to whom the powers of Anu were delegated when the former took Anu's place as the leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon; cf. for the problem involved, Poebel, *PBS,* JV, Pt. 2, pp. 36 ff.

[8] For the location of Dilmun, cf. now p. 37 of this work.

[9] That is, if we assume that the last column was fully inscribed. Note, too, that there is the possibility that this tablet contained only part of the myth and that the latter may have been continued on another tablet or even other tablets, though on the whole this does not seem too likely. As for the so-called colophon to this tablet (cf. *PBS,* iv, Pt. 2, p. 63), cf. n.57.

[10] cf. also King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition* (1918); Jacobsen, *AS* 11, pp. 58-59; Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (1946); Kramer, *SM,* 97-98. The numbering of the lines in the present translation is based on the assumption that each column of the tablet originally contained approximately 50 lines of text.

[11] Our interpretation of the text assumes that the speaking deity (or deities) plans to save mankind from destruction, but this is of course by no means certain.

[12] Nintu is the Sumerian mother goddess known also under the names Ninhursag and Ninmah; cf. n.32 on p. 39 of this work. She is not to be confused with the goddess Inanna, the Semitic Ishtar, a goddess noted primarily for love and war; cf. Poebel, *PBS,* iv, Pt. 2, pp. 24 ff.

[13] The verbal form in this line seems to be {Jural in form; if so, the rendering should be "we" rather than "I."

[14] Actually the Sumerian seems to say "from" rather than "to"; indeed the meaning of the entire line is highly doubtful.

[15] That is "the people" mentioned in the preceding line.

[16] The implications of this phrase, even if the translation should prove correct, are obscure; note particularly that the Sumerian word rendered by "(divine) ordinances" is the same as that rendered "our" in the following two lines.

[17] Perhaps "we" instead of "1"; the verbal form in this case seems to be incorrect, since it corresponds neither to the singular nor the plural form of the verb.

[18] Perhaps '1 will be soothed by their shade."

[19] Perhaps "of the houses of the (divine) ordinances," cf. n.16.

*The places of our decisions* verily they will found in pure places."
He[20] directed[21] the... 0/ *the temenos,*
Perfected the rites (and) the exalted (divine) ordinances,
*On the earth* he... d, placed the... there.[22]
After Anu, Enlil, Enki, and Ninhursag
Had fashioned the black-headed (people),[23]
*Vegetation luxuriated* from the earth,[24*]
Animals, four-legged (creatures) of the plain, were brought artfully into existence. (50)
(approximately 37 lines destroyed)
After the..,[25] of kingship had been lowered from heaven,
After the exalted *[tiarc?*]* (and) the throne of kingship had been lowered from heaven,
*He[27]* [perfected the [rites (and) the ex]alted [(divine) ordinances]... ,[28] (90)
*Founded the [five] ci[ties]* in... p[ure places],
Cal[led] their names, [apportioned[29] them *as [cu]lt-centers.[80]*
The *first[1]* of these cities, Eridu, he gave to Nudimmud,[82] the leader,
The second, Badtibira, he gave to... ,[88]
The third, Larak, he gave to Endurbilhursag,[84]
The fourth, Sippar, he gave to the hero Utu,[85]
The fifth, Shuruppak, he gave to Sud.[88]
When he had called the names of these cities, apportioned them *as cult-centers,*
He *brought... ,[87]*
Established the *cleaning* of the small rivers *as...* (100)
(approximately 37 lines destroyed)

[20] That is probably the same deity or deities whose address has just come to an end; cf. n.i.

[21] The Sumerian verbal form in this and the next line contains an infix which should be rendered "in (or upon) it (or him, them)," but at present it is difficult to see what this infix relates to.

[22] Note that the translation of this line was accidentally omitted in *PBS,* iv, Pt. 2, p. 17.

[23] The word "black-headed" usually refers to the inhabitants of Sumer and Babylon; in the present context, however, it seems to refer to mankind as a whole. For Sumerian concepts concerning the creation of man, cf. *SM,* 68 ff., and Jacobsen, *fNES,* v (1946), pp. 134 ff.

[24] "From the earth" seems to be repeated in the Sumerian text.

[25] Jacobsen, in *AS* 11, p. 58, restores *men* at the beginning of the line; there is, however, room for more than one sign in the break.

[26] In favor of this restoration, cf. *PBS,* v, No. 25, rev. v, line 4.

[27] Identity of deity or deities uncertain; perhaps it is Anu Enlil, cf. n.i.

[28] The translation in *PBS,* iv, Pt 2, p. 18, seems to take care of only part of the break in this and the following line.

[29] Our translation does not treat the verbal forms in this line as relatives in spite of their form.

[80] cf. now Jacobsen, *AS 11,* p. 59, n.i 11.

[81] The word rendered tentatively as "first" in this line is represented by a sign whose reading cannot as yet be identified.

[82] Nudimmud is another name for the water-god Enki.

[88] To judge from the surrounding lines one would expect here the name of the tutelary deity of Badtibira, that is Latarak (cf. p. 57 of this work). However, the relevant Sumerian complex is not preceded by the "god" determinative, and seems on the surface to mean "the tabooed garment."

[84] Nothing is known of this deity; for the reading of the first part of the name as Hendur- rather than Pa-, cf. K. Tallquist, *Akkadische Gotterepitheta* (1938), p. 435; Poebel, *ZA,* xxxix, 143 ff.

[36] That is, the sun-god, well known as the tutelary deity of both Sippar and Larsa.

[36] The tutelary goddess of Shuruppak identified by the later Babylonian theologians with the goddess Ninlil, the wife of Enlil.

[87] The rest of the line is unintelligible, although practically all the Sumerian signs are legible; it may deal with rain and water supply.

The flood...*[8]
• • •

Thu[s w]as treated[39]...
Then did Nin[tu *weep]* like a . . . ,
The pure Inanna [set up] a lament for *its*[*o] people,
Enki took coun[sel] with himself,
Anu, Enlil, Enki, (and) Ninhursag . . . ,
The gods of heaven and earth [uttered] the name of[41]
Anu (and) Enlil.[42]
Then did Ziusudra, the king, the *paltlu*[48] [of]...,
Build giant... ;
Humbly obedient, reverent*ly* [he]...,
Attending daily, constandy [he]...,
Bringing forth all kinds of dreams,[44] [he]...,
Uttering the name of heaven (and) earth,[45]
[he] ... (150)
... the gods a *wall...*
Ziusudra, standing at *its* side, list[ened].
"Stand *by the wall* at my left side . . . ,[47]
*By the wall* I will say a word to thee, [take my word],[48]
[Give] ear to my instruction:
*By our* . . . a flood *[will sweep]* over the cult-centers;
To destroy the seed of mankind . . . ,
Is the decision, the word of the assembly [of the gods].
*By* the word commanded by Anu (and) Enlil[49].. .,
Its kingship, its rule *[will be put to an end]"* (160)
(approximately 40 lines destroyed)
All the windstorms, exceedingly powerful,
attacked as one, (201)
At the same time, the flood sweeps *over the cult-centers.*[50]
After, for seven days (and) seven nights,
The flood had *swept over*[51] the land,[52]
(And) the huge boat had been tossed about by the windstorms on the great waters,[58]
Utu came forth, who sheds light on heaven (and) earth.
Ziusudra opened a *window of*[4] the huge boat,
The hero Utu *brought his rays into* the giant boat.[85]
Ziusudra, the king,
Prostrated himself before Utu, (210)

[38] The punctuation for this and the following line is uncertain.
[89] The beginning of the line is to be restored to read *hur-gim bi-in-ag.*
[40] That is "the earth's" or "the land's."
[41] That is "conjured by Anu (and) Enlil."
[42] Or perhaps better Anu Enlil; cf. n.i.
[48] A priesdy title.
[44] For the rendering instead of "dreams which had not been (before)" (cf. *PBS,* iv, Pt. 2, p. 18), see Poebel, *Grundziige der sumerischen Gramматt'k* (Rostock, 1923), $264.
[45] That is "to conjure by."
[46] It is difficult to relate this sentence to the context.
[47] The name of the speaking deity is not given in the text, but he is, no doubt, Enki; cf. *PBS,* iv, Pt. 2, p. 52.
[48] For the restoration and translation of this and the following line, cf. *JCS,* 1 (1947), 33, notes 208 and 209, and the references there cited.
[49] For Anu (and) Enlil, here, and in the remainder of the myth, cf. the comment in n.7.
[50] cf. now Jacobsen, *AS* 11, p. 58.
[51] The Sumerian verb used for "swept" is the same as that in line 202, but instead of "over," the Sumerian has here "in."
[52] For "land" cf. n.6.
[53] "By the windstorms" was erroneously omitted in *SM,* p. 98.
[54] In *SM,* p. 98, the word "of," too, should have been rendered as doubtful.
[55] The entire line was erroneously omitted in *SM,* p. 98.

The king kills an ox, *slaughters* a sheep.
(approximately 39 lines destroyed)
"Ye will utter 'breath of heaven,' 'breath of earth,' verily it will *stretch* itself by *your...* ,"[58] (251)
Anu (and) Enlil *uttered* "breath of heaven," "breath of earth," *by their...,* it stretched itself.
*Vegetation,* coming up out of the earth, rises up.
Ziusudra, the king,
Prostrated himself before Anu (and) Enlil.
*Anu (and) Enlil cherished* Ziusudra,[57]
Life like (that of) a god they give him,
Breath eternal like (that of) a god they *bring down* for him.
Then, Ziusudra the king,
The *preserver of the name*[58] *of vegetation (and)* of the seed of mankind, (260)
In the land[59] *of crossing*™ the land of Dilmun, the place where the sun rises, they[81] caused to dwell.
(Remainder of the tablet,
about 39 lines of text, destroyed.)

## Gilgamesh and Agga

The Sumerian poem, "Gilgamesh and Agga," is one of the shortest of all Sumerian epic tales; it consists of no more than 115 lines of text. In spite of its brevity, however, it is of unusual significance from several points of view. In the first place, its plot deals with humans only; unlike the rest of the Sumerian epic tales, it introduces no mythological motifs involving any of the Sumerian deities. Secondly it is of considerable historical importance; it provides a number of hitherto unknown facts concerning the early struggles of the Sumerian city states. Finally, it is of very special significance for the history of political thought and practice. For as Thorkild lacobsen was die first to point out,[1] it records what are, by all odds, the oldest two political assemblies

[56] Lines 251-253, although fully preserved, are at present extremely difficult to render, and the present translation is to be considered as highly doubtful. For not only is the relation of the passage to the context quite obscure, but it contains a number of grammatical difficulties which cannot be explained unless scribal errors are postulated. Thus, to list only some of the contextual problems, the identity of the individual whose speech probably ends with line 251, is uncertain (note that our translation assumes that he is addressing Anu (and Enlil); the antecedent of "it" in lines 251 and 252 (perhaps "he" or "she") is unknown; the Sumerian word rendered by the English word "stretch" in these two lines may have a different meaning here; the relation of the contents of line 253 to the preceding two lines is quite uncertain. As for the grammatical problems, note that the verbal form in line 251 might have been expected to read "utter ye" instead of "ye will utter"; the Sumerian words and complexes rendered as "your" in line 251, "uttered" and "by their" in line 252, are grammatically unjustified unless scribal errors are assumed; line 253, whose rendering is quite literal, seems clumsy and partially redundant.
[57] This line is actually written not below the preceding line but on the left edge; it was therefore assumed to be a colophon in *PBS,* rv, Pt. 2, p. 63 (cf. also Heidel, *loc. cit.,* p. 105). In all likelihood, however, it is a line that was accidentally omitted by the scribe in its proper place, and was therefore inserted on the left edge, where its correct position on the reverse of the tablet was indicated by means of a short horizontal line. The line is poorly preserved; the restoration assumed by our translation is by no means certain.
[58] If the rendering is correct, "name" might perhaps connote here "existence."
[59] The Sumerian word twice rendered by "land" in this line may also be translated as "mountain" or "mountain-land."
[60] Perhaps the crossing of the sun immediately upon his rising in the east; the Sumerian word used may also mean "of rule."
[61] That is, probably Anu and Enlil.

[1] See last paragraph of this introduction.

as yet known to man. To be sure, the tablets on which the poem has been found inscribed date back no earlier than the first half of the second millennium **B.C.;** however, the events recorded in them go back to the days of Gilgamesh and Agga, that is probably to the first quarter of the third millennium **B.C** [2]

The contents of the poem may be summarized as follows:[3] Agga, the king of Kish has sent envoys to Gilgamesh in Erech (lines 1-2); the purpose of the mission is not stated, but the context makes it obvious that they brought an ultimatum demanding of the Erechites to submit to Kish or take the consequences. Gilgamesh seeks the advice of the assembly of elders and urges them, for reasons that are far from clear, to fight rather than submit (lines 3-8). But the elders are contrary-minded; they would rather submit to Kish than fight it out (lines 9-14). Gilgamesh, displeased with this answer, now turns to the assembly of "men," that is, of arms-bearing males, and repeats his plea for war with Kish rather than submission to its rule (lines 15-23). In a long statement ending with a eulogy of Gilgamesh and highly encouraging words of victory, the assembly of "men" declares for war and independence (lines 24-39). Gilgamesh is now well pleased; in a speech to Enkidu, in which he seems to urge him to take to arms, he shows himself highly confident of victory over Agga (lines 40-47). In a very short time, however, Agga besieges Erech, and in spite of their brave words, the Erechites are dumbfounded (lines 48-50). Gilgamesh then addresses the "heroes" of Erech and asks for a volunteer to go before Agga (lines **51-54).** A hero by the name of Birhurturri readily volunteers; he is confident that he can confound Agga's judgment (lines 55-58). No sooner does Birhurturri pass through the city gates, however, than he is seized, beaten, and brought before Agga. He begins to speak to Agga, but before he has finished, another hero from Erech, one Zabar . . . ga by name, ascends the wall (lines 59-67). There now follows a series of passages which are of utmost importance for the understanding of the plot of the tale, but which, for reasons oudined in notes 19, 20, and 22 are difficult 2nd obscure. Certain it is, however, that in some way Agga has been induced to take a more friendly attitude and probably to lift the siege (lines 68-99). We then come to a passage whose meaning is quite certain; it consists of an address by Gilgamesh to Agga thanking him for all his kindness (lines 100-106). The poem concludes with a paean of praise to Gilgamesh (lines 107-end).

The text of "Gilgamesh and Agga" is reconstructed from eleven tablets and fragments; ten were excavated in Nippur, while the eleventh is of unknown provenience. All the pieces date from the first half of the second millennium **B.C.;** the date of the actual composition of the poem, however, is still unknown.

A transliteration and translation of the poem based on the four of the six texts then known was published by M. Witzel, ***Orientalia*** NS, v (1936), 331-346. An excellent translation of most of the first forty-one lines of the poem was published by Jacobsen, ***JNES,*** n **(1943), 165-166.** A brief resume of the contents of the poem was published by the writer in ***JAOS,*** LXIV (1944), 17-18. The writer's scientific edition of the poem (with commentary by Jacobsen) appeared in ***AJA,*** Lin, 1 fit.

[The en]voys of Agga, the son of Enmebaraggesi
Proceeded *[from Kish]* to Gilgamesh *in* Erech.
[The lord] Gilgamesh before the elders of his city
Put the [matter], seeks out (their) word:
*"To complete the [wells], to complete edl the wells of the land,*[4]
*To complete the [wells] (and) the small bowls of the land,*
*To dig the wells, to complete the fastening ropes,*
Let us not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons."
The convened assembly of the elders of his city
Answer Gilgamesh: **(10)**
*"To complete the wells, to complete all the wells of the land;*
*To complete the wells (and) the smdl bowls of the land,*
*To dig the wells, to complete the fastening ropes,*
Let us submit to the house of Kish, let us not smite it with weapons."
Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab,[6]
Who performs heroic deeds for Inanna,[7]
Took not the word of the elders of his city to heart.
A second time Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab,
Before the men of his city put the matter, seeks out (their) word:
*To complete all the wells, to complete dl the wells of the land** **(20)**
*To complete the wells (and) the smdl bowls of the land,*
*To dig the wells, to complete the fastening ropes,*
Do not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons."
The convened assembly of the men of his city answer Gilgamesh:
*"O ye* who stand, *O ye* who sit,[9]

[2] cf. the writer's New Light on the Early History erf the Ancient Near East, *AJA,* LII (1948), 156-64.

[3] It is well to note at this point that our poem provides an excellent example of one of the major difficulties confronting the translator of the Sumerian unilingual material. Here is a composition whose text is in practically perfect condition; there is hardly a single word broken or missing. Moreover, the reading of almost all the signs is certain; so, too, the meaning of most of the individual words. In spite of these favorable conditions, the translation of several crucial passages remains uncertain and obscure; cf. particularly lines 5-7, a passage repeated in lines 11-13 and lines 20-22; lines 75-80 and the corresponding passage in lines 94-99. The major difficulty with these passages consists of their laconic style; the aphoristic, riddle-like character of their contents, obscures, at least for the present, their real meaning. As for the historical background behind our poem, the reader should bear in mind that the Sumerian historians divided the history of their land into two major periods, the period before the flood and the one after the flood. The first dynasty immediately after the flood, according to these ancient historians, was that of the city of Kish; its last king was the Agga of our poem. The Dynasty of Kish was followed by the Dynasty of Eanna, or Erech (Erech is used more or less as a synonym of Eanna); the Gilgamesh of our poem is the fifth ruler of this dynasty. However, since Gilgamesh was preceded by four rulers of the Dynasty of Erech, who between them reigned over a considerable span of time, it is obvious that the dynasties of Kish and Erech must have overlapped to a large extent.

[4] Lines 5-7, and the identical lines 11-13 and 20-22, contain a proverb-like or riddlelike passage whose meaning in the context is altogether obscure; the renderings given are those usually attributed to the individual words, but they may prove unjustified. Similarly, the grammatical relationships between the various complexes are by no means certain. To judge from the contents of line 8, one might be led to conclude that the passage contained in lines 5-7 gives Gilgamesh's reasons for his plea to fight rather than submit to Kish. It will be noted, however, that in the passage immediately following, the very same words are used by the assembly of elders to justify their decision to submit to Kish rather than go to war. In short we may have here an early example of what is now generally described as "double-talk."

[5] For lines 11-13, ct comment to lines 5-7.

[6] Kullab is a district in or close to Erech; the two are frequendy mentioned together.

[7] Next to the heaven-god Anu, the goddess Inanna, more commonly known by her Semitic name Ishtar, was the most important deity of Erech.

[8] For lines 20-22, cf. comment to lines 5-7. In line 23, note that while the second verb is the expected first person plural, the first verb is the second person plural; it is difficult to see the reason for the change.

[9] Lines 24-27, if the rendering is correct, seem to describe the aristocrats ruling Erech; just what the relationship between these individuals and the two assemblies may have been, however, remains uncertain.

*O ye* who are raised with the sons of the king,
*O ye* who *press* the donkey's thigh,
Whoever *holds* its[10] life,
Do not submit to the house of Kish, let us smite it with weapons.
Erech, the *handiwork* g°d[s]>
Eanna,[11] the house descending from heaven—
It is the great gods who have fashioned its parts—
Its great wall touching the clouds,
Its lofty dwelling place established by Anu,
Thou hast cared for, thou who art king (and) hero.
o *thou*.. .-headed, *thou* prince beloved of AJIU,
How hast *thou* feared his[12] coming!
Its[1*] army is small, it is scattered *behind it,*
Its men *do* not *hold high (their) face"*
Then—Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab—
At the word of the men of his city his heart rejoiced, his spirit brightened;
He says to his servant Enkidu:
"Therefore let the /«^«"-implement *be put aside for the violence* of battle,
Let the weapons of batde return to your side,
Let them *produce* fear (and) terror.
As for him,[15] when he comes, verily my great fear will fall upon him,
Verily his judgment will be confounded, verily his counsel will be dissipated."
The days were not five, the days were not ten,[16]
Agga, the son of Enmebaraggesi *besieged?*[17] Erech;
Erech—its judgment was confounded.
Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab,
Says to its heroes:
"My heroes *frown;*
Who has heart, let him stand up, to Agga I would *have him* go."
Birhurturri, his head... man,
Utters praises to his king:
"I would go to Agga,
Verily his judgment will be confounded, verily his counsel will be dissipated."
Birhurturri went out through the city gate.
As Birhurturri went out through the city gate,
They[18*] seized him at the entrance of the city gate,
Birhurturri—they crush his *flesh;*
He was brought before Agga,
He speaks to Agga.
He had not finished his word (when) Zabar . . . ga ascends toward the wall;
He *peered over* the wall,
He saw Agga.

Birhurturri says to him:[19]
"O servant of the *stout man*, thy king
The *stout man*—is he not also my king?
Verily the *stout man* is my king,
Verily it is his... forehead,
Verily it is his... face,
Verily it is his beard of lapis lazuli,
Verily it is his gracious finger."
*The multitude did not cast itself down, the multitude did not rise,*[20]
*The multitude did not cover itself with* dust,
*(The people)* of all the foreign lands were not *overwhelmed*
*On the mouths of (the people) of the lands*, dust was not heaped,
The prow of the *magurru-boat* was not cut down,
Agga, the king of Kish, *restrained* not his *soldierly* heart
They keep on striking him, they keep on beating him,[21]
Birhurturri—they crush his flesh.
After Zabar... ga, Gilgamesh ascends toward the wall,
Terror fell upon the old and young of Kullab,
The men of Erech held their batde weapons at their sides,
The door of the city gate—they stationed themselves at its *approaches,*
Enkidu went out toward the city gate.
Gilgamesh *peered over* the wall,
He saw Agga:
"O servant of the *stout man*, thy king[2*]

10 "its" presumably refers to Erech.

11 Eanna was the main temple of Erech; literally it is "the House of Anu."

" "His" presumably refers to Agga.

18 "Its" presumably refers to Kish.

14 The *lu\ara* is probably an agricultural implement.

15 "Him" presumably refers to Agga.

16 A Sumerian idiomatic expression for a very brief passage of time.

17 The Sumerian -verb for "besieged," is a third person plural; perhaps therefore the poet intended to include Agga's army as well.

18 "They" presumably refers to Agga's men.

19 Lines 68-75 presumably contain the words uttered by Birhurturri in the hope of soothing Agga and inducing him to call off his men and lift die siege; their meaning is however uncertain and obscure. The major difficulty results from the ambiguity of the "him" of line 68. If we assume that it refers to Agga, then Birhurturri seems to say to him that an individual described as a *"stout man"* is not only Agga's king but also his, that is, Birhurturri's. Presumably this *"stout man"* would be Gilgamesh, since the latter is not only Birhurturri's overlord, but also, as lines 102-103 seem to indicate, that of Agga as well. But just how was this statement expected to pacify Agga? Indeed, if Agga recognized Gilgamesh as his king, why did he proceed against Erech in the first place? Moreover, what is the purpose of Zabar . . . ga's presence on the wall? Perhaps, therefore, we must assume that die "him" of line 68 refers to Zabar . .. ga, and that the *"stout man"* refers to Agga, not to Gilgamesh; that is, Birhurturri while standing before Agga cries out to Zabar . . . ga who is looking down on the scene from the wall, that Agga is the acknowledged king of both.

20 The highly doubtful rendering of lines 76-81 assumes that Birhurturri's words had failed to satisfy Agga and his men, and that as a result the siege continued. The "multitude" of lines 76-77, the "people of all the foreign lands" of line 78, the "people of all die lands" of line 79, if the translations are correct, all refer to Agga's modey host besieging Erech; the acts attributed to them in these lines are descriptive of their complete indifference to Birhurturri's words. Line 80 may indicate that the siege was conducted by sea as well as by land; just what the cutting down of the prow erf the *magurru*-boat signified, however, is not clear.

21 According to lines 82-90, Gilgamesh, seeing that Birhurturri's words had no effect on Agga and his men, in spite of Zabar . . . ga's presence on the wall, himself ascends the wall. At this act, the young and old of Erech are terrified, presumably because of the danger threatening Gilgamesh; the men of Erech now hold their weapons in readiness while Enkidu goes out to the city gate, perhaps to take charge of the Erechites in the expected battle.

22 Lines 91-92 probably represent a much abbreviated form of the passage contained in lines 69-75; note, too, that the crucial line corresponding to line 68, that is "Birhurturri says to him," is omitted. As in the case of the former and fuller passage, the interpretation of lines 91-92 hinges on the ambiguous "him" whom Birhurturri is addressing. If this "him" refers to Agga, then the *"stout man"* of lines 91-92 is Gilgamesh; if, on the other hand, it refers to Gilgamesh, then the *"stout man"* is Agga; cf. the comment to lines 69-75. In any case, this time Birhurturri's words seem to have

The *stout man* is my king."
As he spoke,
*The multitude cast itself down, the multitude rose,*
*The multitude covered itself with* dust,
*(The people)* of all the foreign lands were *overwhelmed,*
*On the mouths of (the people) of the lands* dust was heaped,
The prow of the *magurru*-boat was cut down,
Agga, the king of Kish, *restrained* his *soldierly* heart.
Gilgamesh, the lord of Kullab (100)
Says to Agga:[4*]
"O Agga, my overseer, O Agga, my steward,
O Agga, my army leader,
O Agga, the fleeing bird thou hast filled with grain,
O Agga, thou hast given me breath, thou hast given me life,
O Agga, thou bringest the fleeing man *to rest."*
Erech, the *handiwor* of the gods,[24]
The great wall touching the sky,
The lofty dwelling place established by Anu,
Thou hast cared for, thou who art king (and) hero. ("0)
O *thou* .. .-headed, *thou* prince beloved of Anu,
Agga has *set thee free for Kish*$_y$
Before Utu he has returned to thee the power of former days;
O Gilgamesh, lord of Kullab,
Thy praise is good.

# Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living

The poem "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living" is one of the Sumerian epic tales probably utilized by the Semitic authors in their redaction of the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh.[1] Unfortunately, to date only 175 lines of the poem have been recovered;[2] even so, it is recognizable as a literary creation which must have had a profound emotional and aesthetic appeal to its highly credulous ancient audience. Its motivating theme, man's anxiety about death and its sublimation in the notion of an immortal name, has a universal significance that lends it high poetic value. Its plot structure reveals a careful and imaginative selection of just those details which are essential to its predominandy poignant mood and heroic temper. Stylistically, too, the poet obtains the appropriate rhythmic effect by the skillful use of an uncommonly varied assortment of repetition and parallelism patterns. All in all, there is litde doubt that the poem before us is one of the finest Sumerian literary works as yet uncovered.

The contents of the poem may be briefly summarized as follows: The "lord" Gilgamesh, realizing that, like all mortals, he too must die sooner or later, is determined at least to raise up a name for himself before he meets his destined end. He therefore sets his heart on journeying to the far distant Land of the Living* with the probable intention of felling its cedars and bringing them to Erech. He informs his loyal servant and constant companion, Enkidu, of his proposed undertaking, and the latter advises him first to acquaint the sun-god Utu with this plan, for it is Utu who has charge of this cedar land (lines 1-12). Acting upon his advice, Gilgamesh brings offerings to Utu and pleads for his support of the contemplated journey to the Land of the Living (lines 13-18). Utu at first seems rather skeptical about Gilgamesh's qualifications. But Gilgamesh only repeats his plea in more persuasive language (lines 19-33). Utu takes pity on him and decides to help him, probably by immobilizing in some way the seven vicious demons personifying the destructive weather phenomena that might menace Gilgamesh in the course of his journey across the mountains situated between Erech and the Land of the Living (lines 34-45). Overjoyed, Gilgamesh gathers fifty volunteers from Erech, unattached men who have neither "house" nor "mother" and who are ready to follow him in whatever he does (lines 4(5-53). After having weapons of bronze and wood prepared for himself and his companions, they cross the seven mountains with the help of Utu (lines 54-61). Just what happens immediately after the crossing of the last of the seven mountains is not clear, since the relevant passage (lines 62-70) is poorly preserved. When the text becomes intelligible again we find that Gilgamesh had fallen into a heavy sleep from which he is awakened only after considerable time and effort (lines 71-83). Thoroughly aroused by this unexpected delay, he swears by his mother Ninsun and by his father Lugalbanda that he will enter the Land of the Living and brook no interference from either man or god (lines 84-97). Enkidu pleads with him to turn back, for the guardian of the cedars is the fearful monster Huwawa, whose destructive attack none may withstand (lines 95-105). But Gilgamesh will have none of this caution. Convinced that with Enkidu's help no harm can befall either of them, he bids him put away fear and go forward with him (lines 106-119). Spying from his cedar house, however, is the monster Huwawa who seems to make vain, but frantic, efforts to drive off Gilgamesh and his adventurous band (lines 120-126). Following a break of some lines we learn that, after cutting down seven trees, Gilgamesh had probably come to Huwawa's inner chamber (lines 127-141). Strangely enough, at the very first, and seem-

the desired effect. For according to lines 94-99, which are an exact repetition of lines 76-81 except that the verbs are all positive instead of negative in form, the multitudinous host from many lands which was besieging Erech was now prostrate and overwhelmed, and presumably no longer threatened Erech.

[28] In lines 100-106 Gilgamesh thanks Agga for some extraordinary kindness, presumably for the lifting of the siege; unless there has been a shift of scene unmentioned in the text, Gilgamesh is addressing Agga from the wall of Erech. Note, too, that according to lines 103-105, unless we are prepared to read in implications contrary to the obvious meaning of the words, Gilgamesh addresses Agga as his, that is Agga's, superior and overlord in spite of the fact that Agga seems to be the more powerful of the two; cf. comment to lines 68-75. In line 104, "the fleeing bird," and in line 106, "the fleeing man" refer no doubt to Gilgamesh.

[24] Lines 107-end are assumed to contain the poet's concluding eulogy of Gilgamesh. With lines 107-m, cf. lines 30-36, which are almost identical. The implications of lines 112-113 are not clear. On the surface they seem to say that Agga has restored Gilgamesh to his former greatness, which again tends to indicate that at one time Gilgamesh was the ruler of the entire land, including Kish; cf. comment to lines 100-106 and lines 68-75. As for the phrase "before Utu" in line 113, it may refer to the sun-god Utu as the god of justice; it is worth noting, however, that two predecessors of Gilgamesh in the first Erech dynasty are described in the Sumerian texts as "the son of Utu." The last two lines of our poem contain the conventional phrases concluding a myth or epic tale.

[1] For a detailed discussion of the Sumerian sources of the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh, cf. *JAOS,* LXIV (1944), 8-23; note that our poem is there entitled "Gilgamesh and Huwawa."

[2] There is some possibility that the fragmentary extract of a Sumerian poem tentatively entitled "lihc Death of Gilgamesh," might belong to our poem; cf. *BASOR,* No. 94 (1944), 2-12, and particularly n.4. Note that the line numbering in *fCS,* 1, 3-46, is *off* by one, following line 70.

[8] For the possibility that Dilmun was the Land of the Living, cf. ***BASOR,*** No. 96 (1944), 18-28. Note, however, that to judge from the contents of lines 146-150, particularly when compared with the text quoted in ***JCS,*** [1] ('947)> 45> note 252 (it reads: Huwawa answers Gilgamesh: "My mother who gave birth to me is the land' (so, instead of 'highland') Hurrum, My father who begot me is the mountain Hurrum, Utu has made me dwell all alone with him in the 'land.'"), it is perhaps the highland Hurrum which is to be taken as the Land of the Living.

ingly very light, attack on the part of Gilgamesh, Huwawa is overcome with fright; he thereupon utters a prayer to the sun-god Utu and adjures Gilgamesh not to kill him (lines 142-151). Gilgamesh would like to act the generous victor, and in riddle-like phrases suggests to Enkidu that Huwawa be set free. But Enkidu, fearful of the consequences, advises against such unwise action (lines 152-161). Following Huwawa's indignant criticism of Enkidu's ungenerous attitude, our two heroes proceed to cut off his neck (lines 162-166). They then seem to bring Huwawa's corpse before Enlil and Ninlil, but what follows is quite uncertain, for after several fragmentary lines our available material comes to an end.

The text of "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living" is reconstructed from fourteen tablets and fragments; eleven were excavated in Nippur, one in Kish, while the provenience of two is unknown. All the available tablets and fragments date from the first half of the second millennium **B.C.** A scientific edition of the poem, including copies of unpublished material in the University Museum, transliteration, translation, and commentary, was published by the writer in ***JCS,*** 1 (1947), 3-46; here, too, will be found a copy of a tablet in the Yale Babylonian Collection, copied by Ferris J. Stephens, and a copy of a tablet in the Oriental Museum of the University of Illinois, copied by Albrecht Goetze.

The lord, toward the Land of the Living set his mind,
The lord, Gilgamesh, toward the Land of the Living set his mind,
He says to his servant Enkidu:
"O Enkidu, not *(yet) have hric\ and stamp* brought forth *the fated end,*
I would enter the 'land,' I would set up my name,
In its places where the names have been raised up, I would raise up my name,
In its places where the names have not been raised up, I would raise up the names of the gods."
His servant Enkidu answers him:
"O my master, if thou wouldst enter the 'land,' inform Utu,
Inform Utu, the hero Utu—
The 'land,' it is Utu's charge,
The land *of the cut-down* cedar,[4] it is the hero Utu's charge—inform Utu."
Gilgamesh laid his hands on an all-white kid,
A brown kid, an offering, he pressed to his breast,
In his hand he placed the silver staff of his...,
He says to Utu of heaven:
"O Utu, I would enter the 'land,' be thou my ally,
I would enter the land *of the cut-down* cedar, be thou my ally."
Utu of heaven answers him:
"... verily thou art, but what art thou to the'land?'"
"O Utu, a word I would speak to thee, to my word thy ear,[5]
*I would have it reach thee,* give ear to it.
In my city man dies, oppressed is the heart,
Man perishes, heavy is the heart,
I *peered over* the wall,
Saw the dead bodies... *floating on* the river;
As for me, I too will be served thus; verily 'tis so.
Man, the tallest, cannot stretch to heaven,
Man the widest, cannot *cover* the earth.
Not *(yet) have bric\ and stamp* brought forth *the fated end,*
I would enter the 'land,' I would set up my name,
In its places where the names have been raised up, I would raise up my name,
In its places where the names have not been raised up, I would raise up the names of the gods."
Utu accepted his tears as an offering,
Like a man of mercy, he showed him mercy,
The seven heroes, the sons of one mother,
The first, a ... that...,
The second a viper that...,
The third, a dragon that...,
The fourth, a *scorching fire* that...,
The fifth, a *raging* snake that *turns the heart*, that...,
The sixth, a destructive deluge that *floods* the land,
The seventh, the speeding... [lightning] which cannot be [*turned bac\;],*
These seven ...,
He brings into the___of the mountains.
Who felled the cedar, acted joyfully,
The lord Gilgamesh acted joyfully,
In his city, as one man, *he...,*
As two companions, *he ... :*
"Who has a house, to his house! Who has a mother, to his mother!
Let single males who *would do as I* (do), fifty, *stand* at my side."
Who had a house, to his house; who had a mother, to his mother,
Single males who *would do as he* (did), fifty, *stood* at his side.
To the house of the smiths he directed his step,
The..., the .. .-axe, his "Might of Heroism" he caused to be cast there.
To the... garden of the plain he [directed] his step,
The.. .-tree, the *willow*, the *apple tree*, the *box* tree, the .. .-[tree] he *[felled]* there.
The "sons" of his city who accompanied him *[placed them]* in their hands.
The first, a ... that_
*Hav[ing been brought]* into the ...
of the mountains,
The first [mo]untain they cross, *he comes not upon his*
Upon their crossing the seventh mountain,[6]
... he did not wander about,
[The lord Gil]gamesh *fells* the cedar.
...*to* Gilgamesh,
... Gilgamesh___brought,
... *stretched out,*
... like... seized,

[4] So, instead of as in ***JCS***. Note, too, that the present translation varies from that in ***JCS*** in lines 14, 22, 25, 26, 28, 42, 83, 86, 94, 100, 106, 121, 136» J39> M5, 174; most of the variations are very slight.

[5] Note the omission of a line approximating: "Gilgamesh answers him."

[6] Lines 62-72 are so fragmentary that is impossible to make any connected sense out of them; the punctuation, too, is of course altogether uncertain.

... set up for him,
[The "sons" of his city] who accompanied
him, (70)

... *it is* a dream,... it is a sleep,
... silence...
He touches him, he rises not,
He speaks to him, he [an]swers not.
"Who art lying, who art lying,
O Gilgamesh, lord, son of Kullab, how long wilt thou lie?
*The 'land' has become dark?* the shadows have spread over it,
Dusk has [*brought forth]* its light,
Utu has gone with lifted head to the bosom
of his mother Ningal, (80)
O Gilgamesh, how long [wilt thou] lie?
Let not the 'sons' of thy city [who] have accompanied thee,
Stand *waiting* for thee at the foot of the mountain,
Let not thy mother who gave birth to thee be *driven off* to the 'square' of thy city."
He gave heed,
With his "word of heroism" he [covered himself] like a garment,
His garment of thirty shekels which he *carried in his hand* he... d on his breast,
Like a bull he stood on the "great earth,"
He put *(his)* mouth to the ground, *(his) teeth shook,.*
"By the life of Ninsun, my mother who gave birth to me, of pure Lugalbanda, my father, (90)
*May I become as one who sits to be wondered at on the knee* of Ninsun, my mother who gave birth to me."
A second time moreover he says to *him:*
"By the life of Ninsun, my mother who gave birth to me, of pure Lugalbanda, my father,
Until I will have *fought* that 'man,' if he be a man, [until] I will have *fought* him, if he be a god,
My step directed to the 'land,' I shall not direct to the city."
The *faithful* servant *pleaded,...* d life,
He answers his master:
"O my master, thou who hast not seen that 'man,' art not terror-stricken,
I, who have seen that 'man,' am terror-stricken.
The hero, his *teeth* are the *teeth* of a dragon, (100)
His face is the face of a lion,
His... is the onrushing floodwater,
*From* his forehead which devours trees and reeds none escapes.
o my master, journey thou to the 'land,' I will journey to the *city,*
1 will *tell* thy mother of thy *glory, let her shout,*
I will *tell* her of thy *ensuing* death, *\let her]* shed bitter tears."
"For *me another* will not die, the *loaded* boat will not sink,
The three-ply cloth will not be cut,
The ... will not be overwhelmed,
House *(and)* hut, fire will not destroy. (no)
Do thou *help* me (and) I will *help* thee, *what can happen to us?*
After it had sunk, after it had sunk,[7]
After the Magan-boat had sunk,
After the boat, 'the might of Magilum,' had sunk,
In the . . ., the boat of the living creatures, *are seated those who come out of the womb;*
Come, let us go forward, we will cast eyes upon him,
If we go forward,
(And) there be fear, there be fear, turn it back,
There be terror, there be terror, turn it back,
*In* thy . . ., come, let us go forward." (120)
Who is ..., *is not at peace,*
Huwawa, moreover,... d his cedar house,
He fastened his eye upon him, the eye of death,
He *nodded* his head to him, shook his head at him,
He *spoke* to him ...,
Who are... *men* he... like...
Gilgamesh...,
(break of approximately 7 lines)
"By the life [of Ninsun,] my mother who gave birth to me, [of pure Lugalbanda, my father],
In the 'land' verily I have known thy dwelling...,
My little weak ... verily I have brought into the 'land' for thee as ...,
... in thy... I would enter."
*He himself* uprooted *the first for him,*
The "sons" of his city who accompanied him (140)
Cut down its crown, bundle it,
Lay it at the foot of the mountain.
After *he himself had finished off* for him the seventh, he approached *his chamber,*
He ... d the "snake of the wine-quay" *in his wall,*
Like one pressing a kiss he slapped his cheek.
Huwawa, *(his) teeth shook* *
He *warded off* Gilgamesh:
"To Utu I would say a word:
'O Utu, a mother who gave birth to me I know not, a father who reared me I know not,
In the "land" thou didst give birth to me, thou dost rear me.'" (150)
He adjured Gilgamesh by the life of heaven, life of earth, life of the nether world,
Took him by the hand, *brought him to ...*
Then did the heart of Gilgamesh take pity on the ...,
He says to his servant Enkidu:
"O Enkidu, let the caught bird go (back) to its place,
Let the caught man return to the bosom of his mother."
Enkidu answers Gilgamesh:
"The tallest who has not judgment,
Namtar[9] will devour, Namtar who knows *no distinctions.*

[7] The implications of lines 11 i-i 14 are obscure; it is not even certain that Gilgamesh is the speaker as assumed in the translation.

[8] Note the important new renderings in lines 145-151; they are based largely on a still unpublished fragment copied by me in Istanbul's Museum of the Ancient Orient.

[9] The evil demon "Fate."

If the caught bird goes (back) to its place,
If the caught man returns to the bosom of his mother,
Thou wilt not return to the city of the mother who gave birth to thee."
Huwawa says to Enkidu:
"Against me, O Enkidu, thou hast spoken evil to him,
O hired man who____the food, *who* stands next to the ...*of* the rival, thou hast spoken evil words to him."
When he had thus spoken,
They cut off his neck,[10]
They placed upon him...,
They brought him before Enlil and Ninlil.
Enlil brought forth his palace servant from the sea,
And Ninlil brought forth ...
When Enlil and Ninlil____:
"Why thus ... ?
.. .*let him* come forth, *let him seize,*

»»11

# The Death of Gilgamesh

The "Death of Gilgamesh" consists of a text which is but a small part of a poem of unknown length.[1] Fragmentary as the text is, its contents are of rather unusual significance for die light they shed on the Sumerian ideas concerning death and the nether world. The text is divided into two sections, A and B, between which there is a break of unknown size.[2] The contents of A may be briefly sketched as follows: Following a passage whose meaning is altogether obscure, Gilgamesh is informed that he must cherish no hope for immortality; that Enlil, the father of all the gods, has not destined him for eternal life. He is not to take it to heart, however, for Enlil has granted him kingship, prominence, and heroism in batde. There follows the death of Gilgamesh, described in a passage of typical Sumerian poetic form, consisting of at least ten lines ending with the refrain "lies, rises not," the first part of eight of the lines containing epithets descriptive of Gilgamesh. The section ends with a description of the ensuing mourning.

Section B consists of the last forty-two lines of the poem.[8] It begins with a list of Gilgamesh's family and retinue—wives, children, musicians, chief valet, attendants—and continues with the presentation by Gilgamesh of their gifts and offerings to the numerous deities of the nether world. That is, according to at least one plausible interpretation of the available material, Gilgamesh has died and descended to the nether world to become its king.[4] Moreover, we must reckon with the possibility that a large palace retinue was buried with Gilgamesh—if so, we have here the first mention of human sacrifices of the type uncovered by Woolley in the tombs of Ur—and that Gilgamesh performs the placation rites essential to their comfortable sojourn in the nether world. The remainder of the poem is poorly preserved; it probably ends with a special tribute to the glory and memory of Gilgamesh.

The text of the "Death of Gilgamesh" is reconstructed from three tablets excavated in Nippur, dating from the first half of the second millennium **B.C.** A translation and transliteration of the available material, together with a copy of one of the tablets, have been published by the writer in ***BASOR,*** No. 94 (1944), 2-12.[5]

*Section A*

... the road taken ... ,[a]
... who brings up from its ...,
... *with* the killing from its ...,
... daily unto distant days.
After... had been placed,
... which had been granted,
... destruction old and ancient,
... the weapon which he *brought* up,
... which he directed,
... the *flood* which *destroyed* the land,
(lines 11-24 destroyed)
... the son of Utu[7]
In the nether world, the place of darkness, verily will give him light.
Mankind, as much as has been named,
Who beside him will *build* its *form* unto distant days?
The mighty heroes, the *seers,* like the new moon verily have..
Who *beside him* has directed the power and the might before them?
*In* the month of Ab, *the.. .of the shades,*
Without him verily there is no light before them.
Enlil, the great mountain, the father of the gods—
O lord Gilgamesh, the *meaning* of the dream (is)—
Has destined thy fate, O Gilgamesh, for kingship, for eternal life he has not destined it
(But) ... of life, be not sad of heart,
Be not aggrieved, be not depressed.
Who of man committed a wrong ...,
*The forbidden, thy bond cut loose ...*
*The light (and) dar\|ness* of mankind
he has granted thee,[9]
Supremacy over mankind he has granted thee,
Unmatched ... he has granted thee,
Battle *from which none may retreat* he has granted thee,
Onslaughts unrivalled he has granted thee,

[10] Note this important new rendering.

[11] A variant and considerably expanded version of our poem is found on a fragmentary tablet from Nippur dating from the same period as the other Nippur tablets and fragments; its contents will be found transliterated and analyzed in the *JCS* study in notes 205, 206, 217, 222, 226, 241, 245, 250, 252.

[1] There is some possibility that the text of our poem is a continuation of the epic tale "Gilgamesh and Huwawa"; cf. pp. 47-50 of the present volume.

[2] It is by no means certain, however, that the two sections are part of the same poem.

* That this section contains the last lines of whatever poem it is a part of, is certain from its last line which is typical of the end of Sumerian compositions.

[4] That Gilgamesh was conceived by the Sumerian theologians and myth makers as king of the nether world is known especially from a text discussed in *BASOR,* No. 94, 6, n.11.

[5] The present translation differs somewhat from that in *BASOR*; the more significant variations are pointed out in the notes.

[6] Because of the fragmentary condition of lines i-io, the attempted renderings are to be taken as pointers only; the punctuation, too, is of course altogether uncertain.

[7] Lines 25-49 form part of an address by some deity or individual whose name was no doubt stated in the lines now destroyed. In lines 25-32, the crucial difficulty involves the subject of the verbal forms; from the extant text it seems impossible to offer an intelligent conjecture.

"Note the new rendering which omits the translation of the last two complexes of this line; their rendering in *BASOR* with "verily *made (fie!) the thresholds* with them" is based on a literal interpretation of the text which may be unjustified. Note, too, the new rendering of line 31.

[9] If the rendering is correct, which is not too likely, the line might be taken to indicate the extent of Gilgamesh's power and influence.

Attacks from which none may escape, he has granted thee.
Do not... thy faithful.. . palace servant,
Before Utu thou shalt...,
A garment[10]...,
The leader ...
(break of approximately 10 lines)
Who *destroyed*] evil [lies,[11] rises not], (60)
Who [*established justice in the land* lies, rises not],
Who... li[es, rises not],
Who is *firm of muscle*, li[es, rises not],
The lord of Kullab li[es, rises not],
Who is *wise of features,* lies, [rises not],
Who... lies, [rises] not,
*With him who* ascends the mountain[12] he lies, he [rises] not,
On the bed of Fate he lies, he rises not,
*[On]* the multicolored... *couch* he lies, he rises not.
The standing are not silent, the sitting[13]
are not silent, they set up a lament, (70)
Who eat food are not silent, who drink water are not silent, they set up a lament.
Namtar[14]... is not silent,
Like... fish he has *stretched out,*
Like a gazelle held fast by the *gilburru,*[15] he ... the couch.
Namtar who has no hands, who has no feet, *[who drin\s] no water, [who eats no food];*[6]
(2 lines destroyed)[17]
made heavy.
... Gilgamesh,
*After* its... had been *interpreted,* (80)
... which he *interpreted* to them,
... they answer:
.. *[w]hy* dost thou cry?
... why *has it been* made ?
... that *which* Nintu has not fashioned,
... he brought forth.
... there is not.
... strength, firm muscle...,
... *escaped* not the hand.
... he looked not upon . . . , (90)
... from the... he seizes.
...,
... upon which he looked,

[10] Note that this line was omitted in the translation in *BASOR.*

[11] A more literal rendering may perhaps be "lay down" instead of "lies."

[12] Note the new rendering for this line; "who ascends the mountain" may perhaps be a euphemism for "who dies." "The bed of Fate" in the next line refers, of course, to death.

[13] "The standing" and "the sitting" may perhaps refer to those citizens who participate in the city assembly; cf. now Kramer, *AJA,* LIII, 14.

[14] Namtar, "Fate," is the nether-world demon responsible for death.

[15] For the *gilburru,* cf. lines 195 and 220 *of* the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur."

[16] Note the new rendering of the line.

[17] Because of the fragmentary condition of lines 76-95, the attempted renderings and punctuation are to be taken as pointers only; note the new rendering of line 83, the restoration of the Sumerian word for "why" is reasonably certain. In line 85, the goddess Nintu, also known under the names Ninhursag, Ninmah, etc., is particularly noted for her activities in the creation of man; cf. e.g. *SAf,* 68-75.

... verily he decreed the fate.
*Of*... called by name ..

*Section B*

His beloved wife, [his] be[loved] son,
The...-wife, [his] be[loved] concubine,
His musician, [his beloved] *entertainer,*
[His] beloved chief valet, [his beloved]...,
[His] be [loved] household,[18] the palace *attendants,*
His beloved *caretaker*™
The *purified* palace... the heart of Erech—whoever lay with him in *that place,*[20]
Gilgamesh, the son of Ninsun,
Weighed out their offerings to Ereshkigal,[21]
Weighed out their gifts to Namtar, (10)
Weighed out *(their) presents* to Dimpikug,
Weighed out their bread-offerings to Neti,
Weighed out their bread-offerings to Ningishzida and Dumuzi.
To Enki and Ninki, to Enmul and Ninmul,[22]
To Endukugga and Nindukugga,
To *Enindashurimma* and *Nindashurimma,*
To Enmu... la and Enmesharra,
The parents of Enlil,
Shulpae, the lord of the table,[23]
Sumugan, Ninhursag, (20)
The Anunnaki of the Dukug
The Igigi of the Dukug,
The dead ..., the dead ... *sangu,*[24]
The *mahhu, entu...,*
The *paliiu,* clad in linen ...,
*Offerings*™...
...,
The lord *[Gilgamesh]* weighed out their breads-offerings.

[18] Note the new rendering; it is due to the suggestion of Frederick Geers, of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, that the second Sumerian sign in the line is si rather than KUG.

[19] The new rendering assumes that the contents of this line parallel those of the preceding lines; a more literal rendering might perhaps read *"one who puts* (his) hand on everything."

[20] Note the new rendering; the real meaning of the line and its relationship to what precedes and follows, remain obscure.

[21] The gods listed in lines 9-13 are all underworld deities: Ereshkigal is the well-known queen of the nether world; Namtar is the demon of death; Dimpikug's duties are unknown; *Neti* is the chief gatekeeper of the nether world; Ningishzida and Dumuzi are two well-known chthonic deities.

[22] The deities listed in lines 14-17 are described in line 18 as "the parents" of the leading Sumerian deity Enlil; they are all known as such from other texts, and were no doubt conceived by the theologians and mythographers as dwelling in the nether world.

[23] Note the new renderings in lines 19-28; particularly the word "to" at the beginning of lines 19-26 is by no means assured; nor is the assumption that the deities and priests listed in them are to be thought of as inhabiting the nether world. In the present fragmentary state of the text, and particularly of the crucial lines 26-27, it is difficult to get at the real meaning of the passage contained in lines 14-28. As for the deities mentioned, Shulpae, "the lord of the table," is the husband of Ninhursag, one of the four creating deities of Sumer (see note 17); Sumugan is known as the god in charge of the "plain," and the animal and plant life which fills it; the Anunnaki and the Igigi are groups of deities whose individual members are unnamed (the Anunnaki in particular are frequently mentioned as participating in the divine assemblies); the Dukug is the chamber in heaven where Igigi and particularly the Anunnaki are said to live; it seems to be described in one text as "the place of the creation of the gods."

[24] The *sangu, mahhu,* and *palilu* are priests: the *entu* is a priestess.

[25] *"Offerings"* instead of "to the seer" in *BASOR.*

[28] The word "bread" was erroneously omitted in *BASOR.*

... *lies,*
Gilgamcsh, the son of Ninsun, (30)
At the place of libations... poured out date wine,
. . . [27]
... *caused to be inhaled* for him.
The people of *Erech,*
... *have no possessions,*
... d their... in dust.
In those days,... the lord[28] Gilgamesh,
*For...* who neglected not Enlil—
Gilgamesh, the son of Ninsun,
*Of... their* rival king has not been
born to *Nintu*; (40)
*Who* has no *[rival], who is without [equ]al,*
O Gilga[mesh, lord of] Kullab, good is thy [pr]aise.

# Inanna's Descent to the Nether World

The Sumerian myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" is highly significant for the light on the Sumero-Babylonian religious tenets, particularly those concerning death and the nether world. Moreover, as the predecessor and prototype of the Semitic myth "Ishtar's Descent to the Nether World," it provides us with an ancient and highly instructive example of literary borrowing and transformation. Briefly sketched, its contents run as follows: For some unknown reason,[1] Inanna, queen of heaven, has set her heart upon visiting the nether world. She therefore collects all the appropriate divine ordinances, adorns herself with her queenly robes and jewels, and is ready to enter the "land of no return." Queen of the nether world is her older sister, and—at least so it seems—bitter enemy, Ereshkigal. Fearing lest her sister put her to death in the nether world, Inanna instructs her messenger Ninshubur, who is always at her beck and call, that if after three days she shall have failed to return,[2] he is to set up a hue and cry for her in heaven, in the assembly hall of the gods. He is then to go to Nippur, the city of Enlil, and plead with the latter to save Inanna and not let her be put to death in the nether world. If Enlil refuses he is to go to Ur, the city of the moon-god Nanna, and repeat his plea. If Nanna, too, refuses, he is to go to Eridu, the city of Enki, the god of wisdom, and the latter, who "knows the food of life," who "knows the water of life," will surely come to her rescue.

Inanna then descends to the nether world and approaches Ereshkigal's temple of lapis lazuli. At the gate she is met by the chief gatekeeper, who demands to know who she is and why she has come. Inanna concocts a false excuse for her visit, and the gatekeeper, upon instructions from his mistress, leads her through the seven gates of the nether world. As she passes through each of the gates her garments and jewels are removed piece by piece in spite of her protests. Finally, after entering the last gate, she is brought stark naked and on bended knees before Ereshkigal and the Anunnaki,[8] the seven dreaded judges of the nether world. These fasten upon her their "eye" of death and she is turned into a corpse which is then hung from a stake.[4] So pass three days and three nights. On the fourth day Ninshubur, seeing that his mistress has not returned, proceeds to make the rounds of the gods in accordance with his instructions. As Inanna had predicted, both Enlil and Nanna refuse all help. Enki, however, devises a plan to restore her to life. He fashions the ***\urgarru*** and the ***\alaturru,*** two sexless creatures, and entrusts to them the "food of life" and die "water of life," with instructions to proceed to the nether world and sprinkle this "food" and "water" (probably) sixty times upon Inanna's impaled corpse.[5] This they do, and Inanna revives. As she leaves the nether world, however, she is accompanied by the dead and by the bogeys and harpies who have their home there. Surrounded by this ghosdy, ghasdy crowd she wanders from city to city in Sumer.®

The text of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," is reconstructed from thirteen tablets and fragments, all of which were excavated in Nippur and are now either in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul or in the University Museum in Philadelphia. All were actually inscribed in the first half of the second millennium **B.C.** but the date of the first composition

[27] Because of its fragmentary state, the meaning of the passage contained in lines 32-40 is altogether obscure; the renderings and the punctuation are quite uncertain throughout these lines. Note, too, the new renderings of lines 38 and 40.

[28] The word "lord" was erroneously omitted in *BASOR.*

[1] Hitherto it has been almost universally assumed that Inanna's descent to the nether world was for the purpose of saving Dumuzi (i.e. Tammuz), who supposedly was being held there against his will. As can be seen from note 6 (below), however, these assumptions were quite erroneous; the reason for Inanna's descent to the land of no return still remains unknown.

[2] This time limit is not stated explicidy in Inanna's instructions, but cf. lines 169 ff.

[5] The Anunnaki, to judge from the available Sumerian material, are the unnamed "great gods" of the Sumerian pantheon who participated in the assemblies called by the leading deities before making final decisions; they were conceived as begotten by the heaven-god Anu on the "mountain of heaven and earth" (cf. *SM,* 72-3). Presumably, therefore, they were sky-gods, and just how the Sumerian mythographers got seven of them to the nether world to act as judges in it (cf. line 63 of our myth) is as yet unknown.

* This seems to be the literal meaning of the Sumerian; presumably, the stake projected from a wall and pierced the dead body which thus "hung from it."

[5] Enki gave the two creatures quite a number of additional instructions, which would, no doubt, prove highly revealing for Sumerian mythological concepts and religious tenets concerning death and the nether world; but unfortunately the relevant lines (224-242 and lines 246-265) are largely destroyed.

[6] To this summary, which is based on the text of the myth as reconstructed in *PAPS,* LXXXV (cf. the paragraph following our summary) there can now be made a most important addition based on an as-yet-unpublished tablet in the Yale Babylonian Collection, which I had the opportunity of studying some time ago through the courtesy of Ferris J. Stephens, curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, and Albrecht Goetze, his colleague. This tablet contains 91 lines of text; it begins with line 264 of the text as reconstructed in *PAPS* and duplicates the latter until line 323; from there on the text of the Yale tablet fills in part of the 40-line gap mentioned on p. 302 of *PAPS,* LXXXV. With the help of this new material, the events which took place upon Inanna's departure from the nether world are seen to be as follows: As soon as Inanna leaves the nether world with her ghosdy and demoniac companions, she is met by her messenger Ninshubur, who throws himself at her feet, sits in the dirt, and dresses in mourning. Hie demons accompanying Inanna seem to threaten to carry him off to the nether world, but Inanna tells them who he is and how he had served her faithfully, and—this is not quite certain—that consequently they should do him no harm. They then proceed to Umma and its temple Sigkurshagga; here Shara, the tutelary deity of Umma, threw himself at her feet, sat in the dirt and dressed in mourning. The demons accompanying Inanna seem to threaten to carry him off to the nether world, but Inanna (if the interpretation is correct) dissuades them. They then proceed to Badtibira and its temple Emushkalamma; here Latarak, the tutelary deity of Badtibira, threw himself at her feet, sat in the dirt, and dressed in mourning. Once again the demons seem to ^threaten to carry off the god, and once again Inanna seems to dissuade them. They then proceed to a city whose name is uncertain; it may perhaps be Inanna's own city Erech, since its temple complex seems to be named Kullab, a district in, or adjacent to, Erech. And here comes what is, no doubt, the most surprising and revealing part of the text. In Kullab(P), the god Dumuzi, unlike the gods Ninshubur, Shara of Umma, and Latarak of Badtibira, does not throw himself at Inanna's feet; nor does he show any signs of mourning. Instead, he seats himself on a "high seat" totally unmindful of Inanna and her companions. Whereupon Inanna hands Dumuzi over into the hands of the demons, no doubt to carry him off to the nether world. Dumuzi bursts into tears and raises his hands in prayer to the sun-god Utu to save him from the demons. At this point our text breaks off, so that the end of the myth is still unknown.

of the myth is unknown. A first edition of the text of the myth, based on the eight tablets and fragments then available, was published by the writer in ***RA,*** xxxiv (1937), 93-134· Following the publication of several additional pieces belonging to the myth,[7] the writer published a new edition of the text based on all the thirteen pieces in ***PAPS,*** LXXXV (1942), 293-323, Pls. i-x. A study and translation of the text based on the writer's first edition, that in ***RA,*** xxxiv, were published by A. Falkenstein in *AjO,* xiv (1942), 113-138. A study and translation of the text based on the writer's first edition and on the additional material published by the writer in ***RA,*** xxxvi, together with an analysis of the Falkenstein article in ***AfO,*** xiv, were published by Maurus Witzel in ***Orientdia*** NS, xrv (1945), 24-69.®

From the ["great above"][9] she set her mind toward the "great below,"
The *goddess*, from the "great above," she set her mind towards the "great below,"
Inanna, from the "great above," she set her mind towards the "great below."
My lady abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, to the nether world she descended,
Inanna abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, to the nether world she descended,
Abandoned lordship, abandoned ladyship, to the nether world she descended.
In Erech she abandoned Eanna,[10] to the nether world she descended,
In Badtibira she abandoned Emushkalamma, to the nether world she descended,
In Zabalam she abandoned Giguna, to the nether world she descended,
In Adab she abandoned Esharra, to the nether world she descended,
In Nippur she abandoned Baratushgarra, to the nether world she descended,
In Kish she abandoned Hursagkalamma, to the nether world she descended,
In Agade she abandoned Eulmash, to the nether world she descended.
She *arrayed herself* in the seven ordinances,[11]
She gathered the ordinances, placed them in her hand,
*All the ordinances she set up at (her) waiting foot,*
The *sugurra,* the crown of the plain, she put upon her head,
The *wig* of her forehead she took,
The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli she gripped in her hand,
Small lapis lazuli stones she tied about her neck,
*Sparkling...* stones she *fastened* to her breast,
A gold ring she *put about* her hand,
A breastplate *which* . . . , she *tightened* about her breast,
With the *pala*-garment, the garment of ladyship, she covered her body,
Kohl *which* . . . , she daubed on her eyes.
Inanna walked towards the nether world.
Her messenger Ninshubur walked at her *[side],*
The pure Inanna says to Ninshubur:
"O (thou who art) my constant support,[12]
My messenger of favorable words,
My carrier of true[13] words,
I am now descending to the nether world.
When I shall have come to the nether world,
*Fill* heaven *with complaints for me,*
In the assembly shrine cry out for me,
In the house of the gods *rush about* for me,[14]
*Scratch* thy eyes for me, *scratch* thy mouth for me,[15]
*Scratch* thy large... which... s not with man,[16]
Like a pauper in a single garment dress for me,
To the Ekur, the house of Enlil, all alone direct thy step."[17]
Upon thy entering the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
Weep before Enlil:
'O Father Enlil, let not thy daughter be *put to death* in the nether world,
Let not thy good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,[18]

[7] cf. *RA,* xxxvi (1939), 68-80; *BASOR,* 79 (1940), 18-27.

[8] cf. also B. A. van Proosdij in *JEOL,* vi (1939), 138-147. B. Landsberger has sent me some valuable comment on the *PAPS* edition, some of which will be quoted in the notes.

[9] The "great above" is the space above the sky; the "great below" is the space below the surface of the earth.

[10] This and the following lines mention seven important cities of Sumer together with Inanna's temple in each; the order is not significant since it varies considerably in one of the duplicates.

[11] For "ordinances" which attempts to render the Sumerian word *me,* cf. p. 43 of this work. It is to be noted that judging from our text, these "ordinances" seem to be concrete and tangible objects; note, too, that in the myth "Inanna and Enki: The Transfer of the Arts of Civilization from Eridu to Erech" *(SM,* 64-68), they were transported on a boat. The rendering of lines 14-25 varies to some extent from that in *PAPS,* LXXXV. In line 14, the new rendering is based on Landsberger's (cf. note 8) note that *zag—SIR* is equated with *\issuru* in CT, xvi, 25, 49 (Falkenstein's interpretation of the compound in *AfO,* xiv, 115 and *ZA,* XLVII, 168 f., is therefore incorrect). For "gathered" instead of "sought out" in line 14, cf. Falkenstein, *AfO,* xiv, 115; for *"wig"* instead of *"radiance"* in line 18 cf. *ibid.,* 117-118. For the new rendering of line 19, cf. Witzel's excellent comment in *Orientalia* NS, xiv, 32-33; Landsberger, moreover, refers to the Burney Relief discussed by Frankfort in *AfO,* XII, 129 ff. which actually shows the rod and line in the hands of a female deity. While, therefore, the translations "measuring rod" and "line" are reasonably certain, there is some difficulty with the words "of lapis lazuli" since "the line" should, of course, be made of rope, not of stone; Landsberger therefore suggests the possibility that "lapis lazuli" is here used for the color "blue." In line 21, "twin" may be preferable to "sparkling"; the Sumerian word is ambiguous. For *"put about"* instead of "gripped in," (line 22) cf. Falkenstein, *loc. at.,* 116; for the new rendering of line 24, cf. *ibid.,* 116-117; "kohl" (line 25) was suggested by Landsberger, but cf. already Falkenstein, *loc. cit.,* 11.

[12] One of the duplicates has an interesting variant for lines 29-31, which reads as follows: "Come, my faithful messenger of Eanna, Instruction I offer thee, take my instruction, A word I speak to thee, give ear to it."

[13] "True" rather than "supporting" as in *PAPS,* LXXX, cf. Falkenstein, *loc. cit.,* 130.

[14] The translation assumes that "the house of the gods" (line 36) and the "assembly shrine" of the preceding line refer to places in heaven where the gods met in assembly. Perhaps, however, the two lines refer to Ninshubur's making the rounds of the gods in Nippur, Ur, and Eridu; if so, "shrine" and "house" (lines 35, 36) should read "shrines" and "houses," and "rush about" might perhaps read "make the rounds."

[15] The rendering "scratch" is suggested by Landsberger. cf. perhaps, the similar practices in connection with the dead, which are prohibited in the Old Testament.

[16] For the rendering "with man," cf. Falkenstein, *loc. cit.,* 119.

[17] "All alone" was accidentally omitted in *PAPS,* LXXXV.

[18] For "be covered" instead of "be ground up," in *PAPS,* LXXXV, cf. Falkenstein, *loc. cit.,* 120. It is difficult to see what "thy good metal," "thy good lapis lazuli," "thy *boxwood,"* are intended to refer to; on the surface it might seem that they refer to the jewels and ornaments carried by Inanna, but if so, what does "thy *boxwood"* refer to? Falkenstein *(loc. cit.,* 121) suggests that these phrases are figurative descriptions of Inanna's body; such usage, however, is as yet without parallel in Sumerian literature.

Let not thy good lapis lazuli be broken up[19] into the stone of the stoneworker,
Let not thy *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the woodworker,
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world.'
If Enlil stands not by thee in this matter, go to Ur.
*In* Ur, upon thy entering the house of . . . of the land,[20]
The Ekishnugal[21] the house of Nanna,
Weep before Nanna:
'O Father Nanna, let not thy daughter be *put to death* in the nether world,
Let not thy good metal be covered with the dust of the netherworld,
Let not thy good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stoneworker,
Let not thy *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the woodworker,
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world.'
If Nanna stands not by thee in this matter, go to Eridu.
*In* Eridu, upon thy entering the house of Enki,
Weep before Enki:
'O Father Enki, let not thy daughter be *put to death* in the nether world,
Let not thy good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,
Let not thy good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stoneworker,
Let not thy *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the woodworker,
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world.'
Father Enki, the lord of *wisdom,*[22]
Who knows the food of life, who knows the water of life,
*He will surely bring me to life"*[23]*
Inanna walked towards the nether world,
To her messenger Ninshubur she says:
"Go, Ninshubur,
*The word which I have commanded thee do not neglect*™
When Inanna arrived at the lapis lazuli palace of the nether world,[25]
At the door of the nether world she *acted* evilly,[26]
In the palace of the nether world she spoke evilly:
"Open the house, gatekeeper, open the house,
Open the house, Neti,[27] open the house, all alone I would enter."
Neti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,
Answers the pure Inanna:
"Who, pray, art thou?"
"I am Inanna of the place where the sun rises."[28]
"If thou art Inanna of the place where the sun rises,
Why pray hast thou come to the land of no return?
On the road whose traveler returns not, how hath thy heart led thee?"[29]
The pure Inanna answers him:
"My elder sister Ereshkigal,
Because her husband, the lord Gugalanna, had been killed,[80]
To witness his funeral rites,
. . . ; verily 'tis so."[81]
Neti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,
Answers the pure Inanna:
*"Stay,* Inanna, to my queen let me speak,
To my queen Ereshkigal let me speak,... let me speak."
Neti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,
Enters the house of his queen Ereshkigal (and) says to her:
"O my queen, a maid,
Like a god . . . ,
The door . . . ,
. . . ,
In Eanna . . . ,
She has *arrayed* herself in the seven ordinances,[82]
She has gathered the ordinances, has placed them in her hand,
*All the ordinances she has set up at (her) waiting foot,*
The *lugurra,* the crown of the plain, she has put upon her head,
The *wig* of her forehead she has taken,
The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli she has gripped in her hand,
Small lapis lazuli stones she has tied about her neck,
*Sparkling* . . . stones she has *fastened* to her breast,
A gold ring she has *put about* her hand,
A breastplate *which* . . . , she has *tightened* about her breast,
Kohl *which* . . . , she has daubed on her eyes,
With the /ra/tf-garment, the garment of ladyship, she has covered her body."
Then Ereshkigal...,
[Answers] Neti, her chief gatekeeper:
"Come, Neti, chief gatekeeper of the [nether world],
The word which I (shall) have commanded thee, do [not] ne [gleet].[88]

[19] "Be broken up" (line 45) and "be cut up" (line 46) are reasonably certain renderings and should not have been italicized as doubtful in *PAPS,* LXXXV.

[20] The word "land" renders the Sumerian word \alam and usually refers to Sumer.

[21] For "Ekishnugal" instead of "Ekishshirgal," cf. p. 455 of this work.

[22] Should have been rendered as doubtful in *PAPS,* LXXXV.

[23] The rendering of this crucial line is sdll uncertain and should have been so indicated in *PAPS,* LXXXV.

[24] For the rendering "do not neglect," cf. Falkenstein, *loc. cit.,* 122-123, and 129.

[25] This line may perhaps be better rendered "When Inanna arrived at the palace, the lapis lazuli mountain," cf. Falkenstein, *loc. cit., 131.*

[26] More literally, "set up that which is evil."

[27] Pronunciation of the first syllable of the name is still uncertain.

[28] Note the rendering which varies somewhat from that in *PAPS,* LXXXV, and cf. Falkenstein, *loc. cit.,* 131.

[29] Note that the word order differs from that in *PAPS,* LXXXV.

[80] The mythological implications of the statement made in this line are unknown.

[51] Note the new rendering of this line, and cf. *JCS,* 1, 35, note 214.

[32] For lines 100-111, cf. lines 14-25, but note the inverted order of the last two lines of the passage.

[38] The new rendering is based on a collation of text A (cf. *PAPS,* LXXXV,

Of the seven gates of the nether world, [open their locks],
Of the gate [Ganzir, the *face* of the nether world,[84] *define its rules].*
Upon her entering,
*Bowed low*[35]____"
Neti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,
Heeded[38] the word of his queen.
Of the seven gates of the nether world, [he opened] their locks,
Of the gate Ganzir, the *face* of the nether world, *[he defined] its rules.*
To the pure Inanna he says:
"Come, Inanna, enter."
Upon her entering,[87]
The *iugurra,t* the crown of the plain of her head was removed.[88]
"What, pray, is this?"[39]
*"Be silent*,[40] Inanna, the ordinances of the nether world are perfect,[41]
O Inanna do not [question] the rites of the netherworld."
Upon her entering the second gate,
The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli was removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
*"Be silent,* Inanna, the ordinances of the nether world are perfect,
O Inanna, *do not [question*] the rites of the nether world."
Upon her entering the third gate,
The small lapis lazuli stones of her neck were removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
*"Be silent*, Inanna, the ordinances of the nether world are perfect,
O Inanna, do not [question] the rites of the nether world."
Upon her entering the fourth gate,
The *sparkling* . . . stones of her breast were removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
*"Be silent*, Inanna, the ordinances of the nether world are perfect,
O Inanna, *do not [question*] the rites of the nether world."
Upon her entering the fifth gate,
The gold ring of her hand was removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
*"Be silent*, Inanna, the ordinances of the nether world are perfect,
O Inanna, *do not [question ]* the rites of the nether world."
Upon her entering the sixth gate,
The breastplate *which* . . . of her breast was removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
*"Be silent*, Inanna, the ordinances of the nether world are perfect,
O Inanna, *do not [question]* the rites of the nether world."
Upon her entering the seventh gate,
The pfl/a-garment, the garment of ladyship of her body, was removed.
"What, pray, is this?"
"Be silent, Inanna, the ordinances of the nether world are perfect,
O Inanna, *do not [question]* the rites of the nether world."
Bowed low. . . .
The pure Ereshkigal seated herself upon her throiie,
The Anunnaki, the seven judges, pronounced judgment before her,
They fastened (their) eyes upon her, the eyes of death,
*At* their word, the word which tortures the spirit,
. . . ,
*The sic\ "woman"* was turned into *a corpse,*
The *corpse* was hung from a *sta\e.*
After three days and three nights had passed,
Her messenger Ninshubur,[42]
Her messenger of favorable words,
Her carrier of true words,
*Fills* the heaven *with complaints for her,*
*Cried out* for her in the assembly shrine,
*Rushed about* for her in the house of the gods,
*Scratched* his eyes for her, *scratched* his mouth for her,
*Scratched* his large... *which*... s not with man,
Like a pauper in a single garment dressed for her,
To the Ekur, the house of Enlil, all alone[48] he directed his step.
Upon his entering the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
Before Enlil he weeps,
"O, Father Enlil, let not thy daughter be *put to death* in the nether world,[44]
Let not thy good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,
Let not thy good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stoneworker,

303) which seems to make the following reading probable *inim-a-ra-dugi-ga-mu gu-zu I*[*a-ba-li-lub-bt-cn*]. In G, on the other hand, the only other text available at this point, the line may read [*inim-a-ra-dugi*]*-ga giz*[*zal he*]*-im-*[*!i-ag'*, "[To the com]manded [word giv]e e[ar]."

[34] The implications of this phrase are not clear.

[35] Should have been italicized as doubtful in *PAPS,* LXXXV.

[36] For this new rendering, cf. Falkenstein, *loc. cit.,* 125.

[37] A variant text reads: "Upon her entering the first gate."

[38] According to the passage contained in lines 126-160, Inanna wore seven bits of apparel, which were removed piece by piece as she passed through each of the seven gates of the nether world. On the other hand, the passage describing Inanna's dress preparatory to her descent (lines 17-25), consists of nine lines, each of which seems to describe a specific unit of apparel or ornament; omitted in the later passage are the *wig* and the kohl. Interesting, too, is a variant text in which the measuring rod and line were removed even before she entered the first gate.

[39] This phrase should not have been italicized on p. 308 of *PAPS,* LXXXV.

[40] This translation which makes excellent sense is suggested by Falkenstein, *loc. cit.,* 126; it is nevertheless italicized as doubtful in our translation, since, as Witzel points out *(loc. cit.,* 44-45), the form would be expected to read *si-ga* rather than *ti-a* as it appears in our text

[41] A more literal rendering of the verb would read "have been perfected."

[42] cf. lines 30-39.

[45] "All alone" was accidentally omitted in *PAPS,* LXXXV.

[44] cf. lines 43 ff.

Let not thy *boxwood*[45] be cut up into the wood of the woodworker,
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world."
Father Enlil answers Ninshubur:
"My daughter *has asked for* the 'great above,' *has asked for* the 'great below,'[48]
Inanna *has asked for* the 'great above,' *has asked for* the 'great below,'
The ordinances of the nether world, the ... ordinances, the ordinances—she has *reached their* place,[47] (190)
Who is it *that to their* place . . . ?"[48]
Father Enlil stood not by him in this matter, he [went] toUr.
*In* Ur, upon his entering the house of____of the land,
The Ekishnugal, the house of Nanna,
Before Nanna he weeps:
"O Father Nanna, let not thy daughter be *put to death* in the nether world,
Let not thy good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,
Let not thy good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stoneworker,
Let not thy *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the woodworker,
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world." (200)
Father Nanna answers Ninshubur:
"My daughter *has asked for* the 'great above,' *has asked for* the 'great below,'
Inanna *has asked for* the 'great above,' *has asked for* the 'great below,'
The ordinances of the nether world, the ... ordinances the . .. ordinances—she has *reached their* place,
Who is it *that to their* place ... ?"
Father Nanna stood not by him in this matter, he went to Eridu.
*In* Eridu upon his entering the house of Enki,
Before Enki he weeps:
"O Father Enki, let not thy daughter be *put to death* in the nether-world,
Let not thy good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world, (210)
Let not thy good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stoneworker,
Let not thy *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the woodworker,
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world."
Father Enki answers Ninshubur:
"What has happened to my daughter![4]" I am troubled,
What has happened to Inanna! I am troubled,
What has happened to the queen of all the lands! I am troubled,
What has happened to the hierodule of heaven! I am troubled."
From his fingernail[50] he brought forth dirt (and) fashioned the *kurSarru*>
From his *red-painted* fingernail[51] he brought forth dirt (and) fashioned the *kalaturru.* (220)
To the *kurgarru* he gave the food of life,
To the \aLaturru he gave the water of life,
Father Enki says to the *kalaturru* and *kurSarru '.*
"... (nineteen lines badly damaged)[52]
*Upon the corpse hung from a stake direct the pulhu (and) the melammu?*[8] (243)
*Sixty times* the food of life, *sixty times* the water of life, sprinkle upon it,
Surely Inanna will arise."
(break of approximately twenty lines)
[Upon the corpse hung] from a stake_____(266)
The pure Ereshkigal answers the *kaUaiurru* and *kur~garru*\.
*"The corpse ..r*
*Upon the corpse*[54] they . . . ,
*Upon the corpse hung from a stake they directed the pulhu (and) the melammu,* (270)
*Sixty times* the food of life, *sixty times* the water of life, they sprinkled upon it,
Inanna arose.
Inanna ascends from the nether world,
The Anunnaki *fled,*[55]
Who *now of the* dwellers of the nether world *will descend peacefully to* the nether world![58]
When Inanna ascends from the nether world,
Verily the dead *hasten ahead of her.*
Inanna ascends from the nether world,
The small demons like the spear shafts,[57]
The large demons like... s,[58] (280)
Walked at her side.

[45] "Boxwood" should have been italicized as doubtful wherever it appears in ***PAPS,*** LXXXV.

[46] Note the new renderings of lines 189-190; it is due primarily to Landsbergcr's suggestion that oZ—*dug*< is equal to *af—di,* Akk. *eresu,* "to desire," etc.; the lines may also be rendered "My daughter has desired it (death?) in the 'great above,' has desired it in the 'great below,"" etc.

[47] Note the attempted new rendering of this difficult but crucial line.

[48] Note the slightly modified rendering from that in ***PAPS,*** LXXXV.

[49] For this variant rendering, cf. Witzel's excellent comment *(loc. cit.,* 47); cf. now especially ***JCS,*** i, 10, line 27.

[50] Witzel as well as Landsberger read the Sumerian sign for this word correcdy.

[51] This probably correct rendering was suggested by Landsberger who read the Sumerian complex *dubbin-sui-le-gin(!)-na.*

[52] These lines contained a number of instructions to the *kalaturru* and *kurgarru* (cf. note 5); many of the broken lines end in a second person plural imperative.

[53] Note the variant rendering of the end of the line; for some possible interpretations of the *pulhu* and *melammu,* cf. Oppenheim's study of the words in ***JAOS,*** LXIII, 31-34.

[54] Note the new rendering.

[8] "Fled" should have been rendered as doubtful in *PAPS,* LXXXV.

[58] The rendering of this line is quite uncertain and its implications are obscure; as it stands now, it seems to say that the incoming dead may raise difficulties, now that the Anunnaki, the judges in the nether world (cf. note 3), are no longer there to judge them. For the suggestion that this line contains a rhetorical question, cf. Falkenstein, *loc. cit.,* 127.

[57] The new rendering of the line follows Falkenstein's excellent comment, *loc. cit.,* 127-128. The "demons" throughout the text refer to a type known as ga/Ja-demons.

[58] Landsberger notes that the *gi-dub-ba-an* probably has nothing to do with tablet styluses, and the {»resent evidence seems to bear him out.

Who *by his face* was no [messenger], held a staff in her hand,[69]
Who *by his body* was no [carrier], carried a weapon on the loin.
They who accompanied her,[60]
They who accompanied Inanna,
(Were beings who) know not food, who know not water,
Who eat not sprinkled flour,
Who drink not libated [water],[61]
Who take away the wife from the loins of man,
Who take away the child from the . .. of the nursemaid.[62] (290)
Inanna ascends from the nether world.
Upon Inanna's ascending from the nether world,
[Her messenger] Ninshubur threw himself[88] at her feet,
Sat in the dust, dressed in *sackcloth.*[*4']
The demons say to the pure Inanna:
"O Inanna, *wait before* thy city, let us *carry him off.*™*
The pure Inanna answers the demons:
"My messenger of favorable words,[64]
My carrier of true words,
(Who) fails not my directions, (300)
Neglected not my commanded word,
Fills the heaven *with complaints for me,*
*Cried out* for me in the assembly shrine,
Rushed about for me in the house of the gods,
*Scratched* his eyes for me, *scratched* his mouth for me,
*Scratched* his large ... which____s not with man,
Like a pauper in a single garment dressed for me,
To the Ekur, the house of Enlil,[87]
*In* Ur, to the house of Nanna,
*In* Eridu, to the house of Enki, (310)
*He brought me to life."***
"Let us accompany her, in Umma to the Sigkurshagga let us accompany her."[89]
In Umma, from the Sigkurshagga,
Shara threw himself[70] at her feet,
Sat in the dust, dressed in *sackcloth,*
The demons say to the pure Inanna:
"O Inanna, *wait before* thy city, let us *carry him off."*
The pure Inanna answers the demons:
(three lines broken and unintelligible)[71]
"Let us accompany her, in Badtibira to the Emushkalamma let us accompany her." (322)
In Badtibira, from the Emushkalamma
Latarak threw himself at her feet,
Sat in the dust, dressed in *sackcloth.*
The demons say to the pure Inanna:
"O Inanna, *wait before* thy city, let us *carry him off."*
The pure Inanna answers the demons:
(rest of the myth still unknown)[72]

59 Note the new renderings of this line and the next; die restorations "messenger" and "carrier" are from the Yale tablet described in note 6.

60 Note the slighdy variant rendering of this and the following line from that in *PAPS,* LXXXV; cf. Falkenstein, *loc. cit.,* 135.

61 "Water" instead of "wine" follows the excellent comment by Falkenstein, *loc. cit.,* 128; the restoration is fully confirmed by the tablet in the Yale Babylonian Collection discussed in note 6.

62 Note the variant rendering of the end of the line from that in *PAPS,* LXXXV.

63 "Herself* in *PAPS,* LXXXV, is an accidental error.

64 "Sackcloth" or some mourning garb for "dirt," cf. Falkenstein, *loc. cit.,* 135·

65 Note the new rendering of the line, and cf. note 6 for the interpretation of this part of the myth.

66 cf. lines 30 ff. and lines 170 ff. The passage recites Ninshubur's faithful services to Inanna; cf. note 6.

67 This line is probably a kind of abbreviation for lines 179-191; the next line is an abbreviation for lines 192-205; the next line for lines 206-213.

68 Following this line one might have expected a line in which Inanna asks the demons not to harm Ninshubur; the tablet in the Yale Babylonian Collection does have an added line here, but unfortunately its meaning is obscure.

69 This line seems to contain words of exhortation uttered by the demons to each other.

70 "Herself' in *PAPS,* LXXXV, is an accidental error.

71 The first two lines might be expected to contain words of praise for Inanna; die third probably contained a statement not to harm him (cf. note 68).

72 cf. however note 6.

# The Duties and Powers of the Gods: Inscription on the Statue of King Kurigalzu

Aqar Quf, the tell covering the ancient city Dur-Kurigalzu, is situated approximately twenty miles west of Baghdad. Excavations at the site in recent years have laid bare several temples, the most important of which is the Eugal, that is probably "the house of the great lord," dedicated to the god Enlil. In the debris covering this temple, or in its immediate neighborhood, were found four inscribed fragments[1] of a larger-than-life statue of the Kassite King Kurigalzu.[2] The inscription, written throughout in the Sumerian language and not in the Semitic Akkadian that was actually current in those days, is of great importance for the light it sheds on the religious tenets of the Babylonians of the second millennium **B.C.** For, fragmentary and obscure as the extant text is,* it is dear that much of the original inscription was devoted to a description of the duties and powers of the more important deities of the Sumerian pantheon. A scientific edition of the text of the four fragments, including copies of the originals, and a transliteration and translation of the more intelligible portions, was published by Selim Levy, Taha Baqir, and the present writer in ***Sumer***, iv (1948), 1-29-f-ix plates.[4]

### *Fragment A*[5]

This fragment begins with a passage running from col. i to perhaps col. v, which seems to concern the Igigi, the gods

1 One tiny fragment not included here contains only two legible signs.

2 Probably Kurigalzu I; cf. Poebel, *AS,* No. 14, 5 ff. and note 20; he lived sometime in the fifteenth century B.C.

5 Unfortunately there is but litde that can be gleaned with certainty from the contents of these fragments. In the first place they contain but a small portion of the entire text of the statue. Moreover, none of the pieces joins; there is a break of unknown length between each two of them, and so there is very litde connected text to provide us with a controlling context. In addition we find, of course, the expected number of roots and complexes whose meaning is either uncertain or altogether unknown. And, to crown all these difficulties which the cuneiformist has learned more or less to expect as routine, our Kurigalzu inscription {»resents an unusual feature which is particularly confusing. As was first pointed out hy C. J. Gadd, the columns are divided into cases usually containing two or three signs written without any regard to the expected word division, so that it is often difficult 'u tell where one word or complex ends and another begins.

4 cf. C. I. Gadd's comment in *Iraq,* Supplement, 1944, p. 15, and Arno Poebel's illuminating study, The City of Esa, in *AS,* No. 14, 1-22.

5 The order of the four fragments is far from assured; cf. *Sumer,* iv, 2-3, for a discussion of the problems involved.

***Badna***, and the Anunnaki;[6] it is so fragmentary, however, that its sense escapes us. Beginning with, perhaps, the middle of col. v and ending with col. vii, we find a description of the duties assigned to the moon-god Nanna which ends in a passage stating that the Igigi directed the cult-rites for Nanna from the Eugal of heaven, and that Kurigalzu reestablished "the ancient days." The remainder of the fragment continues with a description of the duties and powers assigned, perhaps by the gods Enlil and Ninlil, to a deity whose name is not found in the extant text. The translation of the more intelligible portions of this fragment reads as follows:

(i) (practically completely destroyed)

(ii) ... they . .. d. The light of the Igigi *(and) the gods Badna*[1] was covered up by its (their?) . . . The ʲgi[gi]·

(iii) He (she?) does not . . . Becau[se] their king had *punished* the Anunnaki, (because) he had put them out of the... of all the lands, out of heaven

(iv) To lift (bear?) the . . . , to give all the minute directions, they... d in its (their?) midst...

(v)[8] Its (their?) pure . . . they did not bring close; the . . . they did not give. That Nanna might make bright the night, that during the day he might ... in the ..., that he might make known the signs in (of?) the night ...

(vi) (practically entirely unintelligible[9])

(vii) [From the Eugal of heaven, the place of the wide-knowing Anu, the Igigi . . . who are kings who *pronounce the word],* who are [pure gods]; from the place of Enlil and Ninlil, the Igigi . . . who are kings *who pronounce the word,* who are gods of true decrees, directed the *cult-rites* for Nanna from him who knows the heart [I, Kurigalzu, who caused the Eugal to appear .]..[. set up there the old days unto future days].[10]

(viii) ... ; of the pure places of the fisherman of the gods, *he* returned their... To return to Nammu,[11] they charge the mission of ... To *raise up ... ; to multiply* riches and treasure....

(ix) After he had fashioned there ..., as the exalted head-goat of his chosen heir, Enlil and Ninlil

### *fragment B*

This fragment consists of two parts, a and b, whose relative positions in the inscription are quite uncertain. Bb is here given first since it seems to treat of matters involving the moon, and its text may therefore have preceded or followed that of fragment A.

(Bb i) *For* the ... *of* his *trust* they made known its (their?) task(s) (and) its (their?) power(s).For *kingship. ...*

(Bb ii) That he whose rays cover the black-headed people *at* the horizon and zenith might bring in the small watchers, that he might plan one month ... of thirty days

(Bb iii) *Ashgirbabbar*[12] *whose* "horn" *is covered up by* Urash, *who overpowers* Urash, who makes bright the land, the wide ... *of* the black-headed people....

(Ba i) (largely destroyed)

(Ba ii) To...; to fashion the image of mankind.[13]...

### *Fragment C*

Fragment C begins with the assignment of duties and powers to the goddess Ninisinna,[14] and ends with a passage stating that the Igigi directed the cult-rkes for her from the Eugal of heaven, and that Kurigalzu reestablished "the ancient days"; in other words, a passage which, except for the name of the deity, is identical with that which closes the portion of the text of A, dealing with the god Nanna. The fragment then continues with the duties and powers assigned to the god Nergal, the husband of Ninisinna and king of the nether world; it, too, probably ends with the "cult-rites" passage that marks the close of the Nanna and Ninisinna passages. The fragment then seems to continue with the "portions" and "lots" assigned to the goddess Inanna.

(i) (practically entirely destroyed)

(ii) (Only the phrases "[Enlil and Nin]lil," *"wife-hood,"* and the temple name "Eugal" can be made out)

(iii) Enlil and Ninlil as fate .. . ; to make . . . very wisely from its (their?) good *garment.. . whatever is brought forth,* Enlil and Ninlil....

(iv) [From the Eugal of heaven, the place of the wide-knowing Anu, the Igigi . . . who are kings who *pronounce the word,* who are pure gods; from the place of Enlil and Ninlil, the Igigi . . . who are kings who *pronounce the word],* who are gods of true decrees, [directed the *cult-rites* for Ninisinna from him who knows the heart I, Kurigalzu, who caused the Eugal to appear . . . set up there the old days unto future days. For Nergal, Enlil [and] Nin[lil____d] the tail end and the "mouth" of the nether world, the place *whither* the Anunnaki drew nigh

(v) Of that which *overwhelms...,* to ... its net; to *weaken* its *strength* ... ; to bring in the . .. who have neither a *covering roof,* nor a headdress, nor a .. . ; as *for* those *without* head or hand, the snatching demons who did not submit *to* the Eugal_____their great...

(vi) ... *of* the earth, they presented to him[15] all sleeping mankind.... From the Eugal of heaven, the place of the wide-knowing Anu, the Igigi... who are kings who *pronounce the word,* who are pure gods; from the place of Enlil and Ninlil, the Igigi ...[ ... who are kings who *pronounce the word,* who are gods of true

[6] The rendering "the gods Badna" is quite uncertain; according to a suggestion from Falkenstein, it may represent a phrase descriptive of the preceding Igigi.

[7] cf. preceding note.

[8] cf. for this column also Poebel, *AS,* No. 14, 19.

[9] It begins with a phrase which seems to read "*held* (sot not "hold" as in *Sumer,* iv, 6) in their *arms"* This is followed by the end of the sentence which seems to read: "A *naditu*-priestess (in *Sumer,* 1v, 6 *munus-di!* is an error for SAL.ME) a hierodule who marks the . . . of the fields in accordance with die judgment of (the sun-god) Utu (*and)* the *lord* filled with wailing prepared . . . *(as)* a betrothal." The remaining cases contain the words "sickness," "lament," and *"outcry"*

[10] cf. also Poebel, *AS,* No. 14, 19-20.

[11] Nammu, the mother of die Sumerian water-god and god of wisdom, Enki, is probably the goddess of the primeval sea and was said to have given "birth to heaven and earth," cf. *SM,* 39 and 68 ff.

[12] Ashgirbabbar (the reading of die name is uncertain) is the name of the god of the new moon. Urash is the wife of the heaven-god Anu.

[13] To judge from this phrase, the deity involved might be Ninhursag, cf. p. 37 of this volume.

[14] Ninisinna, as her name indicates, is the queen of Isin, a city dominant in Babylonia in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. Nergal is the husband of Ninisinna.

[15] "Him" refers to Nergal, the king of the nether world.

decrees, directed the *cult-rites* for Nergal from him who knows the heart. I, Kurigalzu, who caused the Eugal to appear . . . set up there the old days unto future days .. . ].

(vii) The great Igigi who *parade in* the sky, whose brilliance, like fire, . . . s the *evening* and the black night, did not at all enlarge the . . . As *for* Belitili[16] who crosses the sky, in the earth . . . , from the districts) of the sky. . . .

(viii) As *for her*[17] who, like . . . had been *put out* from the *districts)* of the sky, they[18] gave her as (her) portion the built Eshaga, the Eshaga,[19] where all good things are stored; they filled her hands with the good word which soothes the flesh and the spirit *for* wife and husband. ...*On* those who heed her, a firm eye....

(ix)[20]. . . they gave to Inanna . . . as a share; they built for Belitili the .. . , the large grove, her abode of lordship; [they] adorned for her....

[18] Belitili seems to be used in this inscription as another name of Inanna; note that in *Sumer,* iv, 12 if., the name was erroneously read as Ninzalli (note 66 on p. 26 of *Sumer,* iv, is to be omitted altogether); cf. Poebel, *AS,* No. 14, 18 ff.

[17] "Her" refers to the goddess Inanna.

[18] Note that the rendering "they" here, and in col. ix is probably not to be questioned as it is in *Sumer,* 1v, 13; cf. Poebel, *AS,* No. 14, p. 18 and note 49 for the reading of the sign *KU* following *mu-na-an-si* as *mtu,* while it is not unlikely that the sign *GANAM* had the reading *ult,* so that we have here a plural form of the verb.

[19] Eshaga, literally rendered, probably means "the house of the heart."

[20] For the rendering of this passage, cf. also Poebel, *AS,* No. 14, 18-19.

(x) (This seems to deal with parts of a temple; its relation to what precedes is obscure. It reads:) .. . ; its outside which is . . . ; its *shrines* which are bright; its *rooms* which are pure; its ... which are.. ..

(xi) (almost entirely destroyed)

### *Fragment D*

This fragment, too, seems to deal with the tasks and duties assigned to the goddess Inanna. Col. i is practically entirely destroyed. In col. ii only the phrase "that ***mankind*** might do ***its*** work" is intelligible. Col. iii is almost altogether unintelligible in spite of the fact that the signs are well preserved; the major difficulty lies with the extreme uncertainty of the word division. The remainder of the fragment reads:

(iv) To *devour* the — ; to_____*as* ... ; to *raise high* the position of those who turn evil to good, *they gave* to Inanna ... *among* her portions....

(v) [From the Eugal of heaven, the place of the wide-knowing Anu, the Igigi . . . who are kings who *pronounce the word],* who are [pure gods; from] the place of E[nlil and Ninlil], the Igigi... who are kings who *pronounce the word*, who are gods of true decrees, [directed the *cult-rites* for Inanna from him who knows the heart. I, Kurigalzu, who caused the Eugal to appear — set up there the old days unto future days_____].

(vi) For ... they directed there the....

# Collections of Laws from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor

## Lipit-Ishtar Lawcode

(Translator: S. N. Kramer)

**Like the Hammurabi Code, that of Lipit-Ishtar consists of three main sections: a Prologue; the legal text proper consisting of a large number of laws introduced by a Sumerian complex which is roughly the equivalent of the English word "if"; an Epilogue. The Prologue begins with a statement by King Lipit-Ishtar, the fifth ruler of the Dynasty of Isin, that after the leading Sumero-Babylonian deities Anu and Enlil had given the goddess Ninisinna[1] a favorable reign in her city Isin, and after they had called him, Lipit-Ishtar, "to the princeship of the land" in order "to bring well-being to the Sumerians and the Akkadians," he established justice in Sumer and Akkad. He then cites some of his achievements in regard to the welfare of his subjects: he freed "the sons and daughters of Sumer and Akkad" from slaveship which had been imposed upon them; he reestablished equitable family practices. The end of the Prologue unfortunately is destroyed; so, too, is the beginning of the legal text proper.**

**As for the legal body of the Lipit-Ishtar Code, the available text permits the restoration, wholly or in part, of some thirty-eight laws; practically all belong to the second half of the code, the first half being almost entirely destroyed. The subject matter treated in these laws is as follows: hiring of boats (laws 4 and 5); real estate, particularly orchards (laws 7-11); slaves and perhaps servants (laws 12-17); defaulting of taxes (law 18 and probably 19); inheritance and marriage (laws 20-33); rented oxen (34-37). Immediately following the last of the thirty-eight laws extant wholly or in part, follows the Epilogue; because of the numerous breaks in the text, the latter is only partially intelligible. It begins with a reiteration by Lipit-Ishtar that he established justice in the land, and that he brought well-being to its people. He then states that he had set up "this stela," that is the stela on which the original code was inscribed,[2] and proceeds to bless those who will not damage it in any way, and to curse those who will.**

**The text of the code is reconstructed from seven clay tablets and fragments. Four of these are "excerpt tablets," that is, they are one- or two-column tablets which did not contain the entire code, but only small parts of it excerpted for scribal purposes. The remaining three pieces are all parts of a large, probably twenty-column tablet, which in its original state had contained the entire lawcode, including Prologue and Epilogue. Six of the seven tablets and fragments were excavated at Nippur and are now in the University Museum; one, of unknown provenience, is in the Louvre. All seven pieces date from the Early Post-Sumerian period, that is, they were actually inscribed sometime in the first half of the second millennium B.C. AS for the first compilation of the code, it must have taken place sometime during the eleven-year reign of Lipit-Ishtar, who ruled probably during the first half of the nineteenth century B.C.; it thus antedates the Hammurabi Code by more than a century and a half. A scientific edition of the available text of the code, including copies of the unpublished material in the University Museum, was published by Francis R. Steele in *AJA,* LII (1948), pp. 425-450; there, too, the relevant earlier studies are cited;* the present translation follows the Steele publication throughout.**

[1] Ninisinna, "Queen of Isin," is the tutelary deity of Isin, just as Marduk was that of Babylon.

[2] The contents of our "code" tablet may be presumed to be identical with those of the original stela on which a scene similar to that on the Hammurabi stela may have been sculptured.

### *Prologue*[1]

[When] the great [Anu, the father of the go]ds, (and) [En]lil, [the king of all the lan]ds, [the lord who determines destin]ies, had . . . d to [Nini]sinna, [the daughter of A]nu the... *for* her... *{and)* the rejoicing . . . for her bright [forehead]; when they had giv[en h]er the kingship of Sumer (and) Akkad (and) a favorable reign in her (city) Isin, the... established by Anu; when Anu (and) Enlil had called Lipit-Ishtar—Lipit-Ishtar, the wise shepherd whose name had been pronounced by Nunamnir[8]—to the princeship of the land in order to establish justice in the land, to banish complaints, to turn back enmity and rebellion by the force of arms, (and) to bring well-being to the Sumerians and Akkadians, then I, Lipit-Ishtar, the humble shepherd of Nippur, the stalwart farmer of Ur, who abandons not Eridu, the suitable lord of Erech, [king] of I[sin], [kin]g of Sum[er and Akkad], who am f[it] for the heart of Inanna, [established [jus]tice in [Su]mer and Akkad in accordance with the word of Enlil. Verily, in those [days] I *procured* . . . the [freedom of the [so]ns and daughters of [Nippur], the [so]ns and daughters of Ur, the sons and daughters of [I]sin, the [so]ns and daughters of [Sum]er (and) Akkad *upon whom* . . . slaveship . . . *had been imposed.* Verily, in accordance with . . . , I made the father *support* his children (and) I made the children [*support* their] father; I made the father *sta\nd by* hi]s children (and) I made the children *stand by* their father; in the father's house (and) [in the brother's] house I. . . . Verily, I, Lipit-Ishtar, the son of Enlil,[6] *brought* seventy into the father's house (and) the brother's house; *into* the bachelor's house I *brought... for ten months...* 10 . . . the wife of a man,... the child of a man... /

### *The Laws*

1:... which had been set up____[8]

[8] cf. also Steele's preliminary announcement in *AJA,* LI (1947), 158-164.

[4] For a brief comparative survey of the contents of the Lipit-Ishtar and Hammurabi codes, cf. Steele, *AJA,* LII (1948), pp. 446-450.

[5] Nunamnir is another name for the god Enlil; Lipit-Ishtar is frequently called "son of Enlil" in the relevant hymnal literature.

[6] cf. preceding note.

[7] A break of more than two columns of text follows; at some point in this break the prologue ended and the laws began.

[8] Remainder of the column destroyed.

2:... the property of the father's house from its...

3:... the son of the state official, the son of the palace official, the son of the supervisor [10]

4:... a boat... a boat he shall....

5:1[f] a man hired a boat (and) *set it on a... journey for him*[11]

6:... the gift... he shall... .

7: If he gave his orchard to a gardener to raise... . (and) the gardener... to the owner of the garden [12]

8: If a man gave bare ground to (another) man to set out an orchard (and the latter) did not complete setting out that bare ground as an orchard, he shall give to the man who set out the orchard the bare ground which he neglected, as part of his share.

9: If a man entered the orchard of (another) man (and) was seized there for stealing, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

10: If a man cut down a tree in the garden of (another) man, he shall pay one-half mina of silver.

11: If adjacent to the house of a man the bare ground of (another) man has been neglected and the owner of the house has said to the owner of the bare ground, "Because your ground has been neglected someone may break into my house; strengthen your house,"[13] (and) this agreement has been confirmed by him, the owner of the bare ground shall restore to the owner of the house any of his property that is lost.

12: If a slave-girl or slave of a man has fled into the heart of the city (and) *it has been confirmed* that he (or she) dwelt in the house of (another) man for one month, he shall give slave for slave.

13: If he has no slave, he shall pay fifteen shekels of silver.

14: If a man's slave has *compensated* his slaveship to his master (and) *it is confirmed (that he has compensated )* his master twofold, that slave shall be freed.

15: If a *miqtum*[14] is a grant of the king, he shall not be taken away.

16: If a *miqtum* went to a man *of his own free will,* that man shall not *hold* him; he (the *miqtum)* may go where he desires.

17: If a man *without authorization bound* (another) man *to a matter* to which he (the latter) had no knowledge, that man is not *affirmed*; he (the first man) shall bear the penalty in regard *to the matter to which he has bound him.*[15]

18: If the master of an estate or the mistress of an estate has defaulted on the tax of the estate (and) a stranger has borne it, for three years he (the owner) may not be evicted. (Afterwards) the man who bore the tax of the estate shall possess that estate and the (former) owner of the estate shall not raise any claim.

19: If the master of an estate...

20: If a man from the heir(s) seized. . .

21:____the house of the father . . . he [married], the gift of the house of *her* father which was presented to *her* as *her* heir he shall take.

22: If the father (is) living, his daughter whether she be an *entu*[16] a *natitu,*[17] or a hierodule, shall dwell *in* his house like an heir.

23: If the daughter *in* the house of (her) living father___[19]

24: [I]f the seconfd wife] whom [he had] married bore him [chil]dren, the dowry which she brought from her father's house belongs to her children, (but) the children of (his) *first* wife and the children of (his) second wife shall divide equally the property of their father.

25: If a man married a wife (and) she bore him children and those children are living, and a slave also bore children for her master (but) the father granted freedom to the slave and her children, the children of the slave shall not divide the estate with the children of their (former) master.

26: [I]f his *first* [wife di]ed (and) [af]ter her (death) he takes his [slave] as a wife, the [children] of [his *first]* wife [are his he]irs; the children which [the slave] bore for her master shall be like . . . , his house they shall... .

27: If a man's wife has not borne him children (but) a harlot (from) the public square has borne him children, he shall provide grain, oil, and clothing for that harlot; the children which the harlot has borne him shall be his heirs, and as long as his wife lives the harlot shall not live in the house with his wife.

28: If a man has turned his face away from his *first* wife . . . (but) she has not gone out of the [house], his wife which he married *as his favorite* is a second wife; he shall continue to support his *first* wife.

29: If a son-in-law has entered the house of his (prospective) father-in-law (and) he made his betrothal (but) afterwards they made him go out (of the house) and gave his wife to his companion, they shall present to him the betrothal-gifts which he brought (and) that wife may not marry his companion.

30: If a young married man married a harlot (from) the public square (and) the judges have *ordered* him not to *visit* her, (but) afterwards he *divorced* his wife, money

31:... he has given him, after their father's death the heirs shall divide the estate of their father (but) the inheritance of the estate they shall not divide; they shall not "cook their father's word in water."[20]

[9] Remainder of the column destroyed.

[10] The remainder of this column and two additional columns are destroyed.

[11] Remainder of column and beginning of following column destroyed.

[12] Almost the entire remainder of the column destroyed.

[13] That is, presumably, the b'oken-down house in the neglected grounds.

[14] The meaning of the te»'-* *miqtum* (it is a Semitic, not a Sumerian, word) is unknown.

[15] The rendering of this law is doubtful in many parts and its meaning is quite uncertain.

[16] About ten lines destroyed.

[17] About 34 lines destroyed.

[18] Class of priestesses.

[19] About 22 lines destroyed.

[20] "Cook someone's word in water" seems to be an idiomatic expression 'for "disobey."

32: If a father while living has [set aside] a betrothal-gift for his eldest son[21] (and) [in] the presence of the father who was still alive he (the son) [married] a wife, after the father('s death) the heir... .[22]

33: If it has been *confirmed* that the . .. had not divided the estate, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

34: If a man rented an ox (and) injured the flesh at the nose ring, he shall pay one third of (its) price.

35: If a man rented an ox (and) damaged its eye, he shall pay one half of (its) price.

36: If a man rented an ox (and) broke its horn, he shall pay one fourth of (its) price.

37: If a man rented an ox (and) damaged its tail, he shall pay one fourth of (its) price.

38:... [he shall] pay.

*Epilogue*

Verily in accordance with the tr[ue word] of Utu, I caused [Su]mer and Akkad to hold to true justice. Verily in accordance with the pronouncement of Enlil, I, Lipit-Ishtar, the son of Enlil,[28] *abolished* enmity and rebellion; made weeping, lamentations, outcries . . . taboo; caused righteousness and truth to exist; brought well-being to the Sumerians and the Akkadians... ,[24]

Verily when I had established the wealth of Sumer and Akkad, I erected this stela. May he who will not commit any evil deed *with regard to it*, who will not damage my handiwork, who will [not] erase its inscription, who will not write his own name upon it—be presented with life and breath of long days; may he rise high in the Ekur;[25] may Enlil's bright forehead *loo\ down upon him.* (On the other hand) he who will commit some evil deed *with regard to it*, who will damage my handiwork, who will enter the storeroom (and) *change* its pedestal, who will erase its inscription, who will write his own [name] upon it (or) who, because of this [curse], will [substitute someone else for himself—[that man, whe]ther he be a . . . , [whether he] be a .. .[26] may *he* take away from him . . . (and) bring to *him* .. . in his . . . whoever, may Ashnan and Sumugan,[27] the lords[28] of abundance, take away from him[29] ... his . .. may he *abolish.* .. . May Utu, the judge of heaven and earth... take away... his ... its foundation ... as ... may he be counted; let not the foundation of his land be firm; its king, whoever he may be, may Ninurta,[30] the mighty hero, the son of Enlil. . . .[81]

[21] "Eldest son" is expressed here by the words "son, big brother."

[12] About 17 lines destroyed.

[24] cf. n.5.

[14] About 19 lines missing.

[25] Enlil's main temple in Nippur.

[16] About 7 lines destroyed.

[27] Ashnan is the goddess of grain and Sumugan is the god of the "plain."

[28] In more exact language "the lords" should read "the lady and the lord."

[29] About 22 lines destroyed.

[30] Ninurta, the son of Enlil, is the god of the South Wind; for some of the heroic feats ascribed to him, cf. *SM,* 79-82.

[81] Probably only a few lines missing.

# The Laws of Eshnunna

(Translator: Albrecht Goetze)

Texts: Iraq Museum 51059 and 52614 excavated at Tell Abu Harmal[1] near Baghdad by the Iraq Directorate of Antiquities in Pre-Hammurabi layers.

Literature: Taha Baqir, ***Sumer,*** iv (1948) 52 £.; A. Goetze, ***ibid.,*** 54, 63-102, Plates i-iv; Taha Baqir, ***ibid.*** 153-173; A. Pohl, ***Orientdia*** NS, 18 (1949), 124-128; Plates x-xx (republication of Goetze's transliteration and of Goetze's copies); M. David, ***Een nieuw-ontdekte Babylonische wet uit de tijd v66r Hammurabi*** (1949); M. San Nicolö, ***Orientalia*** NS, 18 (1949), 258-262; A. Goetze, ***JAOS,*** 69 (1949), 115-120; J. Klima, ***Archiv Orientälni, 16*** (1949), 326-333; j. Miles and O. Gurney, ***Archiv Orientdlnt,*** 17/2 (1949), 174-188; W. von Soden, ***Archiv Orientälni,*** 17/2 (1949), 359-373; F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, ***Jaarbericht "Ex Oriente Lux,"*** 11 (1949-50), 95-105; V. KoroSoc, Zakonik Mesta ESnunne, ***Slovens\a A\ad. Znanosti in Umetnosti, Razred za Zgodovins^e in Druzbene Veds, Razprave,*** 11 (1953); E. Szlechter, ***Les lots d'Einunna (Publ. de l'Institut de Droit Romain de l'universiti de Paris,*** xn, 1954); R. Hasse, ***Die keilschriftlichen Rechtssammlungen in deutscher Übersetzung*** (1963), 9-16.

1: i kor of barley is (priced) at i shekel of silver; 3 *qa* of "best oil" are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 1 seah (and) 2 *qa* of sesame oil are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 1 seah (and) 5 *qa* of lard are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 4 seah of "river oil" are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 6 minas of wool are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 2 kor of salt[2] are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 1 kor ... is (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 3 minas of copper are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver; 2 minas of refined copper are (priced) at 1 shekel of silver.

2:1 *qa* of sesame oil *la nishätim*—its (value in) barley is 3 seah; 1 *qa* of lard *la nishätim*—its (value in) barley is 2 seah and 5 *qa* 1 *qa* of "river oil" *la nishätim*—its (value in) barley is 8 *qa*.

3: The hire for a wagon together with its oxen and its driver is 1 pan (and) 4 seah of barley. If it is (paid in) silver, the hire is one third of a shekel. He shall drive it the whole day.

4: The hire for a boat is 2 *qa* per kor (of capacity), 1 seah 1 *qa* is the hire for the boatman. He shall drive it the whole day.

5: If the boatman is negligent and causes the sinking of the boat, he shall pay in full for everything the sinking of which he caused.

6: If a man .. .[3] takes possession of a boat (which is) not his, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

7: The wages of a harvester are 2 seah of barley; if they are (paid in) silver, his wages are 12 grain.

8: The wages of winnowers are 1 seah of barley.

[1] Abu Harmal formed part of the kingdom of Eshnunna—the Diyala region east of Baghdad—which flourished between the downfall of the Third Dynasty of Ur (about 2000 B.C.) and the creation of Hammurabi's empire. Eshnunna was one of the numerous Amurrite-controlled states of the period. The city of Eshnunna itself is located at Tell Asmar which was excavated by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

[2] The sign encountered here looks like the ideogram for "salt."

* Possibly "(who finds himself) in *great peril."*

# Sumerian Hymns

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

## Hymn to Enlil, the All-Beneficent

This pious, devotional document was composed by a Sumerian temple poet[1] in glorification of Enlil, his city Nippur, his temple the Ekur, and his wife NinliL Beginning on a narrative note relating how the all-commanding, all-searching, deeply revered Enlil set up his dwelling in the Duranki[2] of Nippur (lines 1-13), the hymn continues with a portrayal of the city as the guardian of man's loftiest moral and spiritual values, and therefore as a fitting home for Enlil's dwelling, the Ekur (lines 14-40), and concludes with an exulting affirmation of the mystery and holiness of the rites and rituals of that noble shrine, as conducted by a highly qualified priesthood (lines 41-64). The poet next turns to Enlil and glorifies him directly and reverently as the founder and builder of the awe-inspiring, festival-celebrating Ekur to which all "lords and princes" bring sacrifices and prayers, and all foreign lands bring their heavy tribute (lines 65-90).

The poet now delivers himself of a resounding magnificat of Enlil as the glorious shepherd of all mankind whom not even the gods—except for his trusty vizier Nusku—dare look upon (lines 91-109), and without whom civilized life would be inconceivable: there would be no cities and byres, no kings and high priests, no priestly and temporal officials, no irrigation and overflow, no fish and birds, no rain and vegetation, no procreation of man and beast (lines 110-130). Once again the poet then turns to Enlil directly and concludes his panegyric with a paean of glorification to the profound mystery of his deeds and actions (lines 131-138) and particularly to his unalterable, beneficent word that brings overflow from heaven and vegetation to the earth—the very "life of all the lands" (lines 139-154)[3] and to his gracious, eloquent, and fate-decreeing NinliL[4]

By 1961 more than a score of tablets and fragments inscribed with this hymn had become available, including five pieces in the Hilprecht Sammlung of the Friedrich-Schiller University that were copied by Dr. Inez Bernhardt under my guidance (cf. *TuMNF,* hi, pp. 11-12), and Adam Falkenstein was able to publish a fine trustworthy edition of the composition in *SGL,* i, pp. 5-79. Nevertheless there were still a number of gaps and misreadings, and most of these have been filled in and corrected by Daniel Reisman in the course of preparing a dissertation on Sumerian divine hymns, with the help of collations of some of the originals, a recently published Ur piece (cf. *UET,* vi, Part 1, comment to No. 65), and a number of still unpublished pieces in the University Museum and the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient The present translation utilizes the results of Reisman's study.

Enlil whose command is far-reaching, lofty his word (and) holy,
Whose pronouncement is unchangeable, who decrees destinies unto the distant future,
Whose lifted eye scans the land,
Whose lifted beam searches the heart of all the land—
When Father Enlil seats himself broadly on the holy dais, on the lofty dais,
When Nunamnir carries out to supreme perfection lordship and kingship,
The earth-gods bow down willingly before him,
The Anunna humble themselves before him,
Stand by faithfully in accordance with (their) instructions.
The great (and) mighty lord, supreme in heaven (and) earth, the all-knowing one who understands the judgement,
Has set up (his) seat in Duranki—the wise one,
Made preeminent in princeship the *\iur,* the "great place,"
In Nippur the lofty bellwether of the universe he erected (his) dwelling.

The city—its "face" is awesome fear (and) dread,
Its outside no mighty god can approach,
Its inside is (full of) cries of mutilation, cries of *bloodshed,*
It is a trap that serves as a *pit* and *net* against the rebellious land,
It grants not long days to the braggart,
Allows no evil word to be uttered against (the divine) judgment.
*Hypocrisy*, distortion,[5]
Abuse, malice, unseemliness,
*Insolence*enmity, oppression,
*Envy?* (brute) force, libelous speech,
Arrogance, violation of agreement, breach of contract, *abuse*[6] of (a court) *verdict,*
(All these) evils the city does not tolerate.

[1] The author was no doubt a graduate of the famous Nippur ***edubba*** (academy), who joined the personnel of the Ekur in one capacity or another, perhaps even as a kind of "poet in residence." The major stylistic device which he utilized for poetic effect in this composition is cumulative parallelism.

[2] Duranki "Bond of Heaven (and) Earth" is an epithet applied to the Ekur temple-complex.

[3] As is clear from this hymn, the "word" of Enlil could be most beneficent; it was by no means the all-destructive force generally assumed by earlier scholars (cf. *JCS,* 11, pp. 54-55).

[4] It is not improbable that this hymn was actually composed on the occasion of an Enlil-Ninlil ***hieros-gamos*** ritual celebrated in the Ekur; Sumerian documents usually leave to the very end the purpose and occasion for which they were composed.

[5] A more literal translation of lines 20-21 reads:
That (whose) inside (is not like its) outside, the word that is not straight,
Inimical words, that which is inimical and that which is not (well) established.

[6] This rendering is a guess based on the context.

[7] Literally "turning of the eyes."

Nippur, whose "arm" is a vast net,
Whose "heart" is the fast-stepping *hurin*-bird,[8]
Whose "hand" the wicked and evil cannot escape;
The city endowed with truth,
Where righteousness (and) justice are perpetuated,
Where clean garments are *worn* (even) at the quay,®
Where the older brother honors the younger brother, acts humanely (towards him),
Where the word of the elders is heeded, where it is repeated *in fear,*
Where the son humbly fears his mother, where eldership endures—
In the city, the holy seat of Enlil,
In Nippur, the beloved shrine of the father, the Great Mountain,
The shrine of plenty, the Ekur, the "lapis lazuli" house, he raised up out of the dust,
Planted it in a pure place like a (high) rising mountain,
Its prince, the Great Mountain, Father Enlil,
Set up (his) dwelling on the dais of the Ekur, the lofty shrine.
The house—its *me* (like) heaven cannot be overturned,
Its pure rites like the earth cannot be shattered,
Its *me,* (like) the *me* of the Abzu, none may gaze upon,
In its midst that is (as) mysterious (as) the distant sea, the heavenly zenith,
Among its . . .-emblems, its starry emblems,
The *dirga*," the hoary *me* are carried out to perfection,
Its words are for utterance,
Its incantations are words of prayer,
Its words are gracious oracles that . . . .
Of the rituals, so precious,
Of the festivals overflowing with rich fat (and) milk,
Their plans (and) their heart-rejoicing bliss are superb,
Every day a festival, at the break of dawn a grand harvest (feast),
The house of Enlil is a mountain of overflow,
Where *beggarscavenger* and *idler* are tabu.

The house—its *en* grows with it,
Its *si* is fit for the "peaceful hand,"[12]
Its Abzu-lustration priests are well suited for the rites,[13]
Their »««A-priests are fit for the holy prayers,[14]

[8] This is an eagle-like mythological bird.
[9] This is what the literal meaning of the line seems to be.
[10] This obscure word seems to be a parallel to ***me.***
[11] Perhaps literally "who reaches out the hand."
[12] The ***st(***is an official of some kind; the word ***si*** is the second part of the word ***ensi*** that is a composite of the ***en*** and ***si(^)*** offices, (cf. e.g., ***nam-en*** and ***nam-si*** in ***PBS,*** v, PI. xv, col. v, lines I if.); the second part of the line is obscure.
[13] The Abzu here refers no doubt to a water-shrine in the Ekur complex of Nippur, not to the Abzu of Eridu (cf. also line 75).
[14] Litde is known about the n««A-priests.

Its noble farmer, the faithful shepherd of the land,"
Favorably born on a good day,
The farmer fit for the wide field,
Brings with him the offerings supreme,
To the "lapis-lazuli" Ekur—he *brings* not its . . . ,

Enlil, when you *marked off* holy settlements on earth,
You built Nippur as your very own city,
The *k}ur,* the mountain, your pure place, whose water is sweet,"
You founded in the Duranki, in the center of the four corners (of the universe),
Its ground, the life of the land, the life of all the lands,
Its brickwork of red metal, its foundations of lapis-lazuli,
You have reared it up in Sumer like a wild ox,
All lands bow the head to it,
During its great festivals, the people spend (all) their time in bountifulness.

Enlil, the holy Earth that fills you with desire,
The Abzu, the holy shrine, so befitting for you,
The deep mountain, the holy cella, the place where you refresh yourself,
The Ekur, the "lapis-lazuli" house, your noble dwelling, awe-inspiring—
Its fear (and) dread reach heaven,
Its shade is spread over all the lands,
Its *front* stretches away to the center of heaven,
All the lords, all the princes,
Conduct thither (their) holy offerings,
Offer (their) prayers and orisons to you.

Enlil, the shepherd upon whom you gaze (favorably),[17]
The legitimate one, whom you have raised over the land—
The foreign land at his hand, the foreign land at his foot,
(As well as) the most distant of foreign lands you make subservient to him,
Like refreshing water, *overflowing* goods from all over,
Their offerings and heavy tribute,
They brought into the storehouse,
Into the main courtyard they conducted (their) gifts,
Into the Ekur, the "lapis-lazuli" house they brought them in *homage.*

Enlil, the shepherd of the teeming multitudes,
The herdsman, the leader of (all) living creatures,
Made preeminent his great princeship,
Placed the crown upon (his) holy *loc\s,*

[15] This and the following lines refer of course to the king of Sumer.
[16] The ***I\iur*** is part of the Ekur complex.
[17] These lines refer again to the king of Sumer.

As he sets up (his) dais in the mountain *mist?*[8]
He rotates it in heaven like a rainbow,
He makes it roam about like floating cloud.

Heaven—he alone is its prince, earth—he alone is its great one, (100)
The Anunna—he is their exalted god,
When in his awesomeness he decrees the fates,
No god dares look at him,
(Only) to his exalted vizier, the chamberlain Nusku,
His command, the word that is in his heart,
Did he make known, did he consult,
Did he commission to execute (his) orders far and wide,
Did he entrust the holy prayers in accordance with the holy *me.*

Without Enlil, the Great Mountain,
No cities would be built, no settlements founded, (no)
No stalls would be built, no sheepfold erected,
No king would be raised high, no *en* born,
No *lumah*, no *nindingir* would be chosen by the sheep omen.[19]
Workers would have no controller, no supervisor,
The rivers—their high flood-waters would not bring *overflow,*
Their "backs" coming forth from the sea would not take a straight course, their "tails" would not be long,[20]
The sea would not readily produce its bountiful treasure,
The fish of the sea would lay no eggs in the canebrake,
The birds of heaven would not spread (their) nests over the wide earth.
In heaven the rain-laden clouds would not open their mouths, (120)
The fields (and) meadows are not filled with rich grain,
In the steppe grass (and) herbs, its delight would not grow,
In the garden, the wide mountain-trees would bear no fruit.
Without Enlil, the Great Mountain,
Nintu would not put to death, would not kill,[21]
The cow would not "throw" its calf in the stall,
The ewe would not bring forth the . . . -lamb in its sheepfold,
Mankind, the teeming multitude,

[18] This line and the following two seem to refer to Enlil's cosmic seat in heaven rather than in the Ekur of Nippur.

[19] The ***Iti-mah,*** "lofty man," and ***nin-dingir***, "divine lady," arc two high priesdy classes about whose functions and duties, however, little is known.

[20] That is, the main rivers and canals, because of their crooked course, would not provide enough water to supply the smaller canals and irrigation ditches.

[21] Just why death is important to civilization is not dear, unless we assume that like modern man, they feared overcrowding and famine; nor is it clear why the mother goddess Nintu is thought by the Sumerian theologians to do the killing, unless it has something to do with sickly-born infants.

Would not lie down in their . . . ,
The beasts, the four-legged would bring forth no offspring, would not mount to copulate. (130)

Enlil, your immensely clever deeds are dismaying,
Their meaning is a twisted thread that cannot be straightened,
Entwined threads that cannot be separated,
(Yet) your godship inspires confidence.
You are a mentor (and) adviser, a *skillful* lord,
Who can understand your actions!
Your *me* are cryptic *me,*
Not (even) a god can behold your countenance.

You, lord Enlil, who are lord, god, (and) king,
Who are the judge (and) decision-maker of the universe (140)
Your noble word is as weighty as heaven, you know no opposition,
At your word, all the Anunna-gods are *hushed*
Your word—heavenwards it is a *pillar,* earthwards it is a (foundation) platform,
Heavenwards it is a tall *pillar* reaching to the sky,
Earthwards it is a platform that cannot be overturned.
It approaches heaven—there is overflow,
From heaven overflow rains down (on earth),
It approaches the earth—there is luxuriance,
From the earth luxuriance burgeons forth.
Your word—it is plants, your word—it is grain, (150)
Your word it is the flood-water, the life of all the lands,
The living creatures riding the . . . ,
Breathe sweet breath by the grass (and) herbs.
Enlil, you who are a faithful shepherd, you made known their *ways.*

She who has sweet graciousness, the *star-covered,*
Mother Ninlil, the holy wife, whose word is gracious,
*[Garbed]* in the holy wja-garment[22]. . . ,
The faithful woman—having lifted (your) eyes (upon her) you took her in marriage,
The attraction of the Ekur, the queen who knows what is seemly,
The eloquent one who is elegant of speech, (160)
Whose words are sweet to the flesh,
Has seated herself by your side on the holy dais, on the pure dais,
Speaks eloquently with you, whispers (tender words) by your side,
Decrees the fates in the "place where the sun rises."
Ninlil, the queen of the universe,
Cherished in the (songs of) praise of the Great Mountain,

[22] This is a garment that has something to do with the ***me.***

The lofty one, whose words are firmly grounded,
Whose command and favor are unalterable,
Whose pronouncements is all enduring,
Whose plans "confirm the word"—
Oh Great Mountain Enlil, exalted is your praise. (170)

## Hymn to Enlil as the Ruling Deity of the Universe

This short hymn, designated by the scribe as an *irshemma,*[x] begins with a passage consisting primarily of a stereotype list of Enlil's powers, virtues, and attributes,[2] that make him and his wife Ninlil the sole rulers of the universe (lines 1-17). Following the portrayal of Enlil as a god of fertility (lines 18-22), the hymn concludes with a three-line passage whose contents may turn out to be of considerable significance, but whose meaning is unfortunately obscure and enigmatic (lines 23-25). Structurally there is little that is remarkable about the composition: except for lines 1 and 2 that show the typical repetition pattern, and the antithetically parallel lines 19 and 20, the hymn consists of descriptive lines that add up to a pious, impressive, though far from ecstatic portrait of the god.

The text was published in *CT,* xv, Plate 10, and was edited by H. Zimmern in *AO,* **VII,** 38; a translation was published in *SAHG,* pp. 76-77 (cf. comment in *Bi. Or.,* xi, p. 173, note 21).

Lord who knows the destiny of the land, trustworthy in his [calling],[3]
Enlil who knows the destiny of the land, trustworthy in his calling,
Father Enlil, lord of all the lands,
Father Enlil, lord of the rightful command,
Father Enlil, shepherd of the blackheads,[4]
Father Enlil, insightful in his calling,
Father Enlil, the wild ox who walks to and fro among men,
Father Enlil who sleeps lightly,
Recumbent wild ox, unruffled bull,
Lord Enlil, the "merchant"[5] of the wide earth, (10)
Lord, whose wife is the "trader"[5] of the Earth,
Lord, who makes abundant the *erin*-fat, the *nunuz*-milk,
Lord, whose dwelling place *guides* the cities,
Whose sleeping place is "great" in accordance with instructions,
From the mountain of sunrise to the mountain of sunset,
There is no (other) lord in the land, you *alone*[8] are king,
Enlil, in all the lands there is no queen, your wife *alone*[8] is queen.
Mighty one, the rain of heaven, the water of the earth is under your care,
Enlil, the "shepherd-crook" of the gods is under your care.
Father Enlil you who make grow the plants, who make grow the grain, (20)
Father Enlil, your rays scorch the fish in the sea,
You make the birds multiply in heaven, fill the sea with fish,
Father Enlil you brought the noble . . . , poured the *gigur*[7] upon the head;
Lord of the land, you brought the weapon of *destruction,* where is the *gigur*[7] for the *reign,*
Father Enlil, the faithful "slaves" were changed into treacherous "slaves."

It is an *irshemma*-song.

## Hymn to Ninurta as God of Vegetation

This is a rather rare type of lyrical hymn addressed to Ninurta as the deity in charge of fertility and vegetation.[1] The poem begins with a four-line strophe typical of Sumerian hymnal compositions, in which the first two lines and second two lines are identical except that the epithet of the first half of the strophe is replaced by the proper name to which it belongs. Then follows at least three strophes of three lines each characterized by a simple, though not ineffective repetition pattern.

The text was published in *SLTN,* No. 62; a translation was published in *SAHG,* pp. 59-60 (cf. the comment in *Bi. Or.,* xi, p. 171).

(obv.)

Life-giving semen, life-giving seed, (1)
King whose name was pronounced by Enlil,
Life-giving semen, life-giving seed,
Ninurta whose name was pronounced by Enlil.

My king, I will pronounce your name again and again,
Ninurta, I your man, your man,
I will pronounce your name again and again.

My king, the ewe has given birth to the lamb,
The ewe has given birth to the lamb, the ewe has given birth to the good sheep,
I will pronounce your name again and again. (10)

My king, the mother-goat [has given birth] to the kid,

[1] For a good, brief description of the ***irshemma*** genre of composition, cf. *SAHG,* pp. 22-23.

[2] These are found virtually in identical form in bilingual Sumero-Akkadian texts right down to the Seleucid era.

[3] This rendering assumes that ***im-te-na*** is a variant form of ***me-te-na.***

* "Blackheads" is an epithet of the Sumerians from (at least) the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

[5] The implications of the epithets "merchant" and "trader" (following line) as epithets of Enlil and his wife are obscure.

[6] This rendering of AB-***da*** is a guess based on the context.

[7] The word ***gigur*** usually denotes a kind of basket, a meaning that does not seem to fit the context here.

[1] Ninurta was conceived and worshipped in a rather contradictory twofold aspect. As the deity in charge of the South Wind, he is the god of battle who destroys the rebellious land, and in accordance with some as yet unknown Sumerian myth, avenges his father Enlil. On the other hand Ninurta is "the farmer of Enlil," and as such is of course the god of fertility, prosperity, and long life. It is this latter aspect of Ninurta that the poet of this hymn exalts in lyric song.

[The mother-goat] has given birth [to the kid, the mother-goat] has given birth [to the goat]
[I will pronounce your name again and again][2]

(remainder of obv. destroyed)

(rev.)

( o

The king . . . .
As long as he was king[3]. . . .
In the river [there flowed fresh water].
In the field grew the rich grain.
The sea was filled with carp and . .. -fish.
In the canebrake grew "old" reeds and young reeds,
The forests were filled with deer and wild goats,
In the steppe grew the *mashgur-tree,*
The watered gardens were filled with honey (and) wine, (10)
In the palace "grew" long life.

It is a *balbale-song.**

## Hymn to Ninurta as a God of Wrath

This composition[1] exalts Ninurta as a god of wrath who roams about in the night, and is dedicated to battle, like the pest-god Irra; he is a monstrous dragon and venomous snake who crushes the evil and rebellious lands; he is a judge whose verdict is awesome; he brings about the destruction of the enemy and of the contentious and disobedient. Structurally, the entire poem consists of two-line strophes, with each line divided into two hemistichs; the two lines are identical except that the first begins with "My king," and the second with "Lord Ninurta."[2]

The text was published in *BE,* xxx, No. 4 (Plates 7-8) together with a transliteration and translation; a translation only was published in *SAHG,* pp. 60-61 (cf. comment in *Bi. Or.,* xi, p. **171).**[3]

[My king . . .
Who like Irra roams about in the night,]
[Lord Ninurta] . . .
Who like Irra roams about in the night.

[My king] who like Irra has perfected heroship,
Dragon with the "hands" of a lion, the *claws* of an eagle,
Lord Ninurta who like Irra has perfected heroship,
Dragon with the "hands" of a lion, the *claws* of an eagle,

My king who vanquishes the houses of the rebellious lands, great lord of Enlil,
You, with power you are endowed.
Lord Ninurta who vanquishes the houses of the rebellious lands, great lord of Enlil,
You, with power you are endowed.

My king, when your heart was seized (by anger),
You spat venom like a snake,
Lord Ninurta, when your heart was seized (by anger),
You spat venom like a snake,

My king, toothed (*pickaxe*) that uproots the evil land,
Arrow that breaks up the rebellious land,
Lord Ninurta, toothed *(pickaxe)* that uproots the evil land, **(10)**
Arrow that breaks up the rebellious land,

My king, your verdict is a great verdict, ineffable,
Your word no *god* can gaze upon,
Lord Ninurta, your verdict is a great verdict, ineffable,
Your word no *god* can gaze upon.

My king, when you approached the enemy, you scattered him like rushes,
You meted out to him . . .,
Lord Ninurta, when you approached the enemy, you scattered him like rushes,
You meted out to him .. .,

[My king],[4] of the house of the foe you are its adversary,
Of his city, you are its enemy,
Lord Ninurta, of the house of the foe, you are its adversary,
Of his city, you are its enemy.

[My king],[4] of the house of the contentious (and) disobedient, you are its adversary,
Of their city, you are its enemy.
Lord Ninurta, of the house of the contentious (and) disobedient, you are its adversary,
Of their city, you are its enemy.

## Ishkur and the Destruction of the Rebellious Land

This *irshemma*, that seems to have been composed by a temple poet eager to reassure the people of Sumer that Ishkur is on their side and will come to their aid against their enemies, may

[2] The restorations in this strophe are self-evident and reasonably certain.
[3] Literally "with the king."
[4] For the ***balbaJe*** rubric, cf. ***JNES,*** VIII, 25, and ***Bi. Or.,*** xi, p. 171, note 6.

[1] Only the reverse of the tablet on which the composition is inscribed is preserved in large part (top and bottom of the tablet are missing); the obverse has only the ends of lines and is therefore left untranslated.
[2] This is true of the untranslated text of the obverse also, to judge from the fact that the ends of each set of two lines are identical.
[3] The reasons for the differences between this translation and that in ***SAHG,*** pp. 60-61, will be readily apparent to the cuneiformist. Note, however, that ***en-na*** of line 17 (it is missing for some reason in line 18) is here rendered "the contentious," that is, it is assumed to have a meaning parallel to ***nu-ie,*** "the disobedient" (cf. also line 131 of the "Hymnal Prayer of Enheduanna").

[4] These two words were omitted by the scribe for some reason.

be divided into three parts. The first consists of an hymnal address to Ishkur, in which he is exalted as a noble radiant bull whose name reaches the zenith of the sky, so that even his father, the great Enlil, fears his roar (lines 1-14). The poet then introduces a speech to Ishkur by Enlil in which he commissions his son to fill up and harness the winds, and with his herald "Lightning" at the head to proceed to "the rebellious land" which he is to destroy by raining a torrent of hailstones on it (lines 15-24). In the third and very brief concluding section the poet proclaims reassuringly that the howling, roaring, Ishkur gave heed to Enlil's word, but unfortunately gives no details (lines 25-29). Stylistically the poet makes use of quite a variety of rather simple poetic devices: a combination of epithet and short half-line refrain (lines 1-9); cumulative parallelism (lines 10-14 and 26-28); repetition of lines with minor changes (lines 15-18); the half-line exclamatory refrain (lines 20-23); antithetically worded phrases (lines 22-25).

TTie text of this composition was published in *CT,* xv, Plates 15-16; the most recent translation was published *SAHG,* pp. 81-83 (cf. *Bi. Or.,* xi, p. 173, note 24).

[Noble bull,] radiant your name [reaches heaven's zenith],
[Father] Ishkur, noble bull, radiant your name [reaches] heaven's [zenith],
Ishkur, son of An,[1] noble bull, radiant your name [reaches] heaven's zenith,
Lord of Ennigi,[2] noble bull, radiant your name [reaches] heaven's zenith,
Ishkur, lord of overflow, noble bull, radiant your name [reaches] heaven's zenith,
Twin brother of the lord Enki,[3] noble bull, radiant (your name reaches heaven's zenith),[4]
Father Ishkur, lord who rides the storm, your name reaches heaven's zenith,
Father Ishkur, who rides the great lion, your name reaches heaven's zenith,
Ishkur, lion of heaven, noble bull, glorious, your name reaches heaven's zenith.
Your name[5] has attacked the land again and again, (10)
Your radiance has covered the land like a garment,
At your roar, the great mountain Enlil lowers his head (in fear),
At your bellow, Ninlil trembles.

Enlil commissioned his son, Ishkur:
"My young one, fill up the winds before you, harness the winds before you,
Ishkur, fill the winds before you, harness the winds before you,
Let the seven winds be harnessed for you like a team, harness the winds before you,
Let the howling wind howl for you, harness the winds before you,
Let your vizier "Lightning" go before you, (harness)[8] the winds (before you),
My young one, go, go joyfully, who is like you when approaching it! (20)
To the rebellious land, hated by the father who begot you, who is like you when approaching it!
Take small stones, who is like you when approaching it!
Take large stones, who is like you when approaching it!
Rain down on it your small stones, your large stones,
Destroy the rebellious land to your right, subdue it to your left."

Ishkur gave heed to the words spoken by his father who begot him,
Father Ishkur coming forth from the house is a howling wind,
Coming forth from the house, from the city, is a young lion,

*Setting forth* from the city he is a roaring storm.

It is an *irshemma* of Ishkur.

[1] In this line it is An who is said to be the father of Ishkur, while according to line 26, it is Enlil who is "his father who begot him"; this provides another example of the An-Enlil identification, cf., e.g., p. 580.
[2] For the location of Ennigi, cf. Edzard, *ZZB,* p. 74, and note 360.
[3] Enki's father is also An-Enlil.
[4] The parentheses in this line indicate intentional omission by the scribe of the last part of the refrain because of lack of space.
[5] "Name" seems to be used here in the same sense as "word."

## Self-Laudatory Hymn of Inanna and Her Omnipotence

The hymn begins with a triumphant pronouncement by the goddess of the vast powers and important prerogatives that Enlil, as head of the pantheon, turned over to her (lines 1-13). As the "wild cow" of Enlil, she continues exaltingly, she is privileged to enter at will Enlil's holy temple, the Ekur of Nippur—a privilege which was presumably denied to other gods (lines 14-20). She closes her paean of self-glorification with a list of her temples in all the more important cities of Sumer and Akkad (lines 21-33). Structurally, the composition may be divided into (1) an initial five-line strophe in which the first and second lines are virtually identical with the fourth and fifth lines,[1] while the middle third line is a summary exclamatory statement of her unique power, which is repeated as the very last line of the composition; (2) an eight-line strophe characterized by cumulative parallelism; (3) a seven-line passage essentially narrative in character; a twelve-line strophe that, like the second strophe, obtains its effect by cumulative parallelism.

The text was published in *VS,* x, No. 199, col. iii, lines 8-41, and treated by H. Zimmern in his *König Lipit-Ischtars Vergöttlichung,* pp. 18-21; a translation of the text was published in *SAHG,* pp. 67-68 (cf. comment in *Bi. Or.,* xi, p. 172 and note 16).[2]

My father gave me heaven, gave me earth. (1)
I, the queen of heaven am I!
Is there one god who can vie with me!

[6] For the parentheses in this line, cf. note 4.

[1] Except of course for the typical epithet-proper name substitution.
[2] The composition is inscribed on a four-column tablet containing several other compositions, and the line numeration of our translation does not correspond to that of the published text.

Enlil gave me heaven, gave me earth,
I, the (queen of heaven am I)![3]

He has given me lordship,
He has given me queenship,
He has given me battle, (he has given me) combat,
He has given me the Flood, (he has given me) the tempest.
He has placed heaven on my head as a crown, (10)
He has tied the earth on my foot as a sandal,
He has fastened the holy w^-garment about my body,
He has placed the holy scepter in my hand.

The gods are . . . , I, a *queen* am I,
The Anunna *scurry* about, I, a life-giving wild cow am I,
The life-giving wild cow of Father Enlil am I
His life-giving wild cow that is foremost.[4]
When I enter the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
The gatekeeper does not stop me,[5]
The vizier says not to me, *"Wait"* (20)

Heaven is mine, earth is mine—I, a warrior am I,
In Erech, the Eanna is mine,
In Zabalom, the giguna* is mine,
In Nippur, the Duranki[7] (is mine),
InUr, the Edilmun[8] (is mine),
In Girsu, the Eshdam[9] (is mine),
In Adab, the Eshara[10] (is mine),
In Kish, the Hursagkalamma[11] (is mine),
In Der, the Amashkugga[12] (is mine),
In Akshak, the Anzakar[13] (is mine), (30)
In Umma, the Ibgal[13] (is mine),
In Agade, the Ulmash[13] is mine
Is there one god who can vie with me!

[It is a *balbale*-song] of Inanna.[14]

# Hymnal Prayer of Enheduanna: The Adoration of Inanna in Ur

This remarkable composition, whose text is virtually complete, consists of two unequal parts. The first, and the longer by far (lines 1-142), is a hymnal prayer to Inanna, purportedly uttered by Enheduanna, the daughter of Sargon the Great, founder of the Dynasty of Akkad, who appointed her as *en,* or high-priestess of Nanna (also known as Sin) the tutelary deity of Ur.[1] The second, and very brief, section (lines 143-150) contains the author's pronouncement that Enheduanna's prayer had been accepted by the goddess, who was now made welcome in Ur by Nanna and his wife Ningal. The document is of significance for the religious and political history of Sumer, though unfortunately not a little of its content is ambiguous and obscure.

Enheduanna begins her orison to Inanna as the deity in charge of all the *me,*[2] the divine norms, duties, and powers, assigned to all cosmic and cultural entities at the time of creation, in order to keep them operating harmoniously and perpetually (lines 1-8). She then proceeds to depict the more cruel, destructive, and vindictive aspects of the goddess: she is a venomous, thundering, flood-and-fire raining deity whose rites are unfathomable (lines 9-16); she is an awesome storm deity before whom all mankind trembles and quakes (lines 17-28); she is an irate, relentless, and intractable goddess of war before whom even the great gods flee in terror (lines 26-42); she is the cruel conqueror of Mt. Ebih and its rebellious people (lines 43-50)[8]; as the goddess of love, as well as war, she deprives the unsubmissive city of all procreation and vegetation (lines 51-57).

Following a brief chant of adoration of Inanna as a great, wise, merciful and life-giving goddess (lines 58-65), comes a long passage in which Enheduanna pictures the misery and suffering that have overtaken her (lines 66-108); it is this passage that is interspersed with what seem to be several references to political events. This is followed in turn by a brief prayer of the high-priestess to Inanna as her dear and powerful queen to keep her out of her bitter straits (109-121). Enheduanna then proceeds to invoke Inanna with a resounding magnificat that recounts her immense powers, and closes with a plea to the goddess to turn a friendly heart to her adoring, devout, and pious votary (lines 122-142). The composition concludes with Inanna's acceptance of Enheduanna's supplication (lines 143-150), and a summary three-line invocation of the goddess by the author-poet (lines 151-153).

The first major publication of the text of the composition was by Stephen Langdon in *PBS,* x/4, Nos. 3 and 4. Since then some fifty tablets and fragments inscribed with the text have been identified, one of the best preserved has been published recently in *UET,* vi, Part 2, No. 107 (cf. *ibid.,* p. n, note 39). Transliterations and translations of part of the text were published by Langdon, *PBS,* x/4, pp. 260-4, and by M. Witzel, *Keilschriftliche Studien,* vi, pp. 73-89. A definitive edition of the text including all variants, together with a study of its poetic structure and literary significance, as well as a complete glossary, has been prepared by William W. Hallo and A. J. A. van Dijk, and will appear in the near future as a monograph published by Yale University Press.

Queen of all the *me,* radiant light, (1)
Life-giving woman, beloved of An (and) Urash,[4]
Hierodule of An, much bejewelled,
Who loves the life-giving tiara, fit for ^»-ship,
Who grasps in (her) hand, the seven *me*

[3]The parentheses in this line and lines 8, 9, 24-31 include words omitted by the scribe as self-evident repetitions.
[4] Literally: "that walks at the head."
'Literally: "puts not his hand against my breast."
[8] For the meaning of the Sumerian word ***giguna,*** cf. now ***CAD,*** *s.v.;* here it is used as the actual name of the temple.
[7] "Bond of Heaven and Earth."
[8] "The Dilmun House"; an indication that Inanna was connected with Dilmun in one way or another.
[9] The word means "nuptial chamber"; here it is used as an actual name of a temple.
[10] "House of Shara"; Shara is the tutelary deity of Umma.
[11] "The Mountain of the Land."
[12] "The Holy Stall."
[13] Meaning uncertain.
[14] Restoration reasonably assured; for the ***balbale*** rubric, cf. p. 577.

[1] cf. for the present *UET,* vi, part 2, pp. 10-11, comment to Nos. 107-110. Note that Enheduanna's prayer is not, as might perhaps have been expected, in the Emesal dialect.
[2] For the myth concerned with Inanna's acquisition of the ***me*** from Enki, the god of wisdom, who had them under his care in the Abzu of Eridu, cf. ***SM,*** pp. 64-8.
[3] For the myth of "Inanna and Mt. Ebih," cf. ***SM,*** pp. 82-3, and ***UET,*** vi, part 2, p. 4, note 7. The name of the mountain is not actually stated in our text but there is little doubt that this is the mountain to which the passage refers.
* That is, "Heaven (and) Earth."
[5] The seven ***me*** may refer to the ***me*** assigned to the seven leading

My queen, you who are the guardian of all the great *me,*
You have lifted the *me*, have tied the *me* to your hands,
Have gathered the *me*, pressed the *me* to your breast.

You have filled the land with venom, like a dragon.
Vegetation ceases, when you thunder like Ishkur,[6]
You who bring down the Flood from the mountain,
Supreme one, who are the Inanna of heaven (and) earth,[7]
Who rain flaming fire over the land,
Who have been given the *me* by An,[8] queen who rides the beasts,
Who at the holy command of An, utters the (divine) words,
Who can fathom your great rites!

Destroyer of the foreign lands, you have given wings to the storm,
Beloved of Enlil you made it (the storm) blow over the land,
You carried out the instructions of An.
My queen, the foreign lands cower at your cry,
In dread (and) fear of the South Wind,[9] mankind
Brought you their anguished clamor,
Took before you their anguished *outcry*
Opened before you wailing and weeping,
Brought before you the "great" lamentations in the city streets.

In the van of battle, everything was struck down before you,
My queen, you are all devouring in your power,
You kept on attacking like an attacking storm,
Kept on blowing (louder) than the howling storm,
Kept on thundering (louder) than Ishkur,
Kept on moaning (louder) than the evil winds,
Your feet grew not weary,
You caused wailing to be uttered on the "lyre of lament."

My queen, the Anunna, the great gods,
Fled before you like fluttering bats,
Could not stand before your awesome face,
Could not approach your awesome forehead.
Who can soothe your angry heart!

Your baleful heart is beyond soothing!
Queen, happy of "liver," joyful of heart,
(But) whose anger cannot be soothed, daughter of Sin,
Queen, paramount in the land, who has (ever) paid you (enough) homage!

The mountain who kept from paying homage to you—vegetation became "tabu" for it,
You burnt down its great gates,
Its rivers ran with blood because of you, its people had nothing to drink,
Its troops were led off willingly (into captivity) before you,
Its forces disbanded themselves willingly before you,
Its strong men paraded willingly before you,
The amusement places of its cities were filled with turbulence,
Its adult males were driven off as captives before you.

Against the city that said not "yours is the land,"
That said not "It belongs to the father who begot you,"
You promised your holy word, turned away from it,
Kept your distance from its womb,
Its woman spoke not of love with her husband,
In the deep night she whispered not (tenderly) with him,
Revealed not to him the "holiness" of her heart.

Rampant wild cow, elder daughter of Sin,
Queen, greater than An, who has (ever) paid you (enough) homage!
You who in accordance with the life giving *me,* great queen of queens,
Have become greater than your[10] mother who gave birth to you, (as soon as) you came forth from the holy womb,
Knowing, wise, queen of all the lands,
Who multiplies (all) living creatures (and) peoples—I have uttered your holy song.
Life-giving goddess, fit for the *me,* whose acclamation[11] is exalted,
Merciful, life-giving woman, radiant of heart, I have uttered it before you in accordance with the *me.*

I have entered before you in my holy *gipar,*[12]
I the *en,* Enheduanna,
Carrying the *masab*-basket,[13] I uttered a joyous chant,
(But now) I no longer dwell in the goodly place you[14] established.
Came the day, the sun scorched me
Came the shade (of night), the South Wind overwhelmed me,

deities of the Sumerian pantheon: An, Enlil, Enki, Ninhursag, Nanna-Sin, Utu, and (perhaps) Inanna herself.

[6] The Sumerian storm-god.

[7] "The Inanna of heaven (and) earth" is a rather strange expression, but that is what the text seems to say.

[8] This statement seems to contradict the myth mentioned in note 2, according to which it was Enki who presented the ***me*** to Inanna; there may therefore have been other versions of the tale. The "instructions of An," in line 19, on the other hand refer no doubt to the "word" of An (and) Enlil—the two gods are often identified and treated as one and the same deity in the post Ur-III literary documents—that was often destructive in character, since the leading deity of the pantheon had the unpleasant duty of carrying out the not infrequendy unfavorable decisions of the gods.

[8] This usually refers to Ninurta, the god of the South Wind, but here it seems to allude to storms in general.

[10] The text actually has "her" instead of "your."

[11] Literally: "greatly uttered (words)."

[12] For the ***gipar,*** cf. now ***CAD, s.v.***

[13] For this ritual basket, cf. ***Iraq,*** x, p. 97.

[14] Perhaps better "I established."

My honey-sweet voice has become *strident,*
Whatever gave me pleasure has turned into dust.

Oh Sin, king of heaven, my (bitter) fate,[18]
To An declare, An will deliver me,
Pray declare it to An, he will deliver me.

The kingship of heaven has been seized by the woman (Inanna),
At whose feet lies the flood-land.
That woman (Inanna) so exalted, who has made me tremble together the city (Ur),
Stay *her*, let her heart be soothed by me.
I, Enheduanna will offer supplications to her,
My tears, like sweet drinks.
Will I proffer to the holy Inanna, I will greet her in peace,
Let not Ashimbabbar (Sin) be troubled.[16]

She (Inanna) has changed altogether the rites of holy An,
Has seized the Eanna[17] from An,
Feared not the great An,
That house (the Eanna) whose charm was irresistible, whose allure was unending,
That house she has turned over to destruction,
Her . . . that she brought there has . . .
My wild cow (Inanna) assaults there its men, makes them captive.
I, what am I among the living creatures!
May An give over (to punishment) the rebellious lands that hate your (Inanna's) Nanna,
May An split its cities asunder,
May Enlil curse it,
May not its tear-destined child be soothed by her mother,

Oh queen who established lamentations*
Your "boat of lamentations," has *landed* in an inimical land,
There will I die, while singing the holy song.

As for me, my Nanna watched not over me,
I have been attacked most cruelly.
Ashimbabbar has not spoken my verdict.
But what matter, whether he spoke it or not!
I, accustomed to triumph, have been driven forth from (my) house,
Was forced to flee the cote like a swallow, my life is devoured,
Was made to walk among the mountain thorns,
The life-giving tiara of ^n-ship was taken from me,
*Eunuchs* were assigned to me—"These are becoming to you," it was told me.

Dearest queen, beloved of An,
Let your holy heart, the noble, return to me,
Beloved wife of Ushumgalanna (Dumuzi),
Great queen of the horizon and the zenith,
The Anunna have prostrated themselves before you.
Although at birth you were the younger *sister,*[18]
How much greater you have become than the Anunna, the great gods!
The Anunna kiss the ground before you.

It is not my verdict that has been completed, it is a strange verdict that has been *turned* into my verdict,
The fruitful bed has been abolished,[19]
(So that) I have not interpreted to man the commands of Ningal.
For me, the radiant *en* of Nanna,
May your heart be soothed, you who are the queen beloved of An.[20]
"You are known, you are known"—it is not of Nanna that I have recited it,[21] it is of you that I have recited it.
You are known by your heaven-like height,
You are known by your earth-like breadth,
You are known by your destruction of rebel-lands,
You are known by your massacring (their people),
You are known by your devouring (their) dead like a dog,
You are known by your fierce countenance.
You are known by the raising of your fierce countenance,
You are known by your flashing eyes.
You are known by your *contentiousness*[22] (and) disobedience,
You are known by your many triumphs"—
It is not of Nanna that I have recited it, it is of you that I have recited it.

[15] Here begin several passages that may reflect political struggles between the cities of Kish (or Agade), Erech, and Ur during the reign of the Dynasty of Akkad. In lines 74-76, Enheduanna, as the high-priestess of Nanna-Sin in Ur, prays to that deity to intercede for her with An so that he might deliver her of her cruel fate. Superficially, this fits in well with the Sumerian theological view: Nanna-Sin, as the tutelary deity of Ur would intercede with An (or An-Enlil, cf. note 8), as the leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon whose word was final, as it were. According to lines 77-91, however, An was no longer the head of the pantheon, and Inanna had taken over his sway over Erech (this may reflect a victory of Kish-Agade, where Inanna played an important role, over Erech). Nevertheless, to judge from lines 92-96, Enheduanna continues to treat An as all powerful. Finally, lines 99-108 seem to point to a disastrous event that overtook Ur; this may have been an attack by Erech, now Inanna's city, that led to her acceptance as an important deity in Ur (cf. lines 148-150). Needless to say, however, all these surmises are highly tentative, since the relevant text is cryptic, elusive, and ambiguous.

[16] The meaning of the line in the context is obscure.

[17] This is the famous temple of An and Inanna in Erech. Note however that there were Eanna-shrines in other cities of Sumer, such as Lagash and Ur.

[18] It is assumed that the sign NIN, "queen," is an error for NIN», "sister."

[19] This and the following line probably allude to the sacred marriage ceremony between Nanna-Sin and the goddess Ningal, in which the latter was presumably represented by the high priestess.

[20] Note the seeming contradiction between this line and lines 77 *ft.*

[21] That is, the "you are known" magnificat.

[22] This is assumed to be the meaning of en-na, cf. also ***BE,*** xxx, No. 4, rev. 17.

My queen, I have extolled you, who alone are exalted,
Queen beloved of An, I have *erected* your daises,
Have heaped up the coals, have conducted the rites,
Have set up the nuptial chamber for you, may your heart be soothed for me,
Enough, more than enough innovations, great queen, have I made for you.
What I have recited to you in the deep night,
The *gala-smgtr* will repeat for you in midday.
It is because of your captive spouse, your captive son,[23]
That your wrath is so great, your heart so unappeased.
The foremost queen, the prop of the *assembly,*[24]
Accepted her prayer.
The heart of Inanna was restored,
The day was favorable for her, she was clothed with beauty, was filled with joyous allure,
How she carried (her) beauty—like the rising moonlight!
Nanna who came forth in wonder true,
(and) her mother Ningal, proffered prayers to her,
Greeted her at the doorsill (of the temple).

To the hierodule whose command is noble,
The destroyer of foreign lands, presented by An with the *me,*
My queen garbed in allure, O Inanna, praise!

# Hymn to the Ekur

This rather tersely worded, enigmatic hymn to the Ekur ("Mountain House"), Enlil's renowned temple in Nippur,[1] is inscribed on an excellently preserved tablet excavated some seventy years ago at Nippur, and now in the University Museum.[2] It consists of four songs, each characterized by a special refrain. The first, second, and third songs are designated by the poet as *sagidda, kiuruguda,* and *sagarra;*[3] the fourth is left undesignated, probably accidentally. The first, third, and fourth songs, but not the second, are followed by antiphons.

The poem was edited by the writer in *RSO,* xxxn (1957), 95-102. The translation does not offer too many difficulties; by and large there are but few lexical and grammatical problems. Nevertheless much of its contents remains obscure—the names of the buildings and structures that constitute the larger part of the first song are still unidentifiable in the main, and the laconically worded religious implications of the remaining songs are puzzling and elusive.[4]

The great house, it is a mountain great,
The house of Enlil, it is a mountain great,
The house of Ninlil, it is a mountain great,
The house of darkness, it is a mountain great,
The house which knows no light, it is a mountain great,
The house of the Lofty Gate, it is a mountain great,
The house of the Gate of Peace, it is a mountain great,
The court of Enlil, it is a mountain great,
The Hursaggalamma ("High-rising Mountain"), it is a mountain great,
The great gate "Holy Judgement," it is a mountain great,
The gate "Uncut Barley," it is a mountain great,
The (divine) Assembly Hall, it is a mountain great,
The Gagishshua, it is a mountain great,
The house of Ninlil, it is a mountain great,
The gate Innamra, it is a mountain great,
The house "Monthly Harvest," it is a mountain great,
The court "Lofty, Great House," it is a mountain great,
The house "Lofty, Monthly Harvest," it is a mountain great,
The *(gate)* "The Lord is Worthy, Wise," it is a mountain great,
The *(gate)* Innamgiddazu, it is a mountain great,
The gate "(The God) Sin," it is a mountain great
The *Du\u,* the holy place, it is a mountain great,
The field Edimma, it is a mountain great,
The *(field)* established by An, it is a mountain great,
The pure Ashte, it is a mountain great,
The house "The Lofty Park," it is a mountain great,
The kiosk of the Plow, it is a mountain great—
It (i.e., the preceding stanza) is a *sagidda-s*ong.
He *(=Enlil)* commanded: "Towards heaven—"
Is its antiphon.

For him who had commanded, for him who had commanded,
The house rose like the sun;
For him who in the mountain had commanded,
The house rose like the sun;
For him who in the house of Enlil had commanded,
The house rose like the sun;
For him who in the house of Ninlil had commanded,
The house rose like the sun;

[23] This probably refers to some disaster in Erech.
[24] This rendering of ***gu-en-na*** (note that this may be a variant form of ***utyiri)*** is based on the context.

[1] For an ancient map of Nippur, with the Ekur and perhaps some of the gates mentioned in the hymn, cf. ***HBS,*** pp. 232-36; cf. also the description of the Ekur in the Ur-Nammu hymn (pages 583-84) and in the Enlil hymn (pages 573-76).
[2] The tablet, like the vast majority of Sumerian literary tablets, dates from the first half of the second millennium B.C., but may have been composed as early as about 2000 B.C.
[3] The ***sa*** of ***sagidda*** and ***sagarra*** means "string," and points to the accompaniment of the song by musical instruments. The rubric ***\iuruguda,*** on the other hand, probably refers to some liturgical participation by the worshippers.
[4] For some of the structures listed in lines 6 ff., cf. Falkenstein, ***Topographie von Vru\,*** and ***ZA,*** XLVIII, p. 86 ff. In line 7 "Gate of Peace" (so rather than "Welfare Gate") points to the existence of a place in Nippur where the warring Sumerian city-states came to conclude or solemnize their peace treaties. For the Gagishshua, cf. especially the Ur-Nammu hymn (pages 583-84). In line 25, the Ashte is probably a granary; cf., e.g., the Ashte mentioned in the Urukagina "Reform" document (S. N. Kramer, ***The Sumerians,*** p. 317). The "mountain of aromatic cedar" (lines 44 ff.) is a description used of the cosmological "mountain where the sun rises," that is, the Sumerian "Olympus" (cf. ***BASOR,*** 96, 20 ff.), and it is not impossible, therefore, that the Ekur was conceived as its replica. In line 51 "Enlil" is no doubt a scribal error for Ninlil. Ninurta and Ashimbabbar (another name for the moon-god Nanna-Sin) are both sons of Enlil. Between lines 68 and 69, a line containing a rubric has no doubt been accidentally omitted; the "its" of line 70 refers to this omitted rubric.

For him who in the (house) of Ninurta had commanded,
The house rose like the sun;
For him who in the (house) of the son, the prince, had commanded—
It is a \iuruguda-song.

The house, in accordance with the great *me*, raised high its head,
In its midst is the mountain of the aromatic cedar;
The house of Enlil, in accordance with the great *me,* raised high its head,
In its midst is the mountain of the aromatic cedar;
The house of Ninlil, in accordance with the great *me,* raised high its head,
In its midst is the mountain of the aromatic cedar;
The court of Enlil, in accordance with the great *me,* raised high its head,
In its midst is the mountain of the aromatic cedar;
The court of Enlil *(sic),* in accordance with the great *me,* raised high its head,
[In its] mid[st] is the [mountain] of the [aromatic] cedar—
It is a *[sagar]ra-*song.
The *[house . . . ]* in which he rejoiced with them—
Is its antiphon.

Its king, in the house "Faithful Sonship," is worthy of Enlil, the king;
The hero Ninurta, in the house "Faithful Sonship,"
Is worthy of Enlil, the king;
The offspring of Ninlil, in the house "Faithful Sonship,"
Is worthy of Enlil, the king;
The lord, the champion of the Ekur, in the house ["Faithful] Sonship,"
Is wofrthy of] Enlil, the king;
The offspring of Enlil, in the house "Faithful Sonship,"
Is worthy of Enlil, the king;
The son, the prince of the Ekur, in the house "Faithful Sonship,"
Is worthy of Enlil, the king.

Of Enlil, his favorite—
Is its *(sic)* antiphon.

# Ur-Nammu Hymn: Building of the Ekur and Blessing by Enlil

This composition, designated by the scribe as a *"tigi* of Enlil"[1] is divided into two songs: a *sagidda* and a *sagarra.* The first begins with a poetic statement[2] of the selection by Enlil of Ur-Nammu as king of Sumer (lines 1-6), and of his commission to restore the Ekur (lines 7-14). There follows a description of the rebuilding of the Ekur, die decoration of its gates with mythological scenes, and the building of the *giguna*[3] (lines 15-30). Ur-Nammu then turned his attention to the Gagishshua, the shrine of Enlil's wife, Ninlil, and provided the divine couple with their needs, so that they live there in happy bliss (lines 31-35). All of which moves Enlil to pronounce a blessing on the faithful king (lines 36-38).

The second song begins with Enlil's blessing given in direct speech by the god to the king—Ur-Nammu will reach the summit of power, temporal and religious, and his fame and name will fill the universe (lines 40-51). The poet then continues with a eulogy of Ur-Nammu as the mighty victor over his enemies with the help of Enlil's divine weapons (lines 52-57); as the destroyer of evil cities and oppressors (lines 58-61); as the one who carries on raging attacks against injustice. The poet concludes by depicting Ur-Nammu on his "dais of kingship" in his capital Ur.

The text was published in *SRT,* No. 11; a translation was published by Falkenstein in *SAHG,* pp. 87-90 (cf. *Bi. Or.,* xvn, pp. 173-74, note 27, and *ZA,* LII, 81-82), and a detailed edition of the text was published in *ZA,* LIII, 106-18.[4]

Lofty Enlil, [whose decision is unalterable] . . .,
The lord of great princeship . . . ,
Nunamnir,[8] the god who . . . ,
Lifted (his) eyes over the people [looked with favor upon Ur-Nammu], the shepherd;
Enlil, the Great Mountain, *[chose]* him from among all his people,
*[Filled]* with fearsome awe the *confirmed* shepherd of Nunamnir.
[To restore] the brickwork of the Ekur in accordance with the *me,*
Enlil, the Great Mountain, who [makes *glorious]* his [lofty] shrine, the Ekur, like the light of day,
Set his . . . heart,
Commissioned Ur-Nammu, the shepherd, to lift the head of the Ekur heaven-high,
Exalted the king [in] the land, lifted (his) head heaven-high.
For the faithful shepherd Ur-[Nammu] who with (the support of) Enlil is heroic unto distant days,
He who knows decisions, the lord of [great understanding], directed the brickmold,
Enlil kept under control for Ur-Nammu, the shepherd, his foes (and) enemies.

[1] For the //gi-genre of composition, cf. ***SAHG,*** pp. 20-21, but note that the rendering "Pauken-lied" is probably unjustified; more likely it is a lyre-accompanied song.

[2] The first stanza, designated as ***sagidda,*** is written in "high" narrative prose, with relatively few epithets, and virtually no significant repetition and parallelism of lines. The second stanza, the ***sagarra,*** on the other hand uses characteristic Sumerian poetic devices; it begins with two six-line verses that are identical except for a minor change in the first line; and a similar repetition pattern is utilized in the remainder of the stanza, except for the last six lines that revert to the narrative "high" prose style.

[3] For this structure, cf. ***CAD, s.v.***

[4] The translation here presented differs considerably from that in ***ZA,*** LIII (the reasons for these differences will be readily apparent to the cuneiformist).

[5] This is another name for Enlil found frequendy in the literary texts; its meaning is not quite certain.

The Sumerians, enjoying days of prosperity,
Rejoiced greatly with him,
Laid firm (its) foundations, filled in (its) holy terrace.
The *enqum-* and *ninqum-pnests* duly exalt it.[6]

The house that Enki had adorned beautifully,[7]
Ur-Nammu, the shepherd, raised the head of the lofty Ekur in Duranki (Nippur) heaven-high,
(So that) the people, all of them, stood before it in awe.

(Of the) Lofty Gate, Great Gate, Gate of Peace, High-rising Mountain, (and) Gate of Uncut Grain,"[8]
He (Ur-Nammu) decorated their front with *electrum* (and) *chaste* silver:
The Imdugud killed a lion,
The Awrm-bird seized the evil man®

The doors, the lofty, he filled them with seemly beauty,
The lofty house he made awe-inspiring—
It was wide in *extent*, it was most awesome,
The storied mountain, the *giguna,* as a dwelling place for the Great Mountain (Enlil),
He established in its (the Ekur's) midst, like a lofty *tower,*

The Gagishshua, the lofty palace where he decrees the great decisions,
He beautified fittingly for Ninlil, the great queen,
Enlil and Ninlil were happy there,
In its dining halls, the faithful man, the chosen of Nunamnir,
He multiplies all things noble, the Ekur was in joy.

They (Enlil and Ninlil) looked favorably upon Ur-Nammu, the shepherd,
The Great Mountain (Enlil) decreed a great fate for Ur-Nammu, into distant days,
Exalted (his) might over his "blackheaded ones" (the Sumerians):

It is a *sagidda.*

"I, Nunamnir, whose life-giving commands (and) decisions are unalterable—
You have made my lofty Ekur resplendent,
*With brilliant facades* you raised it heaven-high,
Faithful man of valor, you made it resplendent in the Land (Sumer),
Ur-Nammu—of <?«-ship(?) and kingship may you be their acme,
May your name extend to the zenith of heaven, to the depths of Hades.

I, the Great Mountain, Father Enlil, whose life-giving command (and) decisions are unalterable—
You have made the lofty Ekur resplendent,
*With brilliant facades* you have raised it heaven-high,
Faithful man of valor, you made it resplendent in the Land (Sumer),
Ur-Nammu—of ^H-ship and kingship, may you be their acme,
May your name extend to the zenith of heaven, the depths of Hades."

My king—the lofty mace that in the enemy-land heaps up the rebels in piles, that overwhelmed the rebellious land,
Ur-Nammu, the shepherd—the lofty mace that in the enemy-land heaps up the rebels in piles that overwhelmed the rebellious land,
He, the lord Nunamnir has given it to him,
That he might crush the foreign land, become a (man) of *might.*
He the lord Nunamnir has given it to Ur-Nammu, the shepherd,
That he might crush the foreign land, become a (man) of *might.*

He destroyed the cities, the evil,
He cleared them of the oppression of the "lofty,"
Ur-Nammu, the shepherd, destroyed the cities, the evil,
Cleared them of the oppression of the "lofty."
His approach is fierce against those who pervert justice,
His storming rage overwhelmed the evil ones,
Ur-Nammu, the shepherd—his approach is fierce against those who pervert justice,
His storming rage overwhelmed the evil ones.

He planted firmly the dais of kingship,
Made it resplendent in Ur,
Ur-Nammu, the shepherd, clothed it with awe, he lifted high his head—the king of the Land,
In the place of Enlil, his king, it was [presented to him] as a gift,
A (good) fate has he decreed, he is *ble\ssed*
In his [city] Ur-Nammu [is *exalted]*

It is a *sagarra.* A *tigi* of Enlil.

## The King of the Road: A Self-Laudatory Shulgi Hymn

This rather unusual hymn, that is partly narrative in character, is of considerable significance not only for the nature and role of the institution of kingship in Sumer, but also for such little known aspects of its cultural life as communications and athletic prowess. It begins with a hyperbolic itemizing of Shulgi's virtues and endowments including those granted him as a favorite of

[6] Very little is known as yet about these priests.
[7] Enki is here introduced as the god of craftsmanship.
[8] For these gates, cf. "Hymn to the Ekur," on p. 582.
[8] The A«n«-bird is a mythological eagle-like bird.

the great gods, that is typical of Sumerian royal hymnography, except that, rather surprisingly they include love of the road and a passion for speed (lines 1-19).[1] Moreover, following another brief, typical eulogistic passage (lines 20-26), Shulgi elaborates on his great interest in travel, claiming that he saw to it that the roads of the land were always in good repair, and that he constructed on them resthouses for the weary traveller (lines 27-35).[2] He then asserts that, eager to establish his name and fame as a champion runner, he made a journey from Nippur to Ur, a distance of fifteen "double hours"—roughly about 100 miles—as if it were only a distance of one "double hour" (lines 36-45). Arriving at Ur amidst the plaudits of the multitudes, he offered immense sacrifices in the Ekishnugal, the far-famed temple of Sin, to the accompaniment of music and song (lines 46-54). After resting, bathing, and eating in his palace, he returned to Nippur in spite of a raging hailstorm, and thus could celebrate the tfici-feasts[3] in both Ur and Nippur on one and the same day (lines 55-78). There in Nippur, moreover he banqueted with the sun-god Utu, and his (Shulgi's) divine spouse, the fertility goddess Inanna (lines 79-85). There, too, An[4] invested him with the royal insignia, so that he became a mighty king whose power and glory were exalted in the four corners of the universe (lines 86-101).

Well-nigh the entire text of the hymn was available as early as 1944, cf. *SLTN,* p. 27, comment to Nos. 81-83, where the pertinent bibliographical references will be found, as well as a brief sketch of its contents. In 1952, Falkenstein published an edition of the hymn in ZA, L, 61-81, based on fourteen tablets and fragments, three more than were identified in *SLTN.*[6] There were still a number of gaps and misreadings in the text, however, and these have been filled in and corrected by Jacob Klein, in the course of preparing his dissertation on Shulgi hymnography, with the help of several recently published Ur pieces,[6] and a number of still unpublished duplicates in the University Museum. The present translation utilizes the results of Klein's study.

I, the king, a hero from the (mother's) womb am I, (1)
I, Shulgi, a mighty man from (the day) I was born am I,
A fierce-eyed lion, born of the *ushumgaV* am I,
King of the four corners (of the universe) am I,
Herdsman, shepherd of the blackheads[8] am I,
The trustworthy, the god of all the lands am I,
The son born of Ninsun* am I,
Called to the heart of holy An am I,
He who was blessed by Enlil am I, ,
Shulgi, the beloved of Ninlil am I, (10)
Faithfully nurtured by Nintu am I,
Endowed with wisdom by Enki am I,
The mighty king of Nanna am I,
The open-jawed lion of Utu am I,
Shulgi chosen for the vulva of Inanna am I,
A princely donkey all set for the road am I,
A horse that swings (his) tail on the highway am I,
A noble donkey of Sumugan[10] eager for the course am I,
The wise scribe of Nidaba am I.

Like my heroship, like my might, (20)
I am accomplished in wisdom (as well),
I *vie* with its (wisdom's) true word,
I love justice,
I do not love evil,
I hate the evil word,
I, Shulgi, a mighty king, supreme, am I.
Because I am a powerful man rejoicing in his "loins,"
I *enlarged* the footpaths, straightened the highways of the land,
I made secure travel, built there "big houses,"
Planted gardens alongside of them, established resting-places, (30)
Settled there friendly folk,
(So that) who comes from below, who come from above,
Might refresh themselves in its cool (shade),
The wayfarer who travels the highway at night,
Might find refuge there like in a well-built city.

That my name be established unto distant days that it leave not the mouth (of men),
That my praise be spread wide in the land,
That I be *eulogized* in all the lands,
I, the runner, rose in my strength, *all set* for the course,
(And) from Nippur to Ur, (40)
I resolved to traverse as if it were (but a distance) of one *danna.*

Like a lion that wearies not of its virility, I arose,
Put a *girdle* about my loins,
I swing (my) arms like a dove feverishly fleeing a snake,
I spread wide the knees like the Indugud-bird[11] that has lifted (its) eye toward the mountain.
(The inhabitants of) the cities that I had established in the land, swarmed all about me,
My blackheaded people, as numerous as ewes, marvelled at me,
Like a mountain-kid hurrying to its shelter,
(As) Utu who sheds (his) broad light on (man's) habitations,
I entered the Ekishnugal, (50)
Filled with abundance the great stall, the house of Sin,

[1] Cf. especially lines 16-18, and note the animal imagery which, together with cumulative parallelism, are the primary poetic features of this hymn.

[2] These Shulgi resthouses are the earliest known prototypes of the Near Eastern caravansaries and the modern motels.

[3] Litde is known about these feasts; cf. ***CAD, sub essesu.***

[4] Actually it is the composite deity An-Enlil that is meant here, as can be seen from the following line where he is presented with the scepter in Enlil's temple, the Ekur, and from line 101 where Sin, who is well known as the son of Enlil, is said to be the son of An.

[5] A translation of the hymn based on this study was published *SAHG,* No. 24 (of the comment in *Bi. Or.,* xi, p. 175).

[6] Cf. *UET,* vi, Part 1, Nos. 78-79.

[7] A dragon-like mythological creature.

[8] "Blackheads" is an epithet of the Sumerians from at least the tihie of the Ur III Dynasty.

[8] Ninsun was Shulgi's divine mother; cf. also Edzard, ***Wdrterbuch ier Mythologie,*** p. 114.

[10] *Sha\an,* god of the steppe-dwelling animals, cf. now Edzard, *loc. cit.,* p. 118 (under *Safari).*

[11] For this mythological bird which may perhaps better be read Anzu, cf. now Edzard, *loc. cit.,* pp. 80-81.

Slaughtered there oxen, multiplied (the slaughtering of) sheep,
Made resound there the drum and the timbrel,
Took charge there of the ftg/-music, the sweet.

I, Shulgi, the all bountiful,[12] brought there bread-offerings,
Have inspired dread from (my) royal seat like a lion,
In the lofty palace of Ninegal,[13]
I *rested* (my) knees, bathed in fresh water,
Bent (my) knees, ate bread,
Like an owl (and) a falcon I arose,
Returned to Nippur in my ....

On that day, the storm howled, the tempest swirled,
Northwind (and) Southwind roared eagerly,
Lightning devoured in heaven alongside the seven winds,
The deafening storm made the earth tremble,
Ishkur[14] thundered throughout the heavenly expanse,[15]
The winds on high embraced the waters below,
Its (the storm's) little stones, its big stones,[16]
Lashed at my back.

(But) I, the king was unafraid, uncowed,
Like a young lion (prepared to) *spring* I shook myself *loose,*
Like a donkey of the steppe, I *covered up* my .. .,
My heart full of happiness *too\ delight* in the course,
Coursing like a noble donkey travelling all alone,
Like Utu eager (to come) home,
I traversed the journey of 15 *danna* (in distance),
My *sagursag*[17] gazed at me (in wonder),

As in one (and the same) day I celebrated the *fe/-feasts in (both) Ur (and) Nippur.

With valiant Utu my brother and friend,
I drank strong drink in the palace founded by An,
My minstrels sang for me the seven *tigi-songs.*
By the side of my spouse, the maid Inanna, the queen, the "vulva" of heaven (and) earth,
I sat at its (the palace's) banquet.
*She* spoke not my *judgment* as a (final) judgment,[18]
Wheresoever I lift my eyes, thither I go,
Wheresoever my heart moves me, thither I proceed.

An set the holy crown upon my head,
Made me take the scepter in the "lapis-lazuli" Ekur,
On the radiant dais, he raised heaven high the firmly founded throne,
He exalted there the power of (my) kingship.
I bent low all the lands, made secure the people,
The four-corners of the universe, the people in *unison,* call my name,
Chant holy songs,
Pronounce my exaltation (saying):

"He that is nurtured by the exalted power of kingship,
Presented by Sin, out of the Ekishnugal,
With heroship, might, and a good life,
Endowed with lofty power by Nunamnir,[19]
Shulgi, the destroyer of all the foreign lands, who makes all the people secure,
Who in accordance with the *me* of the universe,
Shulgi, cherished by the trusted son of An (Sin)!"
Oh, Nidaba, praise![20]

[12] Literally: "he who multiplies (all) things."
[13] It is uncertain to whom Ninegal, "Queen of the Palace" refers to; it is often an epithet of Inanna.
[14] Ishkur is the storm-god.
[15] Literally: "the heaven the wide."
[16] This is a stereotype description of hail.
[17] This is a class of temple personnel, probably castrates.
[18] The meaning of this line in the context is obscure.
[19] This is another name for Enlil.
[20] This is a typical hymnal last line; Nidaba is the goddess of writing and literature.

# VI. Didactic and Wisdom Literature

# Sumerian Wisdom Text

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

## Man and his God

### A SUMERIAN VARIATION OF THE "JOB" MOTIF

This "lamentation to a man's god," as the ancient author himself describes it, is an edifying poetic essay composed, no doubt, for the purpose of prescribing the proper attitude and conduct for a victim of cruel and seemingly undeserved misfortune. The Sumerians, like all peoples throughout the ages, were troubled by the problem of human suffering, particularly relative to its rather enigmatic causes and potential remedies. Their teachers and sages believed and taught the doctrine that man's misfortunes were the result of his sins and misdeeds. They were convinced, moreover, that no man is without guilt; as our Sumerian poet-theologian puts it: "Never was a sinless child born to its mother."[1] In spite of surface appearances to the contrary, therefore, there are no cases of unjust and undeserved human suffering; it is always man who is to blame, not the gods. But the truth of such theological premises and conclusions is by no means readily apparent, and in moments of adversity, more than one sufferer must have been tempted to challenge the fairness and justice of the gods, and to blaspheme against them. It may well be that it was in an effort to forestall such resentment against the gods and to ward off potential disillusionment with the divine order, that one of the sages of the Sumerian academy, the *edubba*,[2] composed this instructive essay.

The main thesis of our poet is that in cases of suffering and adversity, no matter how seemingly unjustified, the victim has but one valid and effective recourse, and that is to continually glorify his god and keep wailing and lamenting before him until he turns a favourable ear to his prayers. The god concerned is the sufferer's "personal" god, that is the deity who, in accordance with the accepted Sumerian credo, acted as the man's representative and intercessor in the assembly of the gods.[3] To prove his point our author does not resort to philosophical speculation and theological argumentation. Instead, with characteristic Sumerian pragmatism, he cites a case: Here is a man, unnamed to be sure, who had been wealthy, wise and righteous, or at least seemingly so, and blest with both friends and kin. One day sickness and suffering overwhelmed him. Did he defy the divine order and blaspheme? Not at all! He came humbly before his god with tears and lamentation, and poured out his heart in prayer and supplication. As a result his god was highly pleased and moved to compassion; he gave heed to his prayer, delivered him from his misfortunes and turned his suffering to joy.

[1] **This dogma was in line with the accepted world-view of the Sumerian theologian, according to which the gods in control of the cosmos planned and instituted evil, falsehood and violence as part and parcel of civilization; cf. S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians,* pp. 125 ff.**

[2] **For a discussion of the Sumerian *edubba,* its faculty, student body and curriculum, cf. S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians,* pp. 229 ff.**

[3] **"The notion of a personal god was evolved by the Sumerian theologians in response to the feeling that the leading deities of the pantheon were too distant and aloof from the individual man, and that the latter should therefore have an intermediary, a kind of "good angel," to intercede on his behalf when the gods assembled (probably every New Year's Day) to judge all men and decide their fates; cf. especially H. and H. A. Frankfort, *et al., Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man,* pp. 203-04. Just how these personal gods were selected by the individual or head of a family is uncertain, but we actually have the names of the "personal" deities of a number of Sumerian rulers from the second half of the third millennium B.C.**

Structurally speaking, our poctic tract[4] may be tentatively divided into five sections. First comes a brief introductory exhortation that man should praise and exalt his god and soothe him with lamentations (lines 1-9). The poet then introduces the unnamed individual who, upon being smitten with sickness and misfortune, addresses his god with tears and prayers (lines 10-20 plus). There follows the sufferer's petition which constitutes the major part of the poem (lines 26 minus-116). It begins with a description of the ill treatment accorded him by his fellow men—friend and foe alike (lines 26-55); continues with a lament against his bitter fate, including a rhetorical request to his kin and to the professional singers to do likewise (lines 56-95); and concludes with a confession of guilt and a direct plea for relief and deliverance (lines 96-116). Finally comes the "happy ending," in which the poet informs us that the man's prayer did not *go* unheeded, and that his god accepted the entreaties and delivered him from his afflictions (lines 117-129). All this leads, of course, to a further glorification of his god (lines 130-end).

Two pieces belonging to this composition were first published in *STVC,* Nos. 1 and 2, but the text was there assumed to be a collection of proverbs rather than a connected essay. Later I identified three other pieces, one in the University Museum, and two in the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient, and these were published in *Supplement to VT,* 111 (i960), pp. 172-82, together with a transliteration and translation of the text, which could now be recognized as an essay concerned with the problem of human suffering and what to do about it Still later, E. I. Gordon identified another small piece in the University Museum; this was published in *Bi. Or.,* xvn, pp. 149 ff., where the reader will also find a number of useful bibliographical details.

Let a man utter constantly the exaltedness of his god,
Let the young man[8] praise artlessly the words of his god,
Let the inhabitant of the straightforward land *moan,*
In the house [of] s[ong] let him *interpret* . . . to his
woman-friend and man-friend,
Soothe [*his* he]art,
Bring forth . . . , utter . . . ,
*Measure out* . . . ,
Let his lament soothe the heart of his god,
(For) a man without a god would not obtain food.

The young man—he uses not his strength for evil
*in* the place of deceit, (10)
*(Yet* . . ., sickness, bitter suffering . . . d him,
. . . , fate, . . . brought . . . close to him,
Bitter . . . *confused its* . . . , covered his . . . ,
. . . placed an evil hand on him, he was treated as . . . .
. . . of his god,
. . . in his . . . . . he *weeps,*
. . . he directed a . . . ,

[4] **The primary poetic device utilized by the author is cumulative parallelism; cf., e.g., lines 1-9; 26-29; 31-36; 42-43; etc., etc.**

[8] **"Young man" renders the Sumerian word *guru}* that has a semantic range equivalent to the Hebrew *gebher.***

Speaks [tearfully] to him of his suffering . . . ,
. . . *in* his . . . wrath,
. . . s . . . .
(approximately 5 lines destroyed)

"I am a young man, a discerning one, (yet) who *respects* me *prospers* not,[6]
My righteous word has been turned into a lie,
The man of deceit has covered me (with) the South-wind, I (am forced to) serve him,
Who *respects* me not has shamed me before you.

You have doled out to me suffering ever anew,
I entered the house, heavy is the spirit,
I, the young man, went out to the street, oppressed is the heart,
With me, the *valiant*, my righteous shepherd has become angry,[7] has looked upon me inimically,
My herdsman has sought out evil forces against me who am not (his) enemy,
My companion says not a true word to me,
My friend gives the lie to my righteous word.
The man of deceit has *conspired* against me,
(And) you, my god, do not thwart him,
You carry off my understanding,
The wicked has *conspired* against me
Angered you, stormed about, planned evil.
I, the wise, why am I bound to the ignorant youths?
I, the discerning, why am I counted among the ignorant?
Food is all about, (yet) my food is hunger,
On the day shares were allotted to all, my allotted share was suffering.

The *brother* . . . quarrelled, planned [evi]l,
[He . . . s] my . . . ,
• • •

Raises up . . . ,
Carries off . . . ,
Writes on clay . . . the wise . . . ,
Seeks out the . . . *of* the journey,
Cuts down like a tree the . . . of the road,
. . . [ . . . s ] the supervisor,
. . . [ . . . s ] the steward.

My god, [I would stand] befo[re yo]u,
Would speak to you, . . . , my word is a groan,
I would tell you about it, would bemoan the bitterness of my path,
[Would bewail] the confusion of . . . .

Let the wise . . . *in* my plans, lament will not cease,

I . . . to my friend,
I . . . to my companion.

Lo, let not my mother who bore me cease my lament before you,
Let not my sister [utter] the happy song and chant,
Let her utter tearfully my misfortunes before you,
Let my wife voice *mournfully* my suffering,
Let the expert singer bemoan my bitter fate.

My god, the day shines bright over the land, for me the day is black,
The bright day, the good day has . . . like the . . . ,
Tears, lament, anguish, and depression are lodged within me,
Suffering overwhelms me like one who does (nothing but) weep,
(The demon of) fate in its hand . . . s me, carries off my breath of life,
The malignant sickness-demon bathfes] in my body,
The bitterness of my path, the e[vil] of *my . . .],*
. . . s the *kindly* . . . ,
. . . s the *unsettled* . . . .

I who am not the . . . of the . . . ,
I who am not the . . . of the . . . ,
[L]ike . . . I . . . before you,
(lines 80-94 largely destroyed)
. . . 7 weep *not*.

My god, you who are my father who begot me, [//// *up]* my face,
*Li\e* an innocent cow, in *pity* . . . the groan,
How long will you neglect me, leave me unprotected?
Like an ox, . . . ,
(How long) will you leave me unguided?

They say—the sages[8]—a word righteous (and) straightforward:
'Never has a sinless child been born to its mother,
. . . a sinless *workman* has not existed from of old.'

My god, the . . . of destruction which I have . . . d against you,
The . . . of . . . which I have prepared before you,
Let them not . . . the man, the *wise*; utter, (my god), *words of grace* upon *him,*
*(When)* the day is not (yet) *bright*, in my . . . , in my . . . , make me walk before you,
My impure *(and)* my lack-lustre . . . —*touch* their . . . ,
*Utter words of grace* upon *him* whom you . . . *d on* the day *of* wrath,
Whom you . . . *d on* the day . . . —pronounce joy *upon* him.

• For lines 26-30, 35-39, 101-103, m-113, cf. Jacobsen, *PAPS,* Vol. 107, No. 16, pp. 482-83.

[7] The "shepherd" and "herdsman" of this and the following line probably refer to the king; the sufferer therefore seems to have been a member of the court.

[8] Literally: "the wise men of valor."

My god, now that you have *shown* me my sins . . . ,
In the gate of . . . , I would speak . . . ,
I, the young man, would *confess* my sins before you.

May you *rain* upon the assembly . . . like a cloud,
May you . . . *in* your *chamber* my groaning *mother* . . . ,
Me, the *valiant*, may you . . . *in wis[dom* my] groaning . . . ."
»

. . . .

The man—his bitter weeping was heard by his god,
When the lamentation and wailing that filled him had soothed the heart of his god for the young man,
The righteous words, the artless words uttered by him, his god accepted, (120)
The words which the young *man* prayerfully confessed,
*Pleased* the . . . , the *flesh* of his god, (and) his god withdrew his hand from the evil word,
. . . which oppresses the heart, . . . he embraces,
The encompassing sickness-demon, which had spread wide its wings, he *swept away,*
The . . . , which had smitten him like a . . . , he dissipated,
The (demon of) fate, who had been placed (there) in *accordance* with his *sentence,* he turned *aside,*
He turned the you[ng *m\ans* suffering into joy,
Set by him the . . . *good* . . . spirit (as a) watch (and) guardian,
Gave him . . . the tutelary genii of friendly mien.

[The man uttered] constandy the exaltedness of his god, (130)
Brought forth . . . , made known . . . ,

(lines 132-137 destroyed)

. . may he return for me,
. . . may he release,
. . . may he set straight for me." (140)

The antiphon of the lamentation to a man's (personal) god.[10]

[9] The meaning of this fragmentary line is quite uncertain; but may belong with the preceding lines rather than the following.

[10] It is quite uncertain which of the preceding lines formed the antiphon.

# Sumerian Lamentation

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

## Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur

This outstanding composition, that is of no little significance for the history of Sumer as well as for its religion and culture, consists of over 500 lines, of which about 400 are fairly well preserved. It is divided into five *\irugu,* or stanzas, of unequal length. The first of these, which consists of 115 lines, begins with a detailed account of the tragic fate decreed by the four leading deities of the Sumerian pantheon—An, Enlil, Enki, and Ninhursag—for Sumer and its people: the subversion of the rules of conduct that made law and order possible; the overturning of the *me,* that is, the rights and prerogatives bestowed upon Sumer by the gods when organizing the universe—and especially those *me* that were concerned with the institution of kingship; the destruction of cities and houses, of stalls and sheepfolds; the drying up of rivers and canals and the sterility of the fields and steppes; the disruption of family life; the removal of kingship to a foreign land; the suppression of oracles, the ill-treatment by Nanna himself of his temple and people, leading to the expulsion of the inhabitants of Ur and the introduction of foreign offerings into its shrines by the Su-people[1] and the Elamites who took their place; the seizure of the terrified Ibbi-Sin and his forcible abduction to Elam whence he never returned to his homeland; the cessation of all travel and commercial intercourse between the ruined cities; the massacre of the inhabitants; the discontinuance of all sowing and plowing in field and steppe, as well as all activities concerned with animal husbandry; the wasting away of all growth from marsh and swamp, from orchard and garden; the utter prostration of Ur, the city famed for its lordship and kingship (lines 1-57).

The poet next turns to the bitter events that followed in the wake of the cruel decision taken by the gods against Sumer: seven of Sumer's leading deities turned against the land and brought harm to it, each in his own fashion (lines 58-64); the land was overtaken by a calamity the like of which was unknown to man, one that brought terror and chaos in its wake, namely, the deluge-like invasion of the Gutians who laid waste to everything in their path (lines 65-80), bringing with them bloody days of wreckage when even heaven and earth were convulsed and utter darkness held sway and the dead of Sumer lay heaped up on land and filled the Euphrates (lines 81-97); those who succeeded in escaping with their lives abandoned wife and child, home and property (98-102); Sumer was in a state of utter anarchy, its king lived in fear and anguish in his palace, and all about there was nothing but death and destruction (lines 103-115).

In the second *\irugu,* the poet takes up the destruction of Sumer city by city from north to south, thus:[2] Kish and Hursagkalamma that were abused by the enemy (lines 119-122); Kazallu that suffered drought and famine (lines 126-135); Marda abandoned by its tutelary deity Lugalmarda (lines 136-138); Isin deprived of its quays because of the dearth of water (lines 139-141); Nippur and its shrine Duranki, smitten by its own great god Enlil (lines 142-145); Kesh and Adab which the Gutians took over as their own (lines 146-151); Zabalam and its destroyed *giguna,* and Erech from whose Eanna-temple Inanna herself was carried off into captivity (lines 152-157); Umma and its shrines Sigkurshag and Ninmah forsaken by its tutelary deities (lines 158-161); the Lagash complex (Girsu, Ninmar, Kinirsha, Nina) burned and looted by the Elamites (lines 162-187); the settlements of the Edanna of Nanna whose fleeing inhabitants were destroyed by wild beasts (lines 188-190); Gaesh, a sacred suburb of Ur, whose statues, dais and throne were broken to bits (lines 191-198); Ashshu, whose "assembly house was emptied" (lines 199-202); Abrig, destroyed like a stall (lines 203-208); the *egidda* (of the city Ennigi) smitten by its tutelary deity Ninazu (lines 209-212); Gishbanda abandoned by Ningishzida and Azimua, its two city-gods (lines 213-216); **H.A** abandoned by Asarluhi and Lugalbanda (lines 217-223); Eridu abandoned by Enki and crushed by the Gutians (lines 224-253);* Ur, the capital, destroyed by the Elamites and the Tidnumites[4] (lines 254-265);" Kisiga, the city destroyed by the Elamites, whence the fettered Dumuzi departed to the nether world accompanied by the wailing "queen" (lines 266-282).

Following a break of 11 lines, part of which began the third *\irugu,* we find the poet turning from Sumer as a whole to Ur, its capital. He bewails the suffering of its people, king, and priests through famine: there was no grain, beer, or cattle for food and sacrifices (lines 297-318); the canals were dry, the quays were desolate, and no offerings could be sent to Nippur for the ritual feasts and celebrations (lines 319-329); the stalls of Nanna were despoiled, and its sacred cows were carried off by the barbarous enemy so that there was not fat and milk for the temple (lines 330-339). All this, according to our poet, was too much for Ur's city-god, Nanna-Sin, who now turns to his father Enlil and pleads with him to look with favor on Ur, multiply its people once again, and restore its rights and prerogatives (lines 340-356).

But Enlil's answer, which begins the fourth *\irugu,* was cold and stern: Sin, he says, should pay no heed to Ur and its lamentful dirges (lines 360-365); its destruction had been decreed in the assembly of the gods and this decision cannot be altered—Ur had its day of "kingship" and now this must go to some other place, since there is no everlasting "reign of kingship" (lines 366-372). Ordered to leave his city, the dejected and anguished Nanna-Sin departed from Ur followed by his hastily dressed wife Ningal and the Anunna (lines 373-379). Whereupon the city was given over to carnage and massacre at the hands of the heavily armed enemy (lines 392-396), while famine took its toll of those who did not succumb to the foe (lines 392-396). This was more than the people could bear—they threw down their weapons and after taking counsel among themselves, decided to open the gates to the enemy (lines 397-407).[6] In rushed the Elamites and crushed the city and its people (lines 408-411); they took over the Ekishnugal, destroyed its statues, shrines, and thrones, and slaughtered its sacred cattle (lines 412-419); they split asunder its hallowed palm trees together with their fronds and dates, despoiled the sacred *Magan*-reeds,[7] and

**[1] For the still unidentified Su-people, cf. now Edzard, *ZZB,* p. 48 ff.**

**[2] For the cities, temples, and gods in this *\irugu,* cf. Edzard, *ZZB* (index to place names and god-names); Sjoberg's forthcoming study on the Temple Hymns (now in press as a volume in the series *Texts from Cuneiform Sources,* J. J. Augustin, publisher), and Jacobsen, *Iraq,* xxi, pp. 174-85.**

**[3] Much of this long passage is unfortunately obscure.**

**[4] The Tidnum people are Amorites, cf., e.g., J. R. Kuppcr, *Let Nomades en Mesopotamie,* pp. 156-57.**

**[6] This passage too, is enigmatic in large part.**

**[4] We have here a rare example of a record of rebellion and treason in Sumer.**

**[7] Magan is often identified with Egypt.**

carried off the wealth accumulated in the storehouses (lines 42a-426); they breached its parapets, hurled down its statues of cattle and *ushumgal-dr&goris* (lines 427-431); made the temple desolate and unfit for holy rituals by breaking down its doors, hinges, bolts and locks (lines 432-445); dismantled the lofty *dubla* where the judges held court, violated Nanna-Sin's holy vessels, bed, and statues, and carried off into captivity its lustration-priests (lines 432-456).

Overwhelmed by this terrible destruction of his city and temple, the suffering Nanna-Sin once again comes before his father Enlil with the plea that he turn his inimical look into a friendly one (lines 457-465). This time Enlil's response is favorable and he pronounces a blessing for the restoration of Ur and the Ekishnugal (lines 466-475). Whereupon the people gather once again in Ur from all over the land (lines 476-479), and Nanna-Sin proudly reenters his city and temple together with his wife Ningal (lines 480-484). The fifth *\irugu* begins with a plea by the poet addressed to the bitter, destructive storm to leave Ur and attack Sumer's enemies instead: Tidnum, Gutium, and Anshan[8] (lines 490-500). Following a break of an unknown number of lines, the composition concludes with a fragmentary and obscure seven-line passage that seems to continue with the blessing of Ur and its people.

All in all there are now more than thirty tablets and fragments inscribed with portions of this lamentation. Not a few of these had been published between the years 1914 and 1944, but because of the numerous gaps, it had been mistakenly assumed that the pieces belonged to two different compositions, a so-called "Ibbi-Sin" lamentation, and a "Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Akkad." It is only with the publication of eleven new tablets and fragments in *UET,* vi, Part 2, that the text of the composition as a whole could be reconstructed, and then it became clear that it was actually a single composition beginning with a lament over the destruction of Sumer as a whole and continuing with a lament over the destruction of Ur and its temple, the Ekishnugal, and ending on a note of deliverance and salvation.[9] A detailed edition of the text is planned by Gadd and Kramer for a forthcoming issue of *Iraq;* the present translation is based on this study.

That the day be overturned, that "law and order" cease to exist— (1)
The storm is all devouring like the Flood—
That the *me* of Sumer be overturned,
That a favorable reign be withheld,
That cities be destroyed, that houses be destroyed,
That stalls be destroyed, that sheepfolds be wiped out,
That its (Sumer's) oxen no longer stand in their stalls,
That its sheep no longer spread out in their sheepfold,
That its rivers flow with bitter water,
That its cultivated fields grow weeds, (10)
That its steppes grow wailing plants,
That the mother care not for her children,
That the father says not "Oh my wife,"
That the young wife rejoice not in (his) lap,
That the young child grow not sturdy on (their) knee,
That the nursemaid chant not a lullaby,
That the home of kingship be changed,
That the seeking of oracles be suppressed,
That kingship be carried off from the land,
That its face be directed to inimical soil, (20)
That in accord with the command of An (and) Enlil, "law and order" cease to exist—

(All this was) after An had frowned upon all the lands,[10] (22)
After Enlil had set his (friendly) face to inimical soil,
After Nintu had prostrated her (own) creatures,
After Enki had overturned (the course of) the Tigris (and) Euphrates,
After Utu had cursed the roads (and) highways—

That the *me* of Sumer cease to exist, that its rules (of conduct) be changed,
That the *me* of kingship (and) reign of Ur be overwhelmed,
That the princely son stretch a defiling hand on his Ekishnugal,
That Nanna show no respect for his people as numerous as ewes, (30)
That of Ur, its shrine of the great offerings, the offerings be changed,
That its people no longer inhabit its dwellings, that it be made inimical soil,
That the Su-people (and) the Elamites, the enemies, inhabit their dwellings,
That its shepherd (living) in terror in the palace be seized by the foe,
That Ibbi-Sin be brought to the land Elam in a trap—
From Mt. Zabu[11] on the "breast" of the sea, to the boundary of Anshan—
That like a sparrow which has fled its "house," he return not to his city,
That the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates in their entirety, grow sickly plants,
That no one tread the highways, that no one seek out the roads,
That its well-founded cities (and) hamlets be counted as ruins, (40)
That its teeming blackheaded people be put to (slaughter by) the mace,
That the cultivated fields be not hoed, that no seeds be implanted in the soil,
That its *shout* (and) song resound not in the . . . (and) steppe,
That the stalls provide not fat (and) cheese, that no dung be implanted in the soil,

[8] **Anshan here may refer to Elam as well.**

[9] **For bibliographical details, cf. *UET,* vi, part 2, p. 1 (comment to Nos. 124-34); a study of part of the first *hjrugu* was published by Falkenstein in *WO,* v, pp. 377-84 (cf. also *SAHG,* No. 37); a study of the third *kirugu,* was published by C. J. Gadd in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver,* pp. 59-71.**

[10] **Lines 22-26 seem to be parenthetically inserted in this passage which is a good example of the cumulative parallelism utilized throughout this composition.**

[11] **The location of Mt. Zabu is not too clear from the text, but it is somewhere to the east of Elam.**

That the shepherd twirl not the *Su^ur*[12]-reed in the holy sheepfold,
That the hum of the turning of the churn resound not in the sheepfold,
That on the steppe the cattle large and small become scarce, that all living creatures come to an end,
That the fourlegged creatures of Sumugan[13] implant no dung in the soil,
That in the marshes . . ., that they "have no name,"
That in the swamps there grow sickly-headed reeds, that they come to (their) end in *stench*,
That in the orchards (and) gardens there be no new growth, that they waste readily away,
That Ur, the great wild ox which steps forth confidently (in combat), which is secure in its own strength,
My city of lordship and kingship, built on pure soil,
Like an ox to be thrown instantly by the nose-rope, be fastened neck to ground,
An, Enlil, Enki, (and) Ninhursag decreed (as) its fate—
The fate decreed by them can not be changed, who can overturn it!
The word commanded by An (and) Enlil, who can oppose it!

An has made the Sumerians tremble in their dwelling places, the people are terrified,
Enlil has made the day break bitter, has struck the city dumb,
Nintu, the mother of the Land, has brought . . . into it,
Enki has deprived the Tigris (and) the Euphrates of water,
Utu has banished justice (and) truth from the mouth (of men),
Inanna has given the battle (and) combat to the rebellious land,
Ningirsu has emptied out Sumer like milk,

On the Land fell a calamity, one unknown to man,
One that had never been seen (before and) for which there were no words, one that could not be withstood,
On all the lands, the terrified, a disruptive hand was placed,
In their cities their city-gods stood aside,.
The people, the terrified, could hardly breathe,
The storm *fettered* them, it returns not the "day" to them,
The "returned day" that it obtained for them *came* not *as* a . . . day,

Enlil, the shepherd of the blackheads, this is what he did—

Enlil, in order to destroy the righteous houses, to decimate the righteous,
To set an evil eye on the sons of the righteous, the noble—
On that day Enlil brought down the Guti from the mountain-land,
Whose coming is the Flood of Enlil, that none can withstand,
They filled the steppe with great winds of the steppe...,
They *laid waste* to the [steppe] (and) whatever *flourished* in it, none could travel there,
They . . . in the dark, dark, days,
They *overwhelmed* readily the bright day with *tumult,*

(It was a) day (when) mouths were *drenched* (and) heads *wallowed* in blood,
A day (when) the harrow sent forth from above wrecked the city (as if) with a pickaxe,
On that day Heaven was crushed, Earth was smitten, the face was *blinded* by the *storm,*
Heaven was darkened, was overcast with shadow, it was turned into the nether world,
Utu lay (motionless) on the horizon, . . . ,
Nanna lay in . . . was terrified.
(lines 87-93 too fragmentary for translation)
The . . . were piled up in heaps,
The . . . were spread in heaps,
. . . in the Euphrates there were cadavers,
. . . are massacred,

[The father] turned away [from his wife], he said not "Oh my wife,"
[The mother abandoned her child] she said not "Oh my child,"
[Who had fields (and) acres abandoned his fields (and) acres], he said not "Oh my fields (and) acres,"
Who had a well-built house abandoned his house, he said not "Oh my house,"
The man of possessions forsook his possessions.

On that day a defiling hand was placed over the kingship of the land,
Its tiara (and) crown worn on the head were both . . .,
All the lands . . . their submission and *respect,*
Of Ur, the shrine of great offerings—its offerings [were changed].
Nanna overturned] his people as numerous as [ewes],
Its king was depressed in his splendid palace,
Ibbi-Sin was filled with gloom in his splendid palace,
He shed bitter tears in his heart-rejoicing "house of life."
The Flood crushes the earth, wipes out everything,
It roared like a great storm over the earth, who could escape it!

[12] ***lukjur*** **usually means "lance."**
[13] **Sumugan is the god of the steppe-animals.**

To destroy all the cities, to destroy all the houses,
To make the liar superior to the honest man,
• . . .

The first *kirugu.*

The storm is all devouring like the Flood.

The antiphon to the *irugu.*

On Hursagkalamma, the house of Kish, an evil hand was placed,
Zababa [forsook his beloved dwelling], (120)
Mother Bau [wept bitterly for her holy] house (and) [city],
"Oh my destroyed city, my destroyed house" bitterly she cried.

(about 3 lines destroyed)

On Kazallu, the *awe-inspiring* city, a disruptive hand was placed,
[N]umushda forsook his beloved dwelling,
His spouse Namrat, the kindly woman, wept bitter tears,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried.
Its river has become empty, it poured no water, (130)
Like a river cursed by Enki, it came to an end at its source,
In the fields there was (neither) grain (nor) vegetation, the people had nothing to eat,
Its orchards (and) gardens were parched like an oven, their *produce perished,*
The cattle large (and) small, the four-legged creatures waved not (their) tails,
The four-legged creatures of Sumugan found no rest.

Lugal[marda] stood aside from his city (Marda),
Ninzuanna forsook her beloved dwelling,
"Oh her destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried.

Isin, no longer a "quay-shrine," was *deprived* of water.
[Nin]isinna, the mother of the Land wept bitter tears, (14°)
"[Oh] her [destroyed city] destroyed house," bitterly she cried.

Enlil smote Duranki with the mace,
Before Enlil a lament was set up in his city, the shrine Nippur,
Mother Ninlil, the queen of the *fyur,*[1]* wept bitter tears,
"[Oh] her destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried.

On Kesh, built all by itself on the high steppe, a devastating hand was placed,

[14] The ***iur** was part of the Ekur complex in Nippur; see also line **347**.

Adab, that city stretched along the river, was *uprooted,*
The "snake of the mountain" made his bed there, it was turned into a rebellious land,
The Gutians multiplied (their) offspring there, brought forth (their) seed there,
Nintu wept bitter tears for her creatures, (150)
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried.

At Zabalam a devastating hand was placed on the holy *giguna,*
Inanna was carried off from Erech, was brought to enemy territory,
The enemy looked on the Eanna, the holy *gipar-shrine,*
Its holy *gipar* of <?«-ship was suppressed,
[Its *en]* was carried off from the *gipar,* was brought to enemy territory,
"[Oh] her destroyed [city], destroyed house," bitterly she cried.

In [Umm]a a bitter storm blew over Sigkurshag,
[Shara] forsook [E]mah, his lofty dwelling place,
[Nin]mul wept bitter tears in her destroyed city. (160)
"Oh my [house] whose riches have not been returned," bitterly she cried.

Girsu, the city of heroes, was turned into a *cowardly* place,
Ningirsu forsook the Eninnu,
Mother Bau wept bitter tears in her house Urukug,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried.

On that day the word—who knows its meaning?—attacked like a storm,
The word of Enlil that winds to the right, *nows* the left,
Enlil who decrees the fates, this is what he did:
Enlil brought down Elam, the foe, from the mountain,
He made Nanshe the princely daughter, dwell in a strange city, i[1]?°)
He put Ninmar to the flames in (her) shrine Guabba,
Its silver (and) lapis lazuli is carried off in big boats,
The queen—her possessions attacked and at an end—the holy Ninmar,
On that day *cuts* . . . like . . .
Turned over Lagash to the hand of Elam.

On that day, the queen—her "storm" caught up with her,
Bau, as if she were a mortal—her "storm" caught up with her,
"Woe is me! The storm has turned it (Lagash) over into his hand,

The storm that destroys cities has turned it over into his hand,
The storm that destroys houses has turned it over into his hand."

Dumuzi-Abzu was terrified in *his* house Kinirsha
Kinirsha, his city of "princely-sonship" was turned to *ruins*.

Nanshc—Her city Nina was delivered to the enemy,
Sirara—her beloved dwelling place, was given over to misfortune,
MOh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried,
Its holy *gipar* of <?«-ship was suppressed,
Its *en* was carried off from the *gipar,* was brought to enemy territory,

On the bank of the Idnun of Nanna a heavy arm was placed,
The settlements of the Edanna of Nanna were destroyed like a *distended* stall,
Those who fled from it were devoured by the wild beasts like fleeing kids.

Gaesh was poured out like milk by the enemy, they destroy it utterly,
Its (well) made statues fair of form, they shatter,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried,
Its *gipar* of <?«-ship was suppressed,
Its *en* was carried off from the *gipar*, was brought to enemy territory,
Its dais stretching to heaven was filled with lament,
Its heavenly throne stood there no longer, (its) *head* was glorious no longer.
Like a palm tree it was cut to pieces, it was completely *shattered.*

Ashshu that house stretched along the river was uprooted,
The . . . of Nanna was seized by the enemy,
The house was made into a "debtor's house,"
The assembly house was emptied,

j Abrig . . . was destroyed like a *distended* stall,
Nin-EZEN abandoned Gabur,
Niniaga, terrified, shed bitter tears,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried,
Its holy *gipar* of *en*-ship was suppressed,
Its *en* was carried off from the *gipar*, was brought to enemy territory,

Ninazu planted the weapon on the neck of the Egidda,
He caused an evil wind to blow on Ninhursag of the . . . house,

She fled like a dove from (her) cote, brought . . . into the steppe,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried.

Gishbanda that house full of lamentation and wailing was destroyed,
Ningishzida abandoned Gishbanda,
Azimua, the queen of the city, wept bitter tears,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried.

On that day, the *Southwind* the men *of* .. . were *quartered* there,
To destroy HA.A, the men *of* . . . were *quartered* there,
Nin-e-HA, terriffied], shed bitter tears,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried.
Asarluhi *hastily* put on a garment . . . ,
Lugalbanda abandoned his beloved dwelling place,
"Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly he cried.

Eridu the city overflowing with "great" waters, was *deprived* of drinking water,
In its outskirts, the *steppe* built up *with* houses . . . ,
The righteous [have been led off] to slaughter,
• . . .
"I, the young man, whom the storm had not . . . ,
I, whom the storm had not destroyed, whose attractiveness had not been brought to an end . . . ,
'We who like . . . are fair of *body*, have been [struck down],
Who like . . . paint the eyes (with kohl), have been [struck down],
Who like … have irrigated the plants, have been [struck down],
The Gutians, the destroyers, are crushing (us).'
(This is what) we kept on reiterating to Enki at the Abzu of Eridu.
. . . what can we add to what we have said!
. . . what can we add to what we have said!
. . . we have been *driven* out of Eridu,
We who were in charge of . . . [during the day] were [eclipsed] by shadows,
We who were in charge of . . . [during the night] were . . . by the *storm,*
Who was in charge during the day, *how* shall we receive him among our *weary* ones!
Who was in charge by night how shall we let him go astray among our sleepless ones!
Oh Enki, your city has been cursed, it has been made into enemy territory,
Why do you reckon us among those who have been *displaced* from Eridu!

Why do they (the Gutians?) destroy those among us upon whom like . . . no hand had [ever] been laid!
Why do they crush those among us who like . . . had (never) been . . . !"
After [Enki] had set his face towards an inimical land,
He *planted* for the . . . the "evil *tree*"
. . . have risen up, have *called* on their cohorts,
Enki forsook the house of Eridu,
Damgalnunna, the mother of the lofty house, wept bitter tears,
"Oh my [destroyed city], destroyed house" bitterly she cried,
Its [holy *gi]par* of <?/z-ship was suppressed,
Its *en* was carried off from the *gipar,* was brought to enemy territory,

In Ur, no one took charge of food, no one took charge of water,
Who was (formerly) in charge of food, stood away from the food, pays no *heed* to it,
Who was (formerly) in charge of water, stood away from the water, pays no *heed* to it,
Below, the Elamites are in charge, slaughter follows in their wake,
Above, the Halma-people, the "men of the mountains," took captives,
The Tidnumites daily fastened the mace to their loins,
Below, the Elamites like those who bring forth woe, *brandish* their *weapons,*
Above, like chaff blown about by the wind, the steppe . . . .
Ur, the great wild ox that (formerly) stepped forth confidently (in combat), has been made prostrate.
Enlil, he who decrees the fates, this is what [he did]:
For a second time he brought down the Elamites, the "men of the mountain" from the mountain,
The house, the foremost, having been . . . .

While Kisiga was being destroyed, *its* ten men, . . .
*Escaped* not; three days (and) three nights did not pass, the city was broken up by the pickaxe,
Kisiga—Dumuzi [depa]rted from it as a substitute, his hands were [fettered].
By the house, the . . . of [Emu]sh [spoke to him]:
"Rise, set sail . . . , rise, set sail,
. . . has *brought*, rise, set sail . . . ."
The large . . . she caused to set sail . . . ,
The small . . . [she caused to set sail] like one-eyed kids,
From her possessions she sailed forth, she descends to the nether world,
The dirge of the nether world where no one (willingly) sets foot, loudly [she uttered:]
"I the queen have [sailed] away from my possessions, the *maid* has been *[stationed]* [th]ere,
From my lapis lazuli place I have [sailed] away, the *maid* has been *stationed* [th]ere,
There the *maid-ship* of man,
. . . who will . . . for me!
There the *maid*-ship of Elam,
. . . who will . . . for me!
Oh my destroyed city, destroyed house," bitterly she cried.

(Lines 283-293 in large part destroyed, including the rubric: "the second *\irugu.")*

In Ur no one took charge of food, no one took charge of water,
Its people, like water poured from a well . . . ,
They (no longer) had confidence in themselves, [gone] was their *strength.*

Enlil made Famine, who brings nothing but harm, dwell in the city,
That which brings destruction to cities, that which brings destruction to houses, he made dwell in the city,
That before which no one can stand firm, the weapon, he made dwell in the city,
The dizziness caused *by* the unsated heart he made dwell in the city.

Ur, like a single reed drops (its) head, is helpless,
Its people, like fish caught by hand—their life is departed,
Its lowly (and) noble lie spread about, none can rise,
For its king there was no bread to eat in the *lofty* Dubla,
The king who ate (only) fine bread was overcome by . . . ,
The *sun set* on him, . . . he *\nows* . . . ,
In his brewery there was no beer, its . . . was no more,
In his palace there was no bread to eat, it was no longer fit to live in,
His lofty *ganun*[15] was not filled with grain, its "life" is not *brought* there,

In the granaries of Nanna there was no grain,
The evening meals of the gods were suppressed,
In their great dining-halls wine (and) honey came to an end,
The . . . used to feed the oxen, feed the sheep, lay in the meadow,
In its lofty oven oxen (and) sheep are not prepared . . . ,
Of the Bursag, the pure "arm" of Nanna, its "hum" ceased,
That house where commands were shouted like an ox—its silence is overwhelming,
Like holy . . . it makes no *sound,* far removed is its . . . ,
Its grinding mortar (and) pestle lie inert, no one bends before them,

[15] For this building, cf. e.g., Fig. 8 (p. 139) of Woollcy's *Excavations at Ur,* where it is called *e-nun-mah.*

The "lapis lazuli" quay of Nanna was deprived of water,
The water at the boat's prow returned no echo, it
*fell* not *at* . . . ,
On the small . . . of Nanna dust was heaped high,
All (kinds of) grasses grew there, all (kinds of) grasses grew there, . . . grew,
The boats (and) barges ceased (to come to) the lapis lazuli quay,
On your river so well-suited for barges, they sail not,
Of the feasts (celebrated) in the ritual-places, changed are their ordinances,
On the offering-boats of the father who begot him, no offerings were carried to him,
Its bread (and) bread-offerings were not brought to Nippur,
Its river is empty, no barge moves on it,
No foot trod *all* its banks, long grasses grew there.

Of the widespread stalls of Nanna—torn down were their hedges,
The garden huts were despoiled . . . ,
The *si lam-cows*[19] [were] taken from their young, were carried off to enemy territory,
The cows fed on the . . . -plant forsook the steppe, their unknown terrain.
Gaau (the deity) who loves cows hurled (his) weapon on the ewe,
Shunidu (the deity) who heaps up fat (and) cheese, did not heap up fat (and) cheese,
Its fat—those who knew not fat, *stir* it,
Its milk—those who knew not milk, *pour* it,
In its sheepfold, they who stir the churn speak not loudly,
Of its heavy braziers . . . -its fire is extinguished.

Sin wept before his father Enlil,
"Oh my father who begot me, what has my city done to you, why have you turned against it!
Oh Enlil, what has Ur done to you, why have you turned against it!
The offering-boats carried no offerings to the father who begot him,
Did not bring your bread (and) bread-offerings to Enlil in Nippur,
The *ens* (who lived) outside the city, the *en's* (who lived) inside the city have been carried off by the wind (of desolation),
Ur, like a city crushed by the pickaxe, was counted among the ruins,
The Kiur, the place where Enlil relaxes, has become a desolate shrine.

Oh Enlil, gaze upon your city *full* of desolation,
Gaze upon your city Nippur, *full* of desolation,
Ur—(even) its dogs *snuff* not at the base of its walls,

Oh my father who begot me, turn my city from its loneliness back to your arms,
Oh Enlil, turn my city from its loneliness back to your arms,
Turn my Ekishnugal from its loneliness back to your arms,
Let Ur (once again) bring forth offspring, let the people multiply for you,
May the *me* of Sumer that had ceased to exist, be restored for you."

The third *irugu*.

Oh righteous house, righteous house! Oh its man, its man!

Its antiphon.

Enlil answers his son Sin:
"The desolate city—in its midst there was uttered (nothing but) laments (and) dirges,
In its midst there was uttered (nothing but) laments (and) dirges,
In its midst its people spend (their) days in lament,
Oh my son, you are its . . . noble son, what have you to do with its tears!
Oh Nanna, you are its . . . noble son, what have you to do with its tears!

The verdict of the assembly cannot be turned back,
The word commanded by Enlil knows no overturning,
Ur was granted kingship, it was not granted an eternal reign,
Since days of yore when the land was founded to (now) when people have multiplied,
Who has (ever) seen a reign of kingship that is everlasting!
Its kingship, its reign has been cut *off, he* is aggrieved!
Oh my Nanna, be not aggrieved, depart from your *city*.[n]

Then, of my king the noble son—his spirit was heavy.
The Lord Ashimbabbar" the noble son, was anguished,
Nanna, who loved his city, departed from the city,
Sin who loved Ur (no longer) dwelt in his *house,*
Ningal . . . , in order to go from her city to enemy territory,
Hastily [put on] a garment, departed [from her house],
Ur—its Anunna went outside (the city),

Ur—its . . . approached . . . ,
Ur—its trees were sickly, [i]ts [re]eds were sickly,

[16] **The usual rendering "wild cow" for** *iilam* **does not seem to fit the context.**

[17] **This is another name for Nanna-Sin.**

By its walls, as far as they extend in circumference, laments were uttered,
At the . . . , the weapon makes all cower before it,
In Ur, the large axes *wrea\ havoc* before them,
The spear, "the might of battle" is hurled straight (to its mark),
The large bows, the throw-stick, the sling are all devouring,
The "head" arrows filled their bodies like heavy rain,
The large stones that of themselves (strike) afar, *crush* the *bones,*
Daily the evil wind brings them back against the (people of the) city,
Ur that relied on its lions,[18] was given over to carnage,
Its people were turned over to the power of the enemy,

The (people of the) city who did not succumb to the weapons were overcome by famine,
Famine filled the city like water, there was no respite from it,
Famine bends low their faces, it swells their sinews,
Its people were filled with *thirst,* short is (their) *breath,*
Its king gasped for breath in his splendid palace,

Its people threw down the . . . , hurled the weapons to the ground,
Raised their hands to their necks, wept,
Take counsel among themselves, speak out eloquently:
"Woe is us, what can we say, what can we add!
Until when will we perish in the *mouth* of destruction!
Ur—inside it is death, outside it is death,
Inside it we die of famine,
Outside it we are killed by the weapons of the Elamites,
Ur has been carried oil by the enemy, let us not die . . . ."
. . . they acted in unison,
They loosened the bolts of its gates, its doors stand (open) to the day,

Elam trampled over it like the onrushing high waters,
Ur is shattered by the weapon like a (potter's) vessel,
Its refugees cannot hasten (to escape), they are pressed tight to the side of the wall,
Like fish *writhing* in *thirst,* their life is carried off.

The Ekishnugal of Nanna is inhabited by the enemy,
Its heavy . . . they shatter,
Its divine statues that *filled* the *shrines* they cut to pieces,
Nineiaga,[19] the noble stewardess, scurries about in the storehouse,

[18] The implication of "on its lions" is not dear in the context.
[19] A goddess in charge of fat and milk.

Its throne was hurled down in front of it, it "sat" in the dust,
Its noble cows were seized by their . . . horns, their horns were cut off,
Its choice oxen (and) well-fed sheep were* struck down by the weapon,
Were cut to pieces like cedars, were completely *shattered.*

The palm-tree (covered with) mighty copper, the might of heroship,
Was torn down like *rushes,* was plucked like rushes, *arrows swirled* about its base,
(Its) *top* was trampled in the dust, it had no one to lift it,
Its fronds were cut to pieces, were smashed to *bits,*
Its *bunches* of dates were swept *away,*
The *magan*-reeds planted by the holy *river* were despoiled,
The immense tribute that had been stored away was carried off by the enemy,

The house—its fastening ropes were felled, its parapets were breached,
Its cattle standing to the left and right, its embracing (ones),
Like hero smiting hero, were hurled down in front of it,
Its awesome *usumgal* with wide open mouth, with *body* of lion,
Were hurled to the ground like captured wild oxen, were carried off to enemy territory,
The holy dwelling of Nanna, the forest fragrant with cedar—its fragrance has come to an end,
Its . . . ,
Its awe-inspiring house where sweet fat . . . , was destroyed,
(Formerly) it had filled the lands like sunlight, (now) it has become *[dim]* as the evening star,
Its doors [adorned *with*] the heavenly stars, its . . . ,
The large bronze *bulug* . . . .
Its . . . ,
Its hinges . . . ,
[Its] locks (and) [bol]ts do not . . . ,

(lines 441-444 too fragmentary for translation)

In the *house* filled *with* . . . lofty . . . , the holy feasts were . . . .

In the lofty Dubla, the place where fates are decreed, no words were . . . ,
Its judges' seats were not set up, no verdicts were directed,
Lai threw down the scepter, from his hand . . . ,
In the holy sleeping *chamber* of Nanna . . . ,
The holy kettles that no one (was permitted) to look upon, the enemy looked upon,

The fruitful bed was not set up, no "lapis lazuli" grass[20] was *gathered,*
Its divine statues that *filled* the *shrines* were cut to pieces,
Its commissaries, diviners (and) *accountants* did not fulfill (the) . . . ,
Its wild oxen that were standing on their pedestals were carried off by the foe,
The holy «igw-priests of the purifying lustrations, its linen-wearers,
Their . . . is come to an end, they were carried to an enemy city.

Sin brought his suffering heart to his father,
Made a genuflection before Enlil, the father who begot him:
"Oh my father who begot me, until when will you look inimically upon my account! Until when . . . !
On the lordship and kingship that you have given (me), you have . . . ,
Father Enlil, you whose instructions are righteous,
Father Enlil, the fate you have decreed me has not been • • • »

(Instead of) the . . . the scepter of lordship, the bejewelled,
. . . I dress in rags,
On the oppressed heart that you have made tremble like a flame, cast a friendly eye."

Enlil speaks a friendly word to his son Sin:
"My son, the city has brought you with it prosperity (and) joy, you have been in *possession* of it for a *time,*
*Turn* the great wall (and) rampart of the destroyed city to . . . ,
The time of black, black days that has come upon you has been . . . ,
Build confidently the . . . of your dwelling place, Etenigurru,[21]
May Ur be built in joy, may (its) people bow before you,
At its base may there be abundance, may Ashnan dwell by its side,
At its crown may there be joy, may *Utu* rejoice by its side,
Its dining table, may the abundance of Ashnan embrace,
May Ur, the city blessed by An, be restored for you."

At the friendly speech of Enlil, it (Ur) lifted "neck to heaven,"
For Nanna (the people of) the land, below (and) above gathered,
For Sin the roads of the foreign lands are straightened,
Like (something) touching the (heavenly) mist, . . . is set up for him.

At the word spoken by An (and) Enlil, it (Ur) is delivered.
Father Nanna went head high to his city Ur,
The valiant Sin enters his Ekishnugal,
Ningal refreshes herself in her holy Ganun,
He (Sin) enters his Ekishnugal in Ur.

The fourth *irugu.*

The desolate city—in its midst there was uttered (nothing but) laments (and) dirges,
In its midst there was uttered (nothing but) laments (and) dirges,
Its people spend (their) days in lament.

Its antiphon.

Oh bitter storm, Oh storm, "raise your breast," Oh storm, return to your city,
Oh city-destroying storm, Oh storm, "raise your breast," Oh storm, return to your house,
Oh house-destroying storm, Oh storm, "raise your breast," Oh storm, return to your house,
That storm that had afflicted Sumer—may it afflict the (inimical) [la]nds,
That storm that had afflicted the Land—may it afflict the (inimical) lands,
May it afflict the (enemy) land Tidnum, may it afflict the (enemy) land,
May it afflict the (enemy) land Gutium, may it afflict the (enemy) land,
May it afflict the (enemy) land Anshan, may it afflict the (enemy) land,
On Anshan, may the dust be heaped *high*, like (dust) carried by the "evil wind,"
*May* Famine who brings (nothing but) harm dwell there, may it bring *death* to . . . ,
The *me* of heaven, the rules that govern people—*may* An change them there.

(break of x number of lines)

In Ur may (his) reign of prosperity long endure,
May its people "lie in the pastures," may its increase be heavy,
"Oh mankind, . . . !"
The *queen*, she of tears (and) lament:
"Nanna, Oh your city! Oh your house?
Oh mankind, . . . !"

The fifth *irugu.*

[20] **The precise meaning here intended by the poet for "lapis lazuli" is not clear.**

[21] **This is the ziggurat terrace of Ur.**

# Sumerian Sacred Marriage Texts

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

## Dumuzi and Inanna

### PRIDE OF PEDIGREE

This poem, which consists largely of a dialogue between Inanna and Dumuzi, begins with a boastful address by the goddess intended to impress her husband-to-be with the importance of her family for his well-being (lines 1-6). Dumuzi's answer, gende but firm, is that his family is as good as Inanna's (lines 7-22). But this little quarrel serves only to arouse their passion for each other and they proceed to indulge their love (lines 23-30). There follows a tender and poetic tete-a-tete between the two which seems to further stimulate their love, but the passage is allusive and metaphorical in character, and its meaning is far from clear (lines 31-45).

For text and transliteration, cf. for the present *PAPS,* Vol. 107, No. 6, 1963, pp. 493-95.

"Without my mother, you would be driven into street (and) . . . -plain,
Young man, without my mother, you would be driven into street (and) . . . -plain,
Without my mother Ningal, you would be driven into street (and) . . . -plain,
Without the 'Lady of the Holy Reed' you would be driven into street (and) . . . -plain,
Without Father Sin, you would be driven into street (and) . . . -plain,
Without my brother Utu, you would be driven into street (and) . . . -plain."

"Young lady, do not start a quarrel,
Inanna, let us talk it over,
Inanna, do not start a quarrel,
Ninegalla[1] let us take counsel together.
My father is as good as your father,
Inanna, let us talk it over;
My mother is as good as your mother,
Ninegalla, let us take counsel together;
Geshtinanna is as good as . . . ,[2]
Inanna, let us talk it over;
I am as good as Utu,
Ninegalla, let us take counsel together;
Enki is as good as Sin,
Inanna, let us talk it over;
Sirtur is as good as Ningal,
Ninegalla, let us take counsel together."

[1] Ninegalla, "queen of the palace" (cf. also lines 14, 18, and 22), is an epithet of Inanna.

[2] Dumuzi is probably comparing his sister Geshtinanna to Inanna's sister (the name is only partially preserved), although Inanna had not mentioned the latter.

The word they had spoken, it is a word of desire,*
With the starting of a *quarrel comes* the desire of her heart.
He of the *shuba*-stones, he of the x/iw^a-stones, plows the *shuba-stoncs**
Amaushumgalanna, he of the *shuba-s*tones, plows the *shuba-* stones,
He of the *shuba-s*tones . . . ,
He of the *shuba-s*tones . . . ,
. . . who fills the water of the roof, fills for her the water of the roof,
. . . who fills the water of the walls, fills for her the water of the walls.

[His] wife, [the hierodule], says to Amaushumgalanna:
"[Plow] the *shuba-s*tones, plow the *shuba-s*tones, who (else) will plow them for her?[5]
Amaushumgalanna, plow the *shuba-sx.orit.sy* who (else) will plow them for her?
Of the *nd\-shuba-*stones, of the *[na-shuba-*stones], their small ones on the . . . -face *of* the *melam,*
Of the *[na-shuba-*stones, of the *na-shuba-*stones], their large ones are the holy breast *of* the *melam."*
Amaushumgalanna answers the hierodule:
"Who is a hierodule, my wife who is a hierodule,
Holy Inanna, he who is not — will plow them for her."
He of the *na-shuba-stoncs,* he of the *na-shuba-s*tones plows the *shuba-s*tones,
Amaushumgalanna, he of the *na-shuba-s*tones plows the *shuba*-stones.
"Plow the *shuba*-stones, plow the *shuba-s*tones, who (else) will plow them for her?[6]
Amaushumgalanna, plow the *shuba-stowts,* who (else) will plow them for her?
Of him who was made for me, of him who was made for me, his beard is lapis lazuli,
Who was made by An for me, his beard is lapis lazuli;
. . . his beard is lapis lazuli, his beard is lapis lazuli."

[3] Lines 23 and 24, if the translation is correct, contain what seems to be a proverbial comment on the psychological value of a lover's quarrel.

[4] The obscure references to plowing the *shuba-stoncs* in this line and lines 26, 27, 28, 32, 53, 39, 40, 41, and 42 and to the *na-shuba-*stones in lines 33, 34, 35, 39 and 40 are probably metaphorical expressions for sexual intercourse.

[5] In lines 32, 33, 38, 41, 42 the "her" probably refers to Inanna, although it is the goddess who is speaking, and we might therefore have expected "me" instead.

'Lines 41-45 are all assumed to be part of Inanna's speech and her queries (lines 41-42) therefore remain unanswered by Dumuzi.

It is a *durgar*[7] of Inanna.
Written with a tablet reed, with a reed.[8]

## LOVE IN THE GIPAR

This narrative poem is divided into two stanzas by the rubric s a - g i d - d a - a m (line 25). The first six lines are quite obscure; the remainder of the first stanza is taken up with a detailed account of Inanna's bedecking the various parts of her body with precious stones, jewels, and ornaments, which she selects from what seems to be a treasure-heap brought to her by a "date-gathering" devotee. The second stanza tells of the meeting between the bejeweled Inanna and Dumuzi in the Eanna of Erech, a meeting which so fills Inanna with desire and passion that she sends a special messenger to her father (no doubt the god Sin) with the request that he (that is, perhaps, her father) make her house "long" so that she and her lover can take their pleasure in it

For a transliteration and translation of the text which was published in *TRS,* No. 70, cf. *PAPS,* Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 495-97.

. . . ,
Holy Inanna . . . .
He who gathers the dates, . . . the date palm,
Who gathers the dates, . . . the date palm for Inanna,
He brought her water, he brought her water, for the seed, the black,
He brought Inanna a *heap* (of precious stones) *by* the water for the seed, the white.
He brought her, he brought her, he brought her a heap of (precious) stones to pick from,
He brought the maid Inanna, he brought her a heap of (precious) stones to pick from,
Of the heap—he gathers the lapis lazuli (stones) onto its "breast,"
Of the heap, for Inanna he gathers the lapis lazuli (stones) onto its "breast."
She picks the buttocks-stones, puts them on her buttocks,
Inanna picks the head-stones, puts them on her head,
She picks the *duru*-lapis lazuli stones, puts them on her nape,
She picks *ribbons*[1] of gold, puts them in her hair of the head,
She picks the narrow gold earrings, puts them on her ears,
She picks the bronze eardrops,[2] puts them on her earlobes,
She picks "that which drips honey," puts it on her face,
She picks "that which *covers* the princely house," puts it on her nose,'
She picks "the house which . . . ," puts it on her . . .,
She picks cypress (and) boxwood, the lovely wood, puts them on her navel,
She picks a sweet "honey well," puts it about her loins,
She picks bright alabaster, puts it on her anus,
She picks black — willow, puts it on her vulva,
She picks ornate sandals, puts them on her feet.

It is a *sagidda.*

For whom the heap of lapis lazuli stones had been gathered—the *en* met her,
Inanna for whom the heap of lapis lazuli stones had been gathered—Dumuzi met her,
In the *"navel* of heaven," the house of Enlil, the *en* met her,
In the Eanna, Enlil's herdsman Dumuzi met her,
Who was standing at the lapis lazuli door of the *gipar*—the *en* met her,
Who was standing by the *narrow* door of the storehouse of Eanna—Dumuzi met her.
When to the "breast" of the heap she returned them,[4]
When Inanna, to the "breast" of the heap, she returned them,
The woman . . . her *ilulamma*-song.
The maid, singing, sent a messenger to her father,
Inanna, dancing, sent a messenger to her father:
"My *house?* my *house,* let him make it 'long' for me,
I the queen—my *house,* my *house* let him make it 'long' for me,
My *gipar-house* let him make it 'long' for me,
The people will set up my fruitful bed,
They will cover it with plants (the color of) *duru*-lapis lazuli,
I will bring there my sweetheart,
I will bring there Amaushumgalanna,
He will put his hand by my hand,
He will put his heart by my heart,
His putting of hand to hand—its *sleep* is so refreshing,
His pressing of heart to heart—its pleasure is so sweet."

## COURTING, MARRIAGE, AND HONEYMOON

The text was published in *SLTN,* No. 35; the transliteration, translation, and a very brief commentary were published in *PAPS,* Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 497-99.

(The beginning of this Dumuzi-Inanna myth is fragmentary, and little can be made of its contents; it seems to begin with an account of a marriage ceremony, and continues with an address of obscure meaning in the Emesal dialect by a female deity, presumably Inanna. The narrative seems to begin again with col. i 20, but

[7] For the ***durgar*** genre of poetic compositions cf. line 620 of Proto Lu, Landsberger manuscript as completed by M. Civil.
[8] The subscription contained in line 47 is unique, as far as I know.

[1] "Ribbons" attempts to render n i g - s a l - l a, perhaps literally "narrow things."
[2] "Eardrops" attempts to render i g - s u - u b - a g - a, "that which presses."
[8] The objects mentioned in lines 18 and 19 cannot be identified from the literal meaning of the descriptive phrases used for them.

[4] The meaning of lines 32 and 33 is obscure.
[6] The rendering "house" (lines 37 ff.) assumes that m a is a variant reading for g £, a synonym of 6 "house."

it is not until line 25 that the text becomes intelligible, we then learn that Dumuzi has come to Inanna's house with gifts of fat, milk, and beer, and pleads for admittance [col. i 25-31].)

The shepherd carried fat *by* hand,
Dumuzi carried fat (and) milk at the side,
He carried fat (and) milk in small pitchers at the side,
He carried milk (and) beer in ... at the side,
M[y lord] speaks by the house,
Dumuzi . . . :
"Open the [house], my queen, [open] the house. . .

(Following a break of uncertain size, we find Inanna going for advice to her mother who urges her strongly to "open the house" for Dumuzi since he will be like a father and mother to her [col. ii 1-11]. Whereupon Inanna prepared herself to meet Dumuzi as befits a Sumerian queenly bride, washing, anointing and bedecking herself, and not failing to take along her dowry and seal [col. ii 12-17]; she opens the door for Dumuzi and they embrace and cohabit [col. ii 18-22].)

The hierodule . . .
Directed her feet to the mother who gave birth to her.
"Your
Lo, the *youth* . . . ,
L[o, the you]th . . . ,
Lo, the [youth], he . . . for you,
Lo, the youth, he is your father,
Lo, the youth, he is your mother,
His mother has . . . like your mother,
His father has .. . you like your father,
Open the house, my queen, open the house."
Inanna, at the command of her mother,
Bathed, anointed herself with goodly oil,
Covered her body with the noble /»«/«-garment,
Took . . ., her dowry,
Arranged the lapis lazuli about (her) neck,
Grasped (her) seal in her hand.

The lady directed her step,
Opened the door *for* Dumuzi,
*In* the house she came forth to him like the light of the moon,
Gazed at him, rejoiced for him,
Embraced him . . . .

(Following another break in the text we find Dumuzi addressing Inanna and inviting her to accompany him to his god's house where she will be treated with great honor [col. iii 8-13].)

The shepherd Dumuzi says to his wife:
"My wife, . . . his coming forth
Inanna, . . . the house of my god,
I will bring you to the house of my god,
You will lie before my god,
You, *inanna* will sit at the seat of honor of my god."

(What follows then is entirely obscure since the remainder of col. iii and much of col. iv are largely destroyed, except for a passage in which Dumuzi is addressing some individual or deity whom he is placing in charge over a city described as an "assembly" city, with instructions to refrain from certain actions (presumably) harmful to his wife, [col. iv 6-17].)

It is an [assembly city], your city is an assembly city,
I have put you in charge over the assembly *city,*
Your city . . . it is an assembly city,
I have put you in charge . . . ,
I did not put my mother . . . in charge of it,
I did not put [my] brother . . . in charge of it,
I did not put my sister Geshtinanna in charge of it,
It is you . .. whom I have put in charge of it.
Do not lay a hand on my wife,
Do not . . . ,
Do not build . . . ,
Do not . . . ,

## THE ECSTASY OF LOVE

The formal structure of this tender and ardent love song is rather unusual It consists of two soliloquies by the goddess separated from each other by a brief tete-i-tete between the goddess and her lover Dumuzi; the first soliloquy and its ensuing tete-a-tete make up the first stanza, designated by the scribe as a *sagidda,* while the second soliloquy takes up the entire second stanza, designated by the scribe as a *sagarra.* In Inanna's first soliloquy (obv. lines 1-8), the goddess relates that one night, while she was innocently singing and dancing about, presumably in heaven, Dumuzi met her, held her hand, and embraced her. There follows a brief dialogue between them consisting of Inanna's plea (obv. lines 9-12) to Dumuzi to let go of her since on coming home she will have to deceive her mother and she does not know how, and Dumuzi's suggestion (obv. lines 13-22) to tell her mother that she whiled away the hours with a girl friend in the public square, an excuse that will enable them to spend the night making love by the moonlight The extant part of Inanna's second soliloquy which is rather elliptical and allusive, begins with an exulting pronouncement of her arrival at the "gate" of her mother Ningal accompanied by Dumuzi who "will say the word" to her, that is, no doubt, ask for her daughter's hand (rev. lines 4-13); it concludes with an ecstatic eulogy of her husband-to-be and the fertility insured by their sacred marriage (rev. lines 14-21).

For a transliteration and translation of the text which was published in *TuMNF,* 111, No. 25, cf. *PAPS,* Vol 107, No. 6, pp. 499-501.

(obverse)

Last night, as I, the queen, was shining bright,
Last night, as I, the queen of heaven, was shining bright,
As I was shining bright, as I was dancing about,
As I was uttering a song at the brightening of the *oncoming* night,
He met me, he met me,
The Lord Kuli-Anna[1] met me,

[1] **Starting with this line, we find Dumuzi called by different names,**

The lord put his hand into my hand,
Ushumgalanna embraced me.

*"Come now*,[2] wild bull, set me free, I must go home,
Kuli-Enlil, set me free, I must go home,
What shall I say to deceive my mother!
What shall I say to deceive my mother Ningal!"

"Let me inform you, let me inform you.
Inanna, most deceitful of women, let me inform you:*
'My girl friend took me with her to the public square,
She *entertained me* there with *music* and dancing,[4]
Her chant, the sweet, she sang for me.
In sweet rejoicing I whiled away the time there'—
Thus deceitfully stand up to your mother,
While we by the moonlight indulge (our) passion,[6]
I will [prepare] for you a bed pure, sweet, (and) noble,
Will while away the sweet *time* with you in joyful fulfillment."

It is a *sagidda.*

(remainder of the obverse and first three lines of reverse destroyed)

(reverse)

I have come to our[8] mother's gate,
I, in joy I walk,
I have come to Ningal's gate,
I, in joy I walk.
To my mother he will say the word,
He will sprinkle cypress oil on the ground,
To my mother Ningal he will say the word,
He will sprinkle cypress oil on the ground,
He whose dwelling is fragrant,
Whose word brings deep joy.

My lord is seemly *for* the holy lap,
Amaushumgalanna, the son-in-law of Sin,
The lord Dumuzi is seemly *for* the holy lap,
Amaushumgalanna, the son-in-law of Sin.
My lord, sweet is your increase,
Tasty your plants (and) herbs in the plain,
Amaushumgalanna, sweet is your increase,
Tasty your plants (and) herbs in the plain.

It is a *sagarra.* A *tigi*-song of Inanna.

**thus: Kuli-Anna (line 6), Ushumgalanna (line 8), Kuli-Enlil (line 10), and Amaushumgalanna (lines 15, 17, 20).**

**[2] "Come now" for m e - a is a guess based on the context.**

**[8] To judge from this line Inanna had a long-standing reputation for deceit, a fact which might be surmised from Gilgamesh's characterization of the goddess in Tablet VI of the Akkadian Epic of Gilgamesh.**

**[4] The meaning of this line is quite uncertain and the translation is highly dubious.**

**[6] 'Indulge (our) passion" attempts to render e - n e - s u - u d - b i - d a - e, a complex (or perhaps two complexes) which is difficult to analyze grammatically.**

**® It is difficult to see why the poet uses - m e, "our," instead of - m u, "mine."**

# Inanna and the King

## BLESSING ON THE WEDDING NIGHT

This poem is an epithalamion in the Emesal dialect which is in some respects a companion piece to the last stanza of the Inanna hymn that celebrates the *hieros-gamos* between King Iddin-Dagan and the goddess. The poet begins with an address, probably to the goddess Inanna, informing her that Gibil had purified for her "the great shrine" in her Eanna temple, and that the king had erected an altar and carried out the lustration rites for her (col. i 1-12); this is followed by a prayer that in the evening when "the day had gone to sleep," and it was time for the goddess "to caress the lord" in the favored sleeping place, she should give the king life and the staff and crook (col. i lines 13-17). The poet then sings of the preparation of the "sleeping place" of kingship and queenship which "rejoices the heart" and "sweetens the lap" (col. i lines 18-31). After a break we find Inanna speaking to the king(?) "words of life, words of long days" (col. ii lines 1-3). Following which Ninshubur takes him by his right forearm(?), leads him to Inanna's lap, and asks her to bless him with everything essential for the well-being of the king and his people: a good reign, a firmly founded throne, a well-governing scepter, a staff and crook for the control of Sumer and Akkad and the lands beyond (col. ii lines 4-18); she should grant him, too, that "he (the king) like a farmer set the fields in order, like a faithful shepherd multiply the sheepfolds" (coL ii lines 19-20); and that under his reign, the land should have all it need: plants and grains, overflow by the rivers, late grain in the fields, fish and birds in the marshes, fresh and mature reeds in the canebrake, *mashgur-**tre.es*** in the plains, deer and wild-goats in the forest, honey and wine in the well-watered gardens, vegetables in the trenches (between the furrows), long life in the palace, high water brought by the Tigris and Euphrates to make verdant their banks and watered acres, grain heaps and mounds piled high by the goddess Nidaba (col. ii line 18-col. iii line 4). Following a further request by Ninshubur that the king be allowed to spend a long time in Inanna's lap (col. iii lines 5-6), the king proceeds with "lifted head" to the lap of Inanna and is embraced by her (col. iii lines 7-12).

The text of this composition was published in *CT,* **XII**, No. 4. The transliteration and translation by the writer is published in *PAPS,* Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 501-03.

(col. i)

u

. . . ,
Of the house of Eridu—its guidance,
Of the house of Sin—its radiance,
Of the Eanna—its *habitation;*
The house—it has been presented (to you).
(In) my enduring house which floats like a cloud,
(Whose) name in truth, is a goodly vision,
(Where) a fruitful bed, lapis-bedecked,
Gibil had purified for you in the great shrine,
He who is well-suited for 'queenship,'
The lord has *erected* his *altar,*
In his *reed-filled* house which he has purified for you, he performs your rites.

The sun has gone to sleep, the day has *passed,*
As in bed you gaze (lovingly) upon him,
As you caress the lord,
Give life unto the lord,
Give the staff and crook unto the lord."

She craves it, she craves it, she craves the bed,
She craves the bed of the rejoicing heart, she craves the bed,
She craves the bed of the sweet lap, she craves the bed, (20)
She craves the bed of kingship, she craves the bed,
She craves the bed of queenship, she craves the bed.
By his sweet, by his sweet, by his sweet bed,
By his sweet bed of the rejoicing heart, by his sweet bed,
By his sweet bed of the sweet lap, by his sweet bed,
By his sweet bed of kingship, by his sweet bed,
By his sweet bed of queenship, by his sweet bed,
He covers [the bed] . . . for her, covers the bed for her,
He covers [the bed] . . . for her, covers the bed for her. (30-31)

(col. ii)

[To] the k[ing] . . . ,
The *beloved* speaks on his sweet bed,
Speaks to him words of life, words of "long days."

Ninshubur, the trustworthy vizier of the Eanna,
Took him by his right *forearm,*
Brought him blissfully to the lap of Inanna:
"May the lord whom you have called to (your) heart,
The king, your beloved husband, enjoy long days at your holy lap, the sweet,
Give him a reign favorable (and) glorious,
Give him the throne of kingship on its enduring foundation, (10)
Give him the people-directing scepter, the staff (and) the crook,
Give him an enduring crown, a diadem which *ennobles* the head,
From (where) the sun rises, to (where) the sun sets,
From south to north,
From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea,
From (where grows) the *halub*-tree to (where grows) the cedar,
Over all Sumer and Akkad give him the staff (and) the crook,
May he exercise the shepherdship of the blackheads (wherever) they dwell,
May he make productive the fields like the farmer,
May he multiply the sheepfolds like a trustworthy shepherd. (20)

Under his reign may there be plants, may there be grain,
At the river, may there be overflow,
In the field may there be late-grain,
In the marshland may the fish (and) birds make much *chatter,*
In the canebrake may the 'old' reeds, the young reeds grow high,
In the steppe may the *mashgur-trees* grow high,
In the forests may the deer and the wild goats multiply,
May the watered garden produce honey (and) wine,
In the trenches may the lettuce and cress grow high,
In the palace may there be long life, (30)

(col. iii)

Into the Tigris and Euphrates may flood water be brought,
On their banks may the grass grow high, may the meadows be covered,
May the holy queen of vegetation pile high the grain heaps and mounds,
Oh my queen, queen of the universe, the queen who encompasses the universe,
May he enjoy long days [at your holy] lap."

The king goes with lifted head [to the holy lap],
He goes with lifted head to [the holy] lap [of Inanna],
The king going with [lifted head],
Going to my queen with lifted head, (10)
From . . . ,
Embraces the hierodule . . . .

# Dumuzi and Inanna

## PRAYER FOR WATER AND BREAD

This rather obscure and heterogeneous composition designated as a sir-nam-sub 'inanna-kam,[1] is divided into four sections of uneven length. In the first, which consists entirely of a monologue by Inanna (lines 1-18), the goddess speaks of journeying to the Abzu, and to Eridu and its shrines and gods, bringing with her animals and trees. The second section, too, is a monologue by Inanna (lines 19-35), in it the goddess tells of her bringing water (probably) to the marshland, and boasts of her prowess in battle and of uttering a challenge to Utu, Nanna, and Sud. The third section (lines 36-47) seems to be a narrative passage concerned primarily with the Euphrates, whither Enki, Damgalnunna and Asarluhi had gone, presumably with Inanna, and where Enlil was eating and drinking.[2] The fourth section (lines 48-77), obscure as it is, is of significance for the Dumuzi-Inanna marriage ceremony. Following what seems to be a brief soliloquy by Inanna, concerned with the preparation of a marriage bed, presumably by the king (lines 48-51), the "linen wearers" address the king, before whom food and drink had been placed, as Dumuzi, announce to him in riddle-like phrases the presence of Inanna, and invite him to approach the goddess, as well as the place in the ^/«r-shrine where Enlil seems to have been stationed (lines 52-65). Inanna then seems to pronounce a prayer for the life and rule of the king (lines 66-69). The composition closes with a plea to Inanna, perhaps by the king himself, to give him her breast from which he will drink as a symbol of the fertility of the land (lines 70-77).[8]

[1] For this rubric cf. Falkenstein, ***ZA,*** **XLIX,** 86, note 4.

[2] The real meaning and implication of this section are quite obscure, and it is difficult to relate it to what precedes and follows.

[8] The assumed shift of speakers in this passage (Inanna for lines 48-51, the "linen-weavers" for lines 56-65, Inanna for lines 66-69, the king for lines 70-77) is far from assured.

The text has been published in *CT,* XVII, No. 13; the transliteration and translation are published in *PAPS,* Vol 107, No. pp. 5°3-<>5·

When I proceeded, when I proceeded,
. . . ,
When I, the queen, proceeded to the Abzu,
When I, the queen of heaven, proceeded to the Abzu,
When I proceeded to the Abzu, the princely house,
When I proceeded to Eridu, the goodly,
When I proceeded to the *E-Engurra,*
When I proceeded to Enlil's house, Eanna,[4]
When I proceeded to . . . ,
When I proceeded to the large jars reaching heavenward,
When I proceeded to the . . . jars . . . by the pure . . . ,
When I proceeded to the . . . ,
When I proceeded to Enki who . . . ,
When I proceeded to Damgalnunna who . . . ,
When I proceeded to Asarluhi who . . . ,
I brought along a dog, brought along a *lion,*
I brought along boxwood, brought along *halub*-wood,
I, the queen of heaven *too\ along* the light winds.

When I go forward, when I go forward,
As one who brings forth water, I come, as one who brings forth water, I come.
[I] the queen, as I proceed to the marshland,
Of the marshland as its . . . , I come.
When I proceeded to the "mouth" of the battle,
As one who brings forth its brightest light, I come.
When I proceeded to the front of the battle,
As one who brings forth its brightest light, I come.
When I take my stand at the rear of the battle,
As one who . . . , I come.
When I enter Enlil's house,
As its outstanding "woman of the *ur*," I come.
I uttered angry words against the foreign lands,
Seated my husband before me,
Uttered a challenge *in* the house of the *gods,*
Uttered a challenge against Utu, against Nanna,
Uttered a challenge against Sud . . . .

The river, the river—good like the vast river, like the . . . , good like the city—there is nothing so good,
The river, the princely river—(good) like the vast river,
The river, the Euphrates—(good) like the vast river
The . . . o/ the Euphrates—(good) like the vast river,
. . . ,
. . . who . . . *li\e* . . . ,
Good like the . . . , good like the city, there is nothing as good,

[4] The Eanna of Enlil seems to refer to a shrine located in Eridu, not in Erech.

Like when Enki, the wild bull of Eridu has come with her,
[Like] when the queen of the noble house, Damgalnunna has come with her,
Like when Asarluhi the son of Eridu has come,
Like when Enlil has eaten, has drunk,
Good like the . . . , good like the city—there is nothing so good.
"... is *in* my heart,
(When I had proceeded) to the . . - ,
(When I had proceeded) to the . . . ,
Its lord prepared a *fresh* fruitful bed in the midst of the house."

In Eanna the "linen-wearers" prepared an altar for him,
Water was placed (there) for the lord, they speak to him,
Bread was placed (there), they speak to him,
He was refreshed in the palace, they speak to him:
"Dumuzi, radiant, in the palace (and) on earth,
Mother Inanna, mother Inanna, your (treasure) heap, your (treasure) heap,
Mother Inanna, goddess of heaven, your garment, your garment,
Your black garment, your white garment,
Oh my lord who has come to the house—approach her,
Approach her with a chant, a heart (moving) melody,
Approach their . . . , the . . . where they are seated,
Approach their place, the place where they are standing,
(Where) they have stationed, they have stationed,
(Where) they have stationed Enlil in the Kiur."

"Oh wild bull, 'eye' of the land,
I would *fulfill* all its *needs,*
Would make its lord carry out justice in the princely house,
Would make its seed . . . justice in the palace."

"Oh lady, your breast is your field,
Inanna, your breast is your field,
Your wide field which 'pours out' plants,
Your wide field which 'pours out' grain,
Water flowing from on high—(for) the lord—bread from on high,
Water flowing, flowing from on high—(for) the lord—bread, bread from on high,
*Pour*\ out for the 'commanded' lord,
I will drink it from you."

A *nam-!ub-song* of Inanna.

## PROSPERITY IN THE PALACE

The contents of this myth, inscribed on a four-column tablet of which little more than half is preserved, may be tentatively sketched as follows: The text begins with a long monologue by

Inanna in which, following a fragmentary, obscure passage (col. i lines 1-21), she proceeds to recount her appointment of Dumuzi to die "godship" of Sumer, her bridal preparations for the ensuing marriage, and the singing and rejoicing which accompanied their union (col. i line 22-col. ii line 9). The text as well as the transliteration and the translation was published in *PAPS,* Vol 107, No. 6, pp. 505-08.

(col. i)

"I gazed on all the people,
Called Dumuzi to the godship of the Land.
Dumuzi, the beloved of Enlil,
My mother holds ever dear,
My father *exalts* him.
I bathed, scoured myself with soap,
(And) after putting a linen cloth over the (freshly) bathed *s\in,*
I arranged my garments as the garments of power,
I make fast for him the noble pa/a-garment,
. . . ,
Toward the . . . ,

(col. ii)

The *queen* . . . ,
. . . the *house* . . . lapis lazuli . . . ,
My *house* (and) shrine in *prayer* . . . ,
In holy prayer, . . . ,
I am . . . the queen of heaven,
The *gala* chants there (his) song,
The singer brings (his) . . . hymn,
The bridegroom [rejoices] by my side,
The wild bull Dumuzi *[rejoices]* by my side."

(The text continues with a brief and fragmentary narrative passage ending with a statement by the poet that Inanna composed a song to her vulva [col. ii lines 10-17]).

Who has . . . ,
The little . . . ,
. . . Nippur . . . ,
. . . the son of . . . ,
The . . . , the queen . . . *ex[alts* him],
The *gala* [chants there] (his) song,
Inanna exa[lts] him,
*[Composes]* a song about her vulva:

(The song itself follows: Inanna compares her vulva to, among other things, fallow land, a field, and a hillock, and ends by asking who will plow it for her [col. ii lines 18-28]).

"The vulva it is . . . ,
Like a horn it . . . at the large wagon,
It is the 'Boat of Heaven,' fastening ropes . . .,
Like the new crescent, passion . . . ,
It is fallow land, in the plain . . .,
It is a *field,* which the «z-bird . . . the «z-bird,
It is a *high field,* my .. .,
As for *me,* my vulva is a . . . hillock, —*for me,*
I, the maid, who will be its plower?
My vulva is . . . wet ground *for me,*
I, the queen, who will station there the ox?"

(To this query comes the answer given probably by Dumuzi himself, that it is he, the king Dumuzi, who will plow it for her, and, accordingly, in the very next line Inanna urges him to do so [col. ii lines 29-31]).

"Lady, the king will plow it for you,
Dumuzi, the king, will plow it for you."
"Plow my vulva, my sweetheart."

(Following another fragmentary passage pertaining to the sexual union of the couple comes a detailed description of the ensuing vegetation [col. ii line 31-col. iii line 11]).

[Inanna] bathed (her) holy lap,
The queen of the palace, the holy .. . .

(about 11 lines destroyed)

(col. iii)

At the lap of the king, the high-standing cedar . . . ,
The plants stood high by (his) side, the grain stood high by (his) side,
The . . . garden flourished luxuriantly by his side.

(After which, Inanna, now dwelling joyfully by Dumuzi's side in the palace, "the house of life," utters a plea to the king to supply her with rich fresh milk, cheese, and cream, and makes him the reassuring promise, reiterated again and again, that she will watch over and preserve the palace and its prosperity [col. iii line 12-col. iv line 18]).

(col. iii)

In the house of life, the house of the king,
His wife dwelt by (his) side in joy,
In the house of life, the house of the king,
Inanna dwelt by (his) side in joy.
Inanna rejoicing in his house,
Utters a plea to the king:
"Make yellow the milk for me, my bridegroom, make yellow the milk [for me],
My bridegroom, I will [drink] with you the fresh milk.
Wild bull Dumuzi, make yellow the milk for me,
My bridegroom, I will [drink with you] the *fresh* milk.
The milk of the goat [make *flow* in] the sheepfold for me,
With the . . . cheese *fill* my holy churn,
Dumuzi, the milk . . . , the . . . 'cheese of heaven,'
Of the . . . 'cheese of heaven,' its milk . . . ,
Its cream is good beer . . . ,
Lord Dumuzi, I will [drink] with you the *fresh* milk.

My husband, the goodly storehouse, the *sheepfold . . . ,*
I, Inanna, will preserve for you,
I will [watch] over your house of life.
The brilliant, the place which enraptures the Land,
The house where the fate of all the lands is decreed,
Where the breath of life is ordained for the people,
I, the queen of the palace, will preserve it for you,
I will watch over your house of life.
The house of life, the storehouse which gives long life,

(col. iv)

[I, Inanna will] preserve [for you],
[I will watch over your house of life."]

(four lines destroyed)

The heart____,
The house .. .,
Ningal speaks up with authority (saying):
"I will give you life unto distant days;
Dumuzi, the desire and love of Inanna,
I will preserve it for you,
I will watch over your house of life.
The house whose awesomeness covers the land,
The house in whose midst are the holy rites,
The house whose . . . are most becoming,
. . . with cream, beer, cheese, (and) fat,
. . . I will station for you there."

(The myth ends with what is probably a narrative passage, but the text is fragmentary and unintelligible.)

## "Lettuce Is My Hair"

### A LOVE-SONG FOR SHU-SIN

This text consists of a song purportedly chanted by a *lu\ur*-priestess[1] in connection with the *hieros-gamos* between Shu-Sin, in the role of Dumuzi, and the goddess Inanna, whom she may have represented in the ceremony.[2] The hierodule first sings of her lettuceMike hair that seemed to have been especially set for the occasion (lines 1-8). She then sings of her coming before Shu-Sin, himself,[4] but unfortunately this passage is largely destroyed (lines 9 ff.). She concludes with an ecstatic and loving invocation of the king ending in a wishful blessing for his life (lines 18-22).®

The text, transliteration and translation have been published in ***PAPS***, Vol. 107, No. 6, p. 508 and Fig. 5.

My hair is lettuce, *[planted]* by the water,
It is £«^a/-lettuce, *[planted]* by the water,
Its ••tis···^
My nurse has . . . high,
Has made my hair *into* a . . .,
Has piled up its small *locks,*
My *attendant* arranges it,
The *attendant* (arranges) my hair which is lettuce, the most favored of plants.
The brother brought me into his life-giving *gaze,*
Shu-Sin has called me to (his) refreshing . . .,
. . . without *[end],*

(about 5 lines destroyed)

You are our lord, you are our lord,
Silver (and) lapis lazuli—you are our lord,
Farmer who makes the grain stand high,—you are our lord,
For him who is the honey of my eye, who is the lettuce of my heart,
May the days of life come forth, [may] my Shu-Sin. . ..
It is a *balbale* of Inanna.

## "Life Is Your Coming"

### THE KING AS BROTHER AND SON-IN-LAW

This poem seems to be a song chanted by a chorus of *\u\ur*-priestesses to Shu-Sin,[1] probably on the occasion of a *hieros-gamos* celebration. It begins with a passage consisting primarily of a series of epithets of the king, some of which, such as "the *ensi* of the *magur*-boat," and "the *nubanda* of the chariot," are rather unusual and unexpected (lines 1-12). The remainder of the song (lines 13-16) is a jubilant invocation to the king as the bridegroom bringing life and abundance to the "house."

The texts from which this poem was pieced together were published in ***UET,*** vi, Part 2, No. 122, and in ***PAPS,*** Vol. 107, No. 6, Figs. 5 and 9; the transliteration and translation were published in ***PAPS,*** Vol. 107, No. ***6,*** p. 510.

• . . .

The *heart* of . . . ,
You are our brother, [you are our] . . . ,
[You are] the . . . brother of the palace,
You are our *ensi*[2] of the *magur-boat,*
You are our *nubanda*[3] of the chariot,
You are our . . . of the . . . chariot,
You are our city father and judge,
You are the son-in-law of our father,
Brother, you are the son-in-law of our father[4]
You are our most prominent of the sons-in-law,
Our mother[5] provides you with all that is good.

Your coming is life,
Your entering the house is abundance,

[1] For this priestess, cf. the introduction to "Love Song to a King," p. 496.
[2] For the ***hieros-gamos*** ceremony, cf. ***PAPS,*** Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 489-90.
[3] The comparison of hair with lettuce may have had "fertility" significance.
[4] Note the designation of Shu-Sin, the husband-to-be as "brother."
[5] Note the rather extravagant imagery in the description of Shu-Sin as "silver (and) lapis lazuli" (line 19).

[1] Note, however, that the king's name is not mentioned in the text.
[2] The title ***ensi*** usually refers to the governor of a city.
[3] The title ***nubanda*** usually designates a high palace official.
[4] "Father" in this and the following line may refer to the god Nanna-Sin, if the singers are speaking for Inanna, who was his daughter.
[5] "Our mother" may refer to Ningal, the wife of Nanna-Sin, and mother of Inanna.

Lying with you is the greatest joy,
My sweet ....
It is a *balbale* of Inanna.

# "The Honey-man"

## LOVE-SONG TO A KING

This song, too,[1] was no doubt chanted by a /«^«r-priestess[2] in connection with the ***hieros-gamos,*** although the name of the participating king is not mentioned in the text. Instead, he is described in sensuous, concrete, fertility imagery: he is lettuce planted by the water, a well-stocked garden, luxuriant grain in the furrow, a fruit-bearing apple tree, and above all, a "honey-man" who sweetens her body, or rather that of the goddess Inanna whom she represents. Structurally, the poem may be divided into three parts: (i) an initial four-line strophe characterized by "vegetation" symbolism and an identical refrain for three of its lines; (2) a four-line "honeyman" strophe with an identical refrain for three of its lines; (3) a summary two-line strophe ending in the refrain characteristic of the first strophe.

The text was pieced together from tablets published in *TRS,* xv, No. 20, and *UET,* vi, Part 1, No. 121. A transliteration and translation were published in *PAPS,* Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 508-09.

He has *sprouted*, he has *burgeoned*, he is lettuce *planted by* the water,
*My* well-stocked garden of the . . . plain, my favored of the *womb,*
My grain luxuriant in its furrow—he is lettuce *planted by* the water,
My apple tree which bears fruit up to (its) top—he is lettuce *planted by* the water.

The "honey-man," the "honey-man" sweetens me ever,
My lord, the "honey-man" of the gods, my favored of the *womb,*
Whose hand is honey, whose foot is honey, sweetens me ever.
Whose limbs are honey sweet, sweetens me ever.

My sweetener of the . . . *navel*, [my favored of the *womb],*
My . . . of the fair thighs, he is lettuce [*planted by* the water]. (10)
It is a *balbale* of Inanna.[8]

[1] cf. "Lettuce is my Hair: A Love-Song for Shu-Sin," p. 644.
[2] Note, however, the rather surprising fact that it is not written in the Emesal dialect.
[8] The text actually reads "they are two ***balbale*** of Inanna," since one of the tablets was inscribed with another poem (not translated here).

# "Set Me Free, My Sister"

## THE SATED LOVER

As far as can be determined at present, the extant part of this poem consists of several speeches. Lines 21-22 end an address to Inanna by some female deity[1] informing her of some of the virtues and prerogatives presented to her. This is followed by a soliloquy on the part of Inanna reminiscent of "Inanna and Dumuzi: The Ecstasy of Love"[2] in which she chants of meeting her beloved, further designated here as "brother," and "my brother of fairest face,"[8] and uniting with him in love so much so that he became "sated" (lines 23-34). The remainder of the poem (lines 35-38) consists of the lover's plea to Inanna, to "set him free," so that he can return with her to the palace where she will be treated as a "young daughter" by the father.[4]

A transliteration and translation of the poem, as well as the texts on which it is based, were published in *PAPS,* Vol. 107, No. 6, pp. 509-10, and Figs. 6, 7, and 8.

"..., sweet allure,
My holy Inanna, I presented to you."

"As ... the beloved of my eye,
My beloved met me,
Took his pleasure of me, rejoiced *together* with me.
The brother brought me to his house
Made me lie on its ... honey bed,
My precious sweet, having lain by my heart,
In unison, the 'tongue-making' in unison,
My brother of fairest face, made 50 times. (30)
I ... for him like a *weakling,*
I set it up for him in the .. . together with ... from the earth,
My brother who ... in his anger,
My precious sweet is sated with me."

"Set me free, my sister, set me free,
Come, my beloved sister, I would go to the palace,
You will be a little daughter before my father,
I will set free for you .. . ."

It is a *balbale* of Inanna.

[1] Judging from the fact that it is written in the Emesal dialect.
[2] Cf. pp. 639-40.
[8] "Of fairest face" renders i-bi-Sags-Sags, a frequendy used epithet of Dumuzi.
[4] If, as is more than likely, it is Dumuzi speaking, the "father" would refer to Enki (cf. "Inanna and Dumuzi: Pride and Pedigree," pp. 637-38).

# Sumerian Miscellaneous Texts

TRANSLATOR: S. N. KRAMER

## The Curse of Agade

### THE EKUR AVENGED

This rather unusual "historiographic"[1] document, first composed (probably) about 2000 **B.C.**[2] by a Sumerian theologian-poet with a reflective and inventive turn of mind, is of significance for the history of religious thought. Its central theme concerns national catastrophe as a direct consequence of divine wrath kindled by a defiant act on the part of man. In the case of Sumer, the disastrous catastrophe came in the guise of a humiliating and destructive invasion by the barbarous, ruthless Gutians from the Zagros ranges, that brought confusion and anarchy in the land for about a century or so.[3] This cruel event preyed on the hearts and minds of the more thoughtful and literate of the Sumerians, and pressed for an explanation within the framework of the Sumerian world view. It is this need for a satisfying rationale which seems to have led to the composition of the document by a deeply religious poet[4] imbued with the conviction that it was the desecration of Sumer's holiest shrine by a bitter and defiant king which led to the calamity that overwhelmed the king's capital city and the land as a whole.

The culprit chiefly responsible for this catastrophe, according to our author, was Naram-Sin, the fourth king of the Dynasty of Akkad, that ruled from its capital, the still unlocated city of Agade. TTie founder of the dynasty was Sargon the Great, Naram-Sin's grandfather. According to our author, Sargon's rise to power was due to Enlil, the leading deity of the Sumerian pantheon, who turned over both the temporal and religious control of Sumer, after Kish and Erech, its two great political centers, had been destroyed by the angered god (lines 1-6).[5] But it was primarily the goddess Inanna who devoted all her efforts to make Agade a prosperous and affluent city whose sway over Sumer, and indeed over virtually the endre ancient world, was supreme and unchallenged, and especially so when Naram-Sin began his reign (lines 7-53).

But then, our author continues, Inanna, acting, it seems, in accordance with "the word of the Ekur," that is presiitnably, the word of Enlil,® abandoned her shrine Eulmash in Agade and turned inimical to the city (lines 54-65). At the same time some of the other gods—Ninurta, Utu, and Enki—deprived the city of the powers and endowments they had conferred upon it, and Agade became weak and impoverished (lines 66-84). At first Naram-Sin, according to our author,[7] accepted this cruel fate in humility and self-abasement, especially after he had a highly mysterious vision concerned with the Ekur (lines 85-90). But when after seven years of this contrite behavior, he sought an oracle from the Ekur in Nippur,[8] and was not granted his request his humility turned to defiance (lines 91-98). He mobilized his troops and proceeded to devastate the Ekur, desecrate its holy places, and despoil it of its possessions (lines 97-144).

But no sooner had he done so, our document continues, than the angered Enlil began to avenge the destruction of his beloved Ekur. He brought down from their mountain lairs, the Gutians, an uncivilized, uncontrollable, muldtudinous horde who spread over the land like swarming locusts, and brought about the suspension of all avenues of communication by land or sea (lines 145-169). Cities became desolate; fields and gardens were abandoned; famine raged, and death stalked the inhabitants of Sumer (lines 170-191). The land was filled with wailing, lamenting, hair-tearing, and bodily laceration, but Enlil turned a deaf ear to the people's suffering; he went into his cella, and laid himself down to sleep (lines 192-208). It was then that some of the great gods of Sumer[9] decided to mollify Enlil, and thus presumably save Sumer from total destruction,[10] by pronouncing a terrible oath against Agade, dooming her to a fate worse than that inflicted by her on Nippur: she would become a city deprived of all human friendship and filled with wailing and lamentation; all its holy places would be destroyed, and starvation and desolation would be rampant; she would become a place unfit for human habitation (lines 209-269). And, concludes our author, that is just what happened: Agade was destroyed, and became a desolate uninhabitable ruin.[11]

So much for the contents of this remarkable composition. Stylistically, the author depends primarily on cumulative parallelism for poetic effect; there is virtually no repetition of lines,

[1] "Historiographic" as here used, denotes a type of poetic narrative composition concerned with some significant historical event interpreted in a style and manner consonant with the Sumerian world view.

[2] The tablets themselves, like virtually all the Sumerian literary documents translated in this book, date from the 18th century B.C. But many of them are known to go back to the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur, when literature flourished throughout Sumer, especially in the ***edubbd***s, or academies of Ur and Nippur. There is no way of knowing just when the "Curse of Agade" was first composed, but it is hardly likely that it was more than a century or two after the reign of Naram-Sin.

[3] The Gutian catastrophe that overtook Sumer is a matter of substantiated historical record. What is uncertain is the time of the first significant Gutian incursion into Sumer, but scholars now tend to the opinion that it was towards the end of the reign of Naram-Sin (cf. Finkelstein's succinct summary in ***PAPS***, Vol. 107, No. 6, p. 467 and especially note 25 where the essential bibliographical references will be found).

[4] It is not unlikely that he was a product of the Nippur ***edubba*** established by Shulgi, the second ruler of the Third Dynasty of Ur (cf. my forthcoming "Shulgi of Ur: A Royal Hymn and a Divine Blessing" in ***JQR).***

[5] The reference here is probably to Sargon's victory over Ur-Zababa of Kish, and Lugalzaggesi, originally of Sumer who made Erech his capital (cf. S. N. Kramer, ***The Sumerians***, pp. 58 if.).

®The "word of Enlil" was often a harbinger of destruction, since it was Enlil (or the composite deity An-Enlil) who, according to the Sumerian theologians, carried out the decrees of the divine assembly to transfer the political power from one city to another, cf., e.g., Enlil's response to Nanna-Sin's plea for his city Ur in the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur," lines 361-372 (see pages 611-19).

[7] There is no way of knowing whether this assertion had any basis in fact, or whether, as seems more probable, it was sheer imagination on the part of the author.

[8] The city is not actually mentioned by name, but it seems hardly likely that "the house" and "the built house" of lines 93-94 refer to any other temple than the Ekur of Nippur.

[9] These "great gods" were Sin of Ur, Enki of Eridu, Inanna of Erech, Ninurta of Nippur, Ishkur of Ennigi, Utu of Larsa, Nidaba, the patron deity of writing, and Nusku, Enlil's vizier in the Ekur. But just why the author selected these, and only these deities to pronounce a curse against Agade, or why he listed them in that special order is not too clear. But note the fact that Nanna-Sin of Ur is first on the list, which may be taken as further proof that our document was first composed sometime during the Third Dynasty of Ur, when that city was the capital of Sumer.

[10] The deliverance of Sumer from the Gutians is nowhere referred to in the composition, but it is not unreasonable to surmise that this took place soon after the avenging of the Ekur and the destruction of Agade.

[11] The total destruction of Agade is confirmed by the fact that the city is not mentioned in any of the thousands of Ur III documents published to date.

the device so characteristic of Sumerian hymnography.[12] Nor does it make use of long speeches, static epithets, recurrent formulas, and other stylistic techniques that are earmarks of the Sumerian myth or epic tale. Next to parallelism, our poet's major poetic device is the simile. Similes of one kind or another are found in virtually all of the Sumerian literary works, but in "The Curse of Agade" they are used far more copiously and imaginatively than in most.[1*]

Fragments belonging to this composition began to be published as early as 1914. By 1944 close to a score of pieces inscribed with parts of the document had been copied and published, but its true character remained unrecognized, primarily because most of the pieces belonged to the first half of the composition. Since much of the available text spoke of the destruction, devastation, and desolation of Agade, it was taken to be a lamentation over the destruction of Agade, although its formal structure differed markedly from the typical Sumerian lamentation. In 1956, however, I had the opportunity of working in the Hilprecht Sammlung of the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena, where I identified seven pieces belonging to the composition; one of these was of very special importance, since it contained the last 138 lines, and thus made it possible to recognize the true nature of the composition.[14] The publication of this new material enabled the eminent Heidelberg cuneiformist, Adam Falkenstein to publish an excellent transliteration of the document based on all the published material.[18] There were still, however, quite a number of gaps and misreadings, and most of these could be filled in and corrected with the help of the still unpublished Nippur pieces which Adele Feigenbaum, a graduate student in the Department of Oriental Studies in the University Museum is now in the process of studying and copying as part of her dissertation for the degree of Ph.D. The translation here presented is based on the transliteration prepared by her for this purpose.

After the frowning forehead of Enlil
Had killed (the people of) Kish like the "Bull of Heaven,"[18]
After he had ground the house of Erech into dust, like a giant bull,
After in due time, to Sargon the king of Agade,
From below to above, Enlil
Had given him lordship and kingship,
Then did holy Inanna, the shrine of Agade,
Erect as her noble chamber,
In Ulmash did she set up a throne.

Like a "little fellow" building (his) house anew,
Like a young son, erecting the (wife's) chamber—
That everything be collected (safely) in the storehouses,
That their city be a firmly established dwelling place,
That its people eat "dependable" food,
That its people drink "dependable" water,
That the bathed "heads"[17] make the courtyards joyous,
That the people beautify the places of festivity,
That the men of the city "eat" in harmony,
That the outsiders scurry about like "unknown" birds,
That Marhashi be turned to *clay,*[1*]
That in future *days* the giant elephant,
(and) the *abzaza,*[19] the beasts of distant lands,
*Roam* about all together in the midst of (its) boulevards,
(Also) the "princely" dogs,[20] the Elamite dogs,
the "asses" of the mountain,[21] *long-haired* a/wm-sheep,
Inanna allowed herself no sleep.

In those days the dwelling of Agade were filled with gold,
Its bright-shining houses were filled with silver,
Into its granaries were brought copper, lead, (and) slabs of lapis lazuli,[22]
Its silos *bulged* at the sides,
Its old women were endowed with counsel,
Its old men were endowed with eloquence,
Its young men with endowed with the "strength of weapons,"

[12] **For two rare cases of the repetition pattern, cf. lines 93-96 and 224-225.**

[18] **Thus, to take only those that are reasonably certain and intelligible: The wrathful Enlil kills the people of Kish "like the Bull of Heaven" (lines 1-2), and grind» the house of Erech to dust "like a giant bull" (line 3). Inanna spends sleepless nights in order to insure the security and prosperity of Agade "like a second son erecting the (wife's) chamber (lines 10-24). King Naram-Sin steps forth on the holy dais of Agade "like the sun" (lines 40-41). The walls of Agade reach skyward "like a mountain" and its gates are opened by Inanna "like the Tigris emptying its waters into the sea" (lines 42-44). The submissive peoples carried their gifts to Inanna "like sack-carrying donkeys" (line 50). Inanna forsakes Agade "like a maiden forsaking her chamber," she goes forth belligerendy against her city "like a warrior hastening to (his) weapon" (lines 61-64). Naram-Sin abuses the Ekur "like a mighty man accustomed to high-handed (action)"; he shows contempt for its *giguna* "like a runner contemptuous of (his body's) strength"; he erects ladders against the walls of the house "like a bandit who plunders a city" (lines 101-106). The Ekur is destroyed "like a huge boat"; it is turned into dust "like a mountain mined for silver"; it is cut to pieces "like a mountain of lapis lazuli"; it is prostrated "like a city ravaged by Ishkur" (lines 107-110); it is fallen to the ground "like a man who had been killed in batde" (line 118); its copper lies piled up on the quay "like large (heaps of) grain (ready to be) carried away" (line 137). The Gutians cover the earth in vast numbers "like locusts" (line 157). The father who is still left in the death-ridden Agade moans "like a dove in its hole," thrashes about "like a swallow in its cranny," scurries about "like a dove in terror" (lines 218-226). The protecting genii stationed in the Ekur fall prostrate "like huge (fighting) men drunk with wine" (lines 228-229). The oxen of Nanna moan in the desolate city "like *ghosts* who roam the silent places (the cemeteries)" (lines 260-261).**

[14] **Cf. *HBS,* pp. 226-32.**

[15] **Cf. *ZA,* Lvn, 43-124, where the pertinent bibliographical details will also be found.**

[18] **For the role of the "Bull of Heaven" in Sumerian mythology, cf. last, Edzard, *Die Mythologie der Sumerer und Afyader,* p. 79. The "giant bull" in the following line may also refer to some mythological creature, but if so, no recognizable literary evidence pertaining to it has as yet been recognized.**

[17] **"Heads" may refer to devotees of the temple. The Sumerian *sag,* "head," has a wide semantic range; usually it means "slave," but it can also mean "man" in general. Note, too, the initial *sag* in *sag-ursag,* a complex that designates a class of castrated devotees in the service of Inanna, the goddess of love.**

[18] **Marhashi (also written Barhashi), was one of the more menacing enemies of the Agade Dynasty. The translation "into clay" is quite uncertain; there is a variant that reads 'Into the Bull of Heaven," which is altogether unintelligible at the moment.**

[10] **This is a word of uncertain meaning, perhaps it is the Indian humped bull.**

[20] **That is wild dogs perhaps used by princes for the chase. Note that the same "princely dogs" are mentioned in the "Golden Age" passage of "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" (cf., e.g., *HBS,* pp. 222-25 and note that the words "wild dog" in the third line of the passage on p. 222 should be corrected to read "princely dog") where the expression is parallel to "wolf."**

[21] **It is uncertain whether *anie-\ur-ra* is here to be taken literally as "ass of the mountain," or whether it has the meaning "horse" attributed to it in later days.**

[22] **That is, precious metals were so plentiful that even the granaries had to be utilized to store them instead of grain.**

Its little children were endowed with joyous hearts,
The nurse-raised children of the governors,
Played on the a/gwiwr-instruments,[28]
Inside, the city (was full of) ftgi-music,[24]
Outside it (was full of) reed-pipe (and)
*zam zam*-music,[28]
Its quay where the boats docked were all abustle,
All lands lived in security,
Their people witnessed (nothing but) happiness,
Their king Naram-Sin, the shepherd, (40)
Stepped forth like the sun on the holy dais of Agade,
Its walls reached skyward like a mountain,

The gates—like the Tigris emptying its water into the sea,
Holy Inanna opened its gates.
The Sumerians eagerly sailed (their) goods-(laden) boats
to it (Agade),
The Martu, (the people of) the lord that knows not
grain,
Brought her perfect oxen, perfect sheep,
The Meluhhaites, the people of the black land,[26]
Brought up to her the (exotic) wares of the foreign lands,
The Elamites (and) Subaraeans carried for her (all sorts
of) goods, like sack-carrying donkeys, (50)
Ensi's *sanga's*,[27]
The comptroller of the Guedinna[28]
Conduct their monthly and New Year gift (to Agade).

(But then) in the palace of Agade—what prostration!
Holy Inanna accepted not its gifts,
Like a princely son who . . . , she *shared* not its wealth,
The "word of the Ekur" was upon it like a (deathly)
silence,
Agade was all atremble,
The Ulmash was in terror,
She who had lived there, left the city, (60)
Like a maiden forsaking her chamber,
Holy Inanna forsook the shrine Agade,[29]
Like a warrior hastening to (his) weapon,
She went forth against the city in battle (and) combat,
She attacked as if it were a foe.

In days not five, in days not ten,
The *fillet* of lordship, the tiara of kingship,
Mansium, the throne given over to kingship,
Ninurta brought into his Eshumesha.[80]
Utu carried off the "eloquence" of the city, (70)
Enki *poured out* its wisdom.
Its awesomeness that had reached towards heaven,
An brought up to the midst of heaven,[81]
Its boats that had been carefully *caul\ed,*
Enki [brought down] into the Abzu,
Its weapons were ....
The shrine Agade ...
The city . . .,
Like a huge elephant...,
Like a huge bull...,
Like a fierce *ushumgal*-dragon . . . , (80)
Its battles were [decreed] a bitter fate,
The kingship of Agade was prostrated,
Its future is extremely unhappy,
At the "month house" the treasures lay scattered about.

(Then) Naram-Sin in a vision . . . ,
He kept it to himself,[82] put it not in speech,
spoke with nobody about it,
Because of the Ekur,[88] he dressed in sackcloth,
Covered his chariot with a boat-covering mat,
*Loaded* not his boat with . . . ,
Gave away everything desirable for Kingship. (90)

Seven years Naram-Sin remained firm,[84]
Who had ever seen that a king should "put hand on head
for seven years!"
(But then) seeking an oracle at the house,
In the "built" house there was no oracle,
Seeking an oracle a second time at the house,
In the "built" house there was no oracle.
(Whereupon) changing his line of *action,*
He defied the word of Enlil,
Crushed those who had submitted to him (Enlil),
Mobilized his troops, (100)
Like a mighty man *accustomed* to high-handed (action),
He put a restraining hand on the Ekur.
Like a runner *contemptuous* of (his body's) strength,
He treated the *giguna* like thirty shekels.[85]
Like a bandit who plunders a city,
He erected large ladders against the house.

To destroy the Ekur like a huge boat,
To turn it into dust like a mountain mined for silver,
To cut it to pieces like a mountain of lapis lazuli,

[28] For the ***algarsur*** musical instrument, see the ***CAD*** under its Akkadian equivalent ***algarsurru.***

[24] The //gi-music consisted of songs of joy and jubilation accompanied (probably) on the lyre; note that the ideogram for ***tigi*** is NAR.BALAG, that is a combination of "minstrel" and "lyre." For a different view, cf. Henrike Hartmann, ***Die Musik. der Sumerischen Kultur,*** p. 80 ff.

[23] For the ***zam-zam,*** cf. ***ibid.,*** p. 95 ff.

[28] This seems to point to the identification of Meluhha with Ethiopia, cf., e.g., S. N. Kramer, ***The Sumerians,*** p. 277 ff.

[27] The ***sanga's*** were high temple administrative officers.

[28] The Guedinna is probably the region mentioned frequendy in the Lagash-Umma wars, cf. S. N. Kramer, ***The Sumerians***, p. 54 ff.

[29] That is, presumably on marriage.

[30] Ninurta's temple in Nippur.

[81] That is, An kept the "awesomeness" of Agade in heaven so that it was no longer effective on earth.

[32] Literally: "He made it known (only) to his heart."

[88] Presumably, then, the vision had something to do with Enlil*· temple at Nippur.

[34] That is, presumably, in his pious and humble conduct.

[85] Treating anything "like thirty shekels" is a Sumerian cliche expression for showing contempt.

To prostrate it like a city, ravaged by Ishkur,[36] (no)
Against the house that was not a mountain
where cedar was felled,[37]
He forged great axes,
Sharpened[88] double-edged "axes of destruction,"
Fixed copper *spi\es* at the bottom of it,
Levelled it down to the "foundation" of the land,
Fixed axes at the top of it,
The house lay stretched "neck to ground," like a man who had been killed (in battle).
He tore up its /»«-trees,[89]
The raining dust rose sky high. (I2°)
He struck down its doorposts, cut off the vitality of the land,
At the "Gate of no Grain Cutting," he cut grain,
Grain was cut off from the "hand" of the land.[40]
Its "Gate of Peace" he broke down with the pickaxe,
Peace was estranged from the lands,[41]
(And) from the "noble" fields (and) acres of the wide ....

The Ekur—he *forged* its bronze *spikes* in (heaps of) firewood,
The people (now) saw its cella, the house that knew not light,
The Akkadian saw the holy vessels of the gods.[42]
Its great *lahama* of the *dubla*, who stood at the house,[43]
(130)
(Although) they were not among those who ate that which is tabu,[44]
Naram-Sin cast into the fire.
Cedar, cypress, *zabalum*-tree, and boxtree,
Its *giguna*-trees,[45] he *pulverized,*
Its gold he brought into ... *-bags,*
Its silver he brought into ... leather sacks,
Its copper he piled up on the quay like huge (heaps of) grain (ready to be) carried away,
Its silver was worked over by the silversmith,
Its precious stone was worked over by the jeweller,
Its copper was hammered by the smith. (H°)
(Although all these) were not the possessions of an attacking city,

He docked large boats at the quay by the house,
Docked large boats at the quay by the house of Enlil,
Carried off the possessions from the city,
(But with) the carrying off the possessions of the city,
Counsel departed from the city,
As the boats *too\ off* from the quay, the good sense of Agade turned to folly,
The . . . storm that . . . ,
The rampant Flood who knows no rival,
Enlil, because his beloved Ekur had been attacked,
what destruction he wrought! (I5°)
He lifted his eyes to the . . . -mountain,[4*]
*Mustered* the "wide" mountain as one.
The unsubmissive people, the land (whose people) is without number,
Gutium, the land that brooks no control,
Whose understanding is human, (but) whose form (and) *stuttering* words are that of a dog,
Enlil brought down from the mountain.
In vast numbers, like locusts, they covered the earth,
Their "arm" stretched out for him in the steppe like an *animal-trap,*
Nothing escaped their "arm,"
No one *eluded* their "arm." (160)
The herald took not to the road,
The (sea)-rider sailed not his boat along the river.
The . . . -goats of Enlil that broke out of their sheepfold —their shepherd made them follow him,
The cows that broke out of their stalls, their cowherd made them follow him.
On the *trees* of the *(river)-ban\s* watches were set up,
Brigands dwelt on the road.
In the gates of the land the doors stood (deep) in dust,
All the lands raised a bitter cry on their city walls
Furrows embedded the cities although (their) inside was not a steppe, (their) outside was not wide (open land).

After the cities had been built, after they had been struck down, (170)
The large fields (and) acres produced no grain,
The flooded acres produced no fish,
The watered gardens produced no honey (and) wine,
The heavy *clouds* brought not rain, there grew no *mashgur-Xxtt,*[47]
Then did half a *sila*[48] of oil equal one shekel,
Half a *sila* of grain—one shekel,
Half a *mina* of wool—one shekel,
One *ban* of fish—one shekel.

[38] That is by ravaging storms—Ishkur is the god of storms, cf. p. 578.
[87] "Felling cedars" is a modf known in Sumerian epic literature, cf., e.g., "Gilgamesh and the Land of the living (S. N. Kramer, ***The Sumerians,*** pp. 190!}.).
[38] "Sharpened" is a rendering based on the context.
[39] Virtually nothing is known about this tree.
[40] The meaning of this line is obscure.
[41] That is, the destruction of the "Gate of Peace" seemed to have been a signal for the breaking out of war everywhere.
[42] Note this most interesting statement implying that the Akkadians (that is the Semites as opposed to the Sumerians) were not allowed to enter the more sacred parts of the Ekur.
[48] The ***lahama*** were sculptured sea-monsters usually associated with the ***dubla,*** a part of the temple that, at least in Ur, was connected with "the gate of judgment."
[44] That is, they were innocent of wrongdoing.
[45] For the trees planted in the ***giguna,*** cf., e.g., ***CAD,*** s.v.

[48] The complex ***kur-gu-nE-na*** (variant ***\ur-gu-NE$^{ki}$-na)*** may perhaps contain the name of the mountain.
[47] Nothing is known of this tree except that it grew in the ***edin,*** "steppe."
[48] For the ***sila*** and ***mina,*** cf. S. N. Kramer, ***The Sumerians,*** p. 107; the ***ban*** (line 178) is equal to 10 ***sila.***

The *commodities* of their cities were bought up like good "words,"
Who slept on the roof died on the roof,
Who slept inside the house was not brought to burial,
The people droop helplessly because of their hunger.[49]

By the *fyur,* the "great place" of Enlil,
The cedar-cutter held back (his) speech in (deathly) *silence*™
In its *midst* men by *two's* were devoured,
In its . . . men by *three's* were devoured,
*Heads* were *crushed*, heads were . . . ,
Mouths were *crushed*, "heads" were turned to seeds,
The faithful *"slaves"* were changed into treacherous "slaves,"[61]
The valiant lay on top of the valiant,
The blood of the treacherous flowed over the blood of the faithful.

Then did Enlil, out of his immense shrine,
Make a small reed-shrine,
From sunrise to sunset its treasures decreased,
The old women who were cut off from the day,[52]
The old men who were cut off from the day,
The chief *galas,* who were cut off from the year,
For seven days, seven nights,
Like "the seven lyres standing at the horizon," followed him (Enlil) about,
Like Ishkur played for him the *shcm, mezi*, and *lilts.*[69]

The old women ceased not (crying) "Oh, my city,"
The old men ceased not (crying) "Oh, its men,"
The *gala's* ceased not (crying) "Oh, the Ekur,"
Its maidens ceased not tearing (their) hair
Its youths ceased not (their) maceration,
Their tears, the tears of the mothers and fathers of Enlil,[54]
They bring again and again in the awe-filled du\u[M] of holy Enlil.
Because of all this, Enlil entered (his) holy cella, lay down on (his) *atabba,*[56]
Then did Sin, Enki, Inanna, Ninurta, Ishkur, (and) Utu, the great gods,

They who soothe (and) *comfort* the heart of Enlil, utter a prayer to him:
"Oh, valiant Enlil, the city that has destroyed your city may it become like your city,
(The city) that has demolished your *giguna*$_y$ may it become like Nippur,
Of that city, may *s\ulls* fill its wells,
May no sympathizing friends[57] be found there,
May brother not recognize his brother,
May its maiden flagellate herself in her chamber,
May its father utter bitter cries in the house of his dead wife,
May he moan like a dove in its hole,
May he thrash about like a swallow in its cranny,
May he scurry about like a dove in terror."

A second time did Sin, Enki, Inanna, Ninurta, Ishkur, Utu, Nusku (and) Nidaba, the great gods,
Direct their face to the city,
Curse Agade with a baleful curse:
"City, you who dared assault the Ekur—it is Enlil (whom you assaulted),
Agade, you who dared assault the Ekur—it is Enlil (whom you assaulted),
At your holy wall, lofty as it is, may wailing resound,
May your *giguna* be heaped up like dust,
May your *lahama* that stand in the *dubla,*[58]
Lie prostrate like huge (fighting) men drunk with wine,
May your clay return to its Abzu,[59]
May it be clay cursed[60] by Enki,
May your grain return to its furrows,
May it be grain cursed by Ashnan,[61]
May your trees return to their forests,
May they become trees cursed by Ninildu,*[2]
May the oxen-slaughterer, slaughter (his) wife (instead),
May your sheep-butcher, butcher his child (instead),
May your poor hurl his *precious*[68] children into the water,
May the prostitute stretch herself out in the gate of her brother,
May your hierodule mother, your courtesan mothers give back (their) children,[64]
May your gold be sold as silver,
May your silver be sold as *zaha-mexa\?**
May your copper be sold as lead.

Agade, may your strong man be deprived of his strength,
May he not be able to lift a leather bag . . . ,

[49] The rendering "droop" is a guess based on the context; "helplessly" attempts to render ***nt-bi-a,*** "of their own accord."
[80] The meaning of the line and its implication are quite obscure.
[81] This line is identical with line 25 of the Enlil hymn (except for the initial "Father Enlil") on page 576.
[82] The implication of this and the five following lines is not dear.
[58] For what litde is known about these musical instruments, cf. now Henrike Hartman, ***Die Musif^ der Sumerischen Kultur***, pp. 91 ff.
[84] "The mothers and fathers of Enlil" are listed in several literary documents (cf. especially Van Dyk, ***SGL,*** 11, pp. 151 ff.); presumably they had all died and gone to the nether world, where they were lamenting their fate.
[55] The ***du\u*** of Enlil here seems to be located in Nippur; for further references to the ***duktt,*** cf. Edzard, ***"Wörterbuch der Mythologie***, p. 51.
[86] The complex ***ka-tab-ba*** used with the determinative for leather, means "halter"; when used with the determinative for "reed" it designates a type of basket; here it is used with the determinative for wood, and its meaning is uncertain.
[87] Literally "men who 'know' men."
[88] cf. note 43.
[89] Clay, according to the Sumerian view, originated in the Abzu.
[60] Literally "clay upon which an (evil) fate was decreed."
[61] Ashnan is the goddess of grain.
[62] Ninildu is the divine chief-carpenter.
[68] Perhaps literally "his children that were ***valued*** as silver."
[64] That is, they would be forced to return their adopted children; the hierodules and courtesans had no children of their own.
[68] The ra^a-metal is probably a low-grade silver.

May your *wrestler*[66] rejoice not in his strength, may he lie in 'darkness,'[67]
May famine kill (the people of) that city,
May the princely children who ate (only) the very best bread, lie about in the grass,
May your man who used to carry off the first *fruits,* eat the *scraps* of his tables,
The leather thongs of the door of his father's house,
May he munch these leather thongs with his teeth;
May your palace built in joy, fall to ruins in anguish,
May the evil ones, the ghosts of 'silent places'[68] howl (there) evermore;[69]
Over your *usga*-place[70] established for lustrations,
May the 'fox of the ruined mounds,' glide (his) tail;
In your great gates (firmly) established in the land,
May the '«^«^K-birds of anguished heart' set up (his) nest,
In your city where you (no longer) sleep to (the sound of) //gi-music,[71]
Where you (no longer) go to bed with a joyful heart,
May the oxen of Nanna, that (used to) fill the stalls,
Moan evermore like ghosts who roam the 'silent places';
May your canalboat towpaths grow (nothing but) tall grass,
May your wagon-roads grow (nothing but) the 'wailing-plant';
Moreover,[72] on your canalboat towpaths, the places where the channel is narrow,[78]
May no one walk among the wild goats, 'darting snakes of the mountain,'
May your steppe where grew the succulent plants,
Grow (nothing but) the 'reed of tears,'
Agade (instead of) your sweet-flowing water, may salt water flow (there),
May he who said 'I would sleep in that city,' not find a good dwelling there,
May he who said 'I would sleep in Agade,' not find a good sleeping place there."

(And) lo, with IJtu's bringing forth the day, so it came to pass!
Its canalboat[74] towpaths grew (nothing but) tall grass,
Its wagon-roads grew (nothing but) the "wailing-plant."
Moreover, on its canalboat towpaths, the places where the channel is narrow,
No one walks among the wild goats and darting snakes of the mountain,
Its steppe where grew the succulent plants,
Grew (nothing but) the "reed of tears."
Agade, (instead of) its sweet-flowing water, salt water flowed (there),
He who said, "I would dwell in that city," found not a good dwelling place there.
He who said, "I would sleep in Agade," found not a good sleeping place there,
Agade is destroyed! Praise Inanna.[78]

[66] This rendering is a guess based on the context.
[67] The implication of this phrase in the context is uncertain.
[68] The "silent places" probably refer to cemeteries.
[69] "Evermore" attempts to render the triplication of the root in the verb.
[70] The ***usga*** was a part of the temple where lustrations were carried out, cf., e.g., line **455** of the "Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur and Sumer" on p. **619;** for a different opinion cf. Falkenstein, ***ZA,*** LVII, **120-121.**
[71] For the ***tigi***-music cf. note **24.**
[72] Literally: "for a second time."
[78] Literally: "the places where the water is diminished in the river."
[74] The text actually has "your," but this is no doubt a scribal error.

# Ua-aua

## A SUMERIAN LULLABY

This composition, the only one of its kind thus far known from the Ancient Near East, probably consists entirely of a chant purported to be uttered by the wife of Shulgi,[1] the preeminent and long-lived ruler of the Third Dynasty of Ur, who seemed to have been anxious and troubled by the ill-health of one of her sons. Being a mother's lullaby, one might have expected her to address her words directly to die child. This is true, however, only of the greater part of die poem (cf. lines 6-11, 19-23, 39-63, 92-100). In the other preserved passages she seems to soliloquize about her son in the third person (cf. lines 1-5, 24-38, 64-91), and in one passage she addresses Sleep personified (lines 12-18): In detail the contents of the composition may be sketched as follows:

The poem begins with a rather wistful and wishful soliloquy in which the mother seems to reassure herself that as she envisions it in the very chant she is uttering, her son will grow big and sturdy (lines 1-5). She then seems to try to buoy up her son's spirit with the promise of care and oncoming sleep (lines 6-11). Having mentioned sleep, she addresses it directly and urges it to close her son's wakeful eyes as well as his babbling tongue (lines 12-18). She now turns again to her ailing son, and promises to provide him with the sweet little cheeses that will serve to heal him, who is none other than the son of Shulgi (lines 19-23). He will also eat her well-watered lettuce, she continues (lines 24-26). She now sees herself—again while uttering her chant—providing him with loving wife and beloved child nursed and tended by a joyous nursemaid (lines 27-38).

Now anxiety about the illness of her son begins to dominate her mood, and in her next soliloquy addressed directly to her son whom she seems to see in her troubled fancy as dead and mourned by professional mourners and crawling insects (lines 39-50). Following a fragmentary passage in which sleep is mentioned once again (lines 51-56), we find the mother blessing her son with a wife and son, abundance of grain, a good angel, a happy and joyous reign (lines 57-63). Following another fragmentary and obscure passage which ends in two lines concerned with a palm-tree (lines 64-91), the mother turns once again to her son and future king, and admonishes him to stand by Ur and Erech, to seize and pinion the enemy, a dog who, unless cowed, will tear him to pieces (lines 92-100):

The composition is inscribed on a tablet (UM 29-16-85) excavated by the University of Pennsylvania sometime between 1889

[75] The rubric "Praise Inanna" indicates that this composition was dedicated to Inanna.

[1] There is a bare possibility that this was the Queen Abisimti mentioned in the economic texts (cL Jacobsen's discussion in ***JCS,*** **VII,** pages 44-47)·

and 1900. To judge from the script, the tablet dates to the first post-Sumerian period in the early second millennium **B.C.**, but there is little doubt that the document was first composed[2] during the reign of Shulgi, toward the end of the third millennium. Not unexpectedly, the text of this composition, which is only about half-preserved, proved to be difficult and obscure. After preparing a preliminary transliteration and translation, therefore, I sent them on to Thorkild Jacobsen and Michel Civil for comment. Not a few of their suggestions have been incorporated in the present translation. A detailed edition of the text is to appear in the forthcoming Festschrift to the Italian scholar Elorado Volterra, and the reader will find there an extensive philological commentary, as well as an appendix with a number of variant translations by Thorkild Jacobsen.

*ua\ aual*[3]
In my song of joy— he will grow stout,
In my song of joy— he will grow big,
Like the *irina*-tree[4] he will grow stout of root,
Like the ia^/r-plant[4] he will grow broad of crown.

Lord, from . . . you know . . . ,[6]
*Among those burgeoning* apple trees by the river arrayed,
Who . . . will spread his hand on you,
Who lies there will lift his hand on you,
My son, sleep is about to overtake you,
Sleep is about to settle on you.

Come Sleep, come Sleep,
Come to my son,
*Hurry* Sleep to my son,
Put to sleep his restless eyes,
Put your hand on his (kohl)-painted eyes,
And (as for) his babbling tongue,
Let not the babbling hold back (his) sleep.

He will fill your lap with *emmer*.[6]
I—I will make sweet for you the little cheeses,
Those little cheeses that are the healer of man,
The healer of man, the son of the Lord,
The son of the Lord Shulgi.

My garden is lettuce well-watered,[7]
It is gfl^wMettuce . . . ,
The Lord will eat that lettuce.

In my song of joy—I will give him a wife,
[I will] give him [a wife], I will give him a [son],
The nursemaid, joyous of heart, will converse with him,
The nursemaid, joyous of heart, will suckle him;
I—I will [take] a wife for my son,
She will [bear] him a son so sweet,
The wife will lie on his burning lap,
The son will lie in his outstretched arms,
The wife will be happy with him,
The son will be happy with him,
The young wife will rejoice in his lap,
The son will grow big on his sweet knee.
You are in pain,
I am troubled,
I am struck dumb, I gaze at the stars,
The new moon *shines* dow» on my face,
Your bones will be arrayed on the wall,
The "man of the wall" will shed tears for you,
The *\eeners* will pluck the harps for you,
The gekko will gash the cheek for you,
The fly will pluck the beard for you,
The lizard will *bite* his tongue for you,
Who "makes sprout" woe, will make it sprout all about you,[8]
Who spreads woe, will spread it all about you.

(lines 51-56 fragmentary)

May the wife be your support,
May the son be your lot,
May the winnowed barley be your bride,
May Ashnan, the ^«^«-goddess[9] be your ally,
May you have an eloquent guardian-angel,
May you *achieve* a reign of happy days,
May your feasts make bright the fore[head].

(lines 64-91 fragmentary)

And you, lie you in sleep![10]
Array the branches (of) your palm-tree,
It will fill you with joy like . . .
Stand at the side of Ur *as* a *huldubba-demon*[xx]
Stand at the side of Erech as .. . -demon,
Seize the mouth of the dog as a . .. -demon,
Pinion his "arms" as with a net of reeds,
Make the dog cower before you,
Lest he will rip your back like a sack.

(remainder of the text very fragmentary)

[2] The author was probably one of the court poets who may have composed it at the queen's behest.

[3] In Sumerian, the writing is u5-a a-u-a. The exclamation u-5 a is an onomatopoetic word for "lullaby." The following a-u-a has the meaning, "ah! woe!"

[4] Virtually nothing is known of the ***irtna-tree*** and the ***sa\ir-***plant, except that the former must have been noteworthy for the sturdiness of its roots, and the latter for its luxuriating crown.

[6] The interpretation of this crucial passage is far from assured, although the meaning of virtually all the words and complexes is quite certain. Most difficult is line 19, since there seems to be no antecedent for "he," and it is therefore not clear just who it is that fills the child's lap with emmer. Rather strange, too, at least on the surface, is the not very apt characterization of "litde cheeses" as the "healer of man," and the equating of "man" with "the son of the Lord Shulgi."

[7] The interpretation of lines 24-26 and their connection with what precedes and follows depends largely on the identity of "the Lord" in line 26. The translation assumes that it refers to the child, but it is not impossible that it refers to Shulgi, and if this is the case, the interpretation of the contents of the three lines and their implication are obscure and enigmatic.

[8] The rendering of lines 49-50 and their connection with what precedes and follows are quite uncertain.

[9] Ashnan is the goddess of grain and vegetation; ***hjusu*** is an epithet whose meaning is uncertain.

[10] In line 92, as well perhaps as in the obscure lines 93-94, the mother seems to address her son as a child; in lines 95-100, on the other hand, she thinks of him as fully grown and a reigning king of Sumer.

[11] Rendering uncertain.

# Abbreviations

*AAA* *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool, 1908-).

*AASOR* *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (New Haven, 1920-).

*ABL* *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection(s) of the British Museum,* by R. F. Harper (Chicago, 1892-1914).

*ABoT* *Angara ar^eoloji müzesinde bulunan Bogazkpy tableteri* (Istanbul, 1948).

*ADD* C.H.W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Cambridge, 1889-1923).

*AfK* *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* (Berlin, 1923-1925).

*AfO* *Archiv für Orientforschung* (Berlin, Vols, HI ff., 1926-).

*AHw* W. von Soden, *Arkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1959-).

*AJA* *American Journal of Archaeology* (Concord, N.H. etc., 1885-).

*AJSL* *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (Chicago, 1884-1941).

*AKA* See King

*AKTRSch* *Die alphabetischen Keilschrifttexte von Ras Schamra$_y$* by H. Bauer (Berlin, 1936).

*ANEP* James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton, 1954).

*AnSt* *Anatolian Studies* (London, 1951-).

*AO* *Der alte Orient* (Leipzig, 1900-).

*AOT* *Altorientalische Texte zum alten Testament,* 2nd edn., edited by H. Gressmann (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926).

*APAW* *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1804-).

*AR* See Breasted, Luckenbill

*ARM* *Archives royales de Mari, TCL*, xxn- (Paris, 1941-).

*ARMT* *Archives royales de Mari* (Paris, 1950-).

*Ar Or* *Archiv Orientälni* (Prague, 1953-).

*AS* *Assyriological Studies*, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago (Chicago, 1931-).

*ASAE* *Annales du service des antiquites de l'Egypte* (1899-).

*BA* *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1889-).

*BASOR (SS)* *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (1919-). *(Supplementary Studies* [1945].)

Bauer, *Assurbanipal* Th. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Leipzig, 1933).

*BAWb.* See Meissner

*BE* *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts,* edited by H. V. Hilprecht (1893-1914).

*BG* *The Babylonian Genesis*, by A. Heidel (Chicago, 1942).

*BIFAO* *Bulletin de l'institut frangais d'archSologie Orientale* (Cairo, 1901-).

*BIN* *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies* (New Haven, 1918-).

*Bi.Or.* *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leiden, 1943-).

*BoTU* *Die Boghazkpi-Texte in Umschrift* (Leipzig, 1922 ff.).

Breasted, *AR* J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vols, i-v (Chicago, 1906-1907).

BrM British Museum

*BRM* A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (New York, 1912-1923).

*BWL* W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, i960).

*CAD* *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago 1956-).

*Camb.* See Strassmaier

CH Code of Hammurabi

*CIS* *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Paris, 1881-).

Cowley A. Cowley, editor. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923). Citations are by number of the document unless otherwise indicated.

*CT* *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum* (London, 1896-).

*Cyr.* See Strassmaier

*Dar.* See Strassmaier

Deimel, *§L* A. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon* (Rome, 1925-1937).

Donner-Röllig H. Donner and W. Köllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1962-1964).

Erman, *LAE* A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1927), a translation into English by A. M. Blackman of Erman's *Die Literatur der Aegypter* (Leipzig, 1923).

*GCCI* *Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions* (New Haven, 1923-).

*GE* A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago, 1946).

*GETh* R. Campbell Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamish* (Oxford, 1930).

*GGA* *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (Göttingen, 1826).

*HBS* S. N. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer* (New York, 1959).

*HG* J. Kohler, *et dl., Hammurabi's Gesetz* (Leipzig, 1904-23).

*HGE* F. M. Böhl, *Het Gilgamesj-Epos* (Amsterdam, 1941).

*HKL* R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* (Berlin, 1967).

*HSS* *Harvard Semitic Series* (Cambridge, Mass., 1912-).

*HT* *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1920).

*HUCA* *Hebrew Union College Annual* (Cincinnati, 1924-).

*IBoT* *Istanbul arkeoloji müzelerinde bulunan Bogazkpy tableteri I and II* (Istanbul, 1944 and 1947).

*IEJ* *Israel Exploration Journal* (Jerusalem, 1951-).

*JA* *Journal asiatique* (Paris, 1822-).

*JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, 1843-).

*JBL* *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* (Middletown, Conn., etc., 1881-).

*JBR* *Journal of Bible and Religion* (Wolcott, N.Y., 1933-).

*JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (New Haven, 1947-).

*JEA* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London, 1914-).

*JEOL* *Jaarbericht, Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux"* (Leyden, 1933-).

*JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago, 1942-).

*JPOS* *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* (Jerusalem, 1920 if.).

*JQR* *Jewish Quarterly Review* (London, etc., 1889-).

*JRAS* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1834-).

*JSOR* *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* (Chicago, 1917-1932).

*JSS* *Journal of Semitic Studies* (Manchester, 1956-).

K Kuyounjik (British Museum, London).

*KAH* *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts,* Vol. i (*WVDOG,* xvi [1911]) edited by L. Messerschmidt, Vol. 11 (*WVDOG*, xxxvn [1922]) edited by O. Schroeder.

*KAJ* *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts (WVDOG,* L [1927]) edited by E. Ebeling.

*KAR* *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts,* Vol. i (*WVDOG,* xxviii [1915-19]) edited by E. Ebeling.

*KA V* *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts (WVDOG, xxxv* [1920]) edited by O. Schroeder.

*KB* *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek^* edited by E. Schräder (Berlin, 1889-1900).

*KBo* *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkpi, i-vi (WVDOG,* xxx [1916] and xxxvi [1921]).

King *AKA* E. A. Wallis Budge and L. W. King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* (London, 1902).

*KUB* *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkpi,* i-xxxiv (Berlin, 1921-1944).

*LKA* E. Ebeling, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (Berlin, 1953).

*LSS* *Leipziger semitistische Studien* (Leipzig, 1903-).

Luckenbill, *AR* D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago, 1926-1927).

*MAOG* *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1925-).

*MDIK* *Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo* (Augsburg, Berlin, 1930-).

Meissner, *BAWb.* B. Meissner, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch* No. i *(Assyriological Studies,* No. 1), No. 11 *(Assyriological Studies,* No. 4) (Chicago, 1931, 1932).

*MIO* *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* (Berlin, 1953-).

*MVAG* *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1896-).

Nb\. See Strassmaier

*Nbn.* See Strassmaier

NF Neue Folge.

*NRV* *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden*, by M. San Nicolö and A. Ungnad, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1935).

NS Nova series.

*OECT* *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, edited by S. Langdon (Oxford, 1923 if.).

*OIP* *Oriental Institute Publications*, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago (Chicago, 1924-).

*OLZ* *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1898-).

*PAPS* *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1838-).

*PBC* *Le potme babylonien de la creation,* by R. Labat (Paris, 1935).

*PBS* See *UM*

*PEQ* *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (London, 1869-).

*PRT* E. G. Klauber, *Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit* (Leipzig, 1913).

*PSBA* *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London, 1878-1918).

*RA* *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archtologie Orientale* (Paris, 1884-).

Rawlinson H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (London, 1861-1884).

*KB* *Revue biblique* (Paris, 1892-).

*REJ* NS *Revue des etudes juives (et) historia judaica* (Paris, 1962).

*RHA* *Revue hittite et asianique* (Paris, 1930-).

*RHR* *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1880-).

*RSO* *Rivista degli studi orientali* (Rome, 1907-).

*RT* *Recueil de travaux relatifs ä la philologie et ä l'archtologie egyptiennes et assyriennes* (Paris, 1870-1923).

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*SAHG* A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und Akjkßdische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich and Stuttgart, 1953).

*SAOC* *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* (Chicago, 1931-).

Sayce-Cowley A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, editors, *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan* (London, 1906). Citation by plate.

*SBAW* *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich, 1871-).

Schott, *GE* A. Schott, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Leipzig, 1934).

*SGL* A. Falkenstein, *Sumerische Götterlieder* (Heidelberg, 1959).

*$L* See Deimel

*SLTN* S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur, AASOR*, xxni (New Haven, 1944).

*SM* *Sumerian Mythology,* by S. N. Kramer (Philadelphia, 1944).

*SPAW* *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1882-).

*SRT* Edward Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Upland, Pa., 1924).

*STC* *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, by L. W. King, 2 Vols. (London, 1902).

Strassmaier, *Camb.* J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1890).

, *Cyr.* J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1890).

, *Dar.* J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1893-97).

, *Nbk-* J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nobuchodonosor, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1889).

, *Nbn.* J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1889).

*STT*, i O. R. Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets* (London, 1957).

*STT*, 11 O. R. Gurney and P. Hulin, *The Sultantepe Tablets* (London, 1964).

*STVC* Edward Chiera, *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents, OIP*, xvi (Chicago, 1934).

TB Talmud Babylonicum

*TCL* *Textes cuniiformes,* Musee du Louvre (Paris, 1910-).

Thompson, *EG* R. Campbell Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgarnish* (London, 1928).

*TLZ* *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin, 1876).

*TRS* *Textes religieux sumSriens du Louvre*, by Henri de Genouillac (Musee du Louvre, *Textes cuneiformes,* xv-xvi [Paris, 1930]).

*TSBA* *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (London 1872-1893).

*TuM* *Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität fena* (Leipzig, 1937-).

*UCPSP* *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology* (Berkeley, 1907).

*UET* *Ur Excavations, Texts: I Royal Inscriptions*, by C. J. Gadd, L. Legrain, etc. (London, 1928).

*UM* University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, *Publications of the Babylonian Section* (Philadelphia, 1911-).

Ungnad A. Ungnad, editor, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1911). Citations are by number of the document unless otherwise indicated.

*Untersuch.* *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens* (Leipzig, 1896-).

*Urk·* *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* (Leipzig, 1903-).

*UVB* *Vorläufiger Bericht über die .. . Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka* (Berlin, 1930-).

VA Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Thontafelsammlung (Berlin).

*VAB* *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* (Leipzig» 1907-1916).

*BVoT* A. Götze, *Verstreute Boghazkpi-Texte* (Marburg, 1930).

FS *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen (Leipzig, 1907-).

*VT* *Vetus Testamentum* (Leyden, 1951).

*WO* *Die Welt des Orients* (Göttingen, 1947-).

*WVDOG* *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Berlin (Leipzig, 1900-).

*WZKM* *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna, 1887-1940).

*YOS* *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts* (New Haven, 1915-).

*ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* (Leipzig, 1886-).

*ZAeS* *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig, 1863-).

*ZAW* *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Berlin, Glessen, 1881-).

*ZBB* D. O. Edzard, *Die "zweite Zwischenzeit' Babylontens* (Wiesbaden, 1957).

*ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1847-).

*ZDPV* *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* (Leipzig, 1878-).

# Index of Biblical References

THE purpose of the following index is to suggest to the student of the Old Testament some significant points of interest in the translations of the texts from the ancient Near Eastern world. The index includes two types of references: first, there are those references to the books of the Old Testament which are listed in the introductions and footnotes to the translations; secondly, there is a listing of biblical analogues suggested by the various contributors to the volume. By the listings of the latter category neither the translators nor the editor venture any scientific opinion with regard to the relationship between the biblical reference and the text cited. Since the noting of these possible biblical parallels was a by-product of the main work of attempting to render accurately the principal texts into English, it is not to be expected that the list be comprehensive. It is intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. Scholars who approach this work from a primary concern for the biblical material, it is to be hoped, will be able in subsequent years to enlarge gready upon this list. This index should be used along with the index of names: many biblical names of persons and places will be found in the alphabetical listing there, rather than according to the chapter and verse of the Bible.

According to the system of reference used here each column of the page of this book is divided into two halves: the first column of the page, into *a* and *b*\ the second column, into *c* and *d*. When the biblical reference does not actually appear printed in a footnote or in an introduction to a translation, the reader must read the entire quarter of the page of text or annotation in order to judge what portion of it is intended as a possible parallel to the biblical citation. The biblical references are listed according to the order and numbering of the Hebrew Bible. Numberings used in the English Bible have been given in parentheses.


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